For Reference

Every person who maliciously cuts, defaces, breaks or injures any book, map, chart, picture, engraving, statue, coin, model, apparatus, or other work of literature, art, mechanics or object of curiosity, deposited in any public library, gallery, museum or collection is guilty of a misdemeanor.
Penal Code of California
1915, Section 623

California History

[illegible]

Contents

[illegible]

California Historical Society

[illegible]

California History

VOLUME LXIII, No. 1-4, 1984

Contents

Compiled by Marcella Genz

California Historical Society
SAN FRANCISCO·LOS ANGELES·SAN MARINO

NUMBER 1—WINTER 1984

6
Once Was a Year When All Was Noon
by Ray Bradbury

7
Greetings
by Frances Ring

8
The Story of the Olympics—B.C. to A.C.
by Paul B. Zimmerman

22
Running With a Dream
by Jack Smith

26
The Sporting Life
by Kevin Starr

32
The Games Schools Play
by Larry L. Meyer

38
The Big Sportscast
by Sam Balter

40
Burning the Wires—Press Rate
by Ed McCray

46
In the Spirit of Challenge
by Ferol Egan

49
Once a Winner
by Lisa Mitchell

50
Dad
by John Riley

52
International City
by Richard Lillard

58
The Look of L.A.
by Walter Houk

66
Where Fancies Flicker
by Steve Erickson

71
As We Were in Avalon
by Julia Braun Kessler

77
A Show of Culture
by Elaine Attias

80
Made in California
by Sue Fleishman

84
A Memory of Byways
by Lawrence Clark Powell

88
Operation Traffic
by Carol Morton

91
Olympic Telecommunications
by Paul Ditzel

101
Return Engagement
by Jeffrey Kaye

NUMBER 2—SPRING 1984

114
South San Francisco—
the Making of an Industrial City
by Joseph A. Blum

135
The Politics of John Muir
by J.S. Holliday

140
Resist! Survival Tactics of Indian Women
by Victoria Brady, Sarah Crome & Lyn Reese

152
Arnold Genthe's California Portraits

154
The Golden Gate and the Silver Screen
by Geoffrey Bell

164
Flying—Some Practical Experiences

172
Uncovering *The Snow Storm*
by James A. Silverman

177
An Editors' Confession

179
Books

185
California Check List

NUMBER 3—SUMMER 1984

194
FDR's Forgotten Friend:
Henry H. McPike and the 1932
Democratic Presidential Nomination
by Thomas T. Spencer

200
Comin' Over River Jordan—California
Volunteers in Utah During the Civil War
by Tom Generous

212
The Day the City Stopped
by John Kagel

224
Heinrich Schliemann's Sacramento
Connection
by John F. Wilhelm

230
El Castillo de Monterey, Frontline
of Defense
by Diana Spencer-Hancock &
William E. Pritchard

242
An Imaginative Visual History of
San Francisco: The Collages of Satty
by Pamela L. Seager

245
Is the Hotel (As We Know It) Now Doomed
by Basil Woon

247
Yee Ah Chong Remembers Vacaville's
Chinatown

252
A Regional Reply to the Impressionist
Challenge
by Robert M. Frash

256
The New Anatomy of California
by James D. Houston

260
Book Reviews

264
California Check List

NUMBER 4—FALL 1984

274
California's First Environmental Battle
by Marilyn Ziebarth

280
Buildings and Bridges for
the Twentieth Century
by John W. Snyder

294
The Controversial Career of Martin Aguirre
by Abraham Hoffman

305
Upton Sinclair's EPIC Campaign
by Fay M. Blake & H. Morton Newman

313
New York Discovers Gold in California
by Barry L. Dutka

320
The World of Oscar Lewis
by Kevin Starr

327
Books

335
California Check List

349
Volume Contents

353
Index

ORNIA HISTORY
Winter

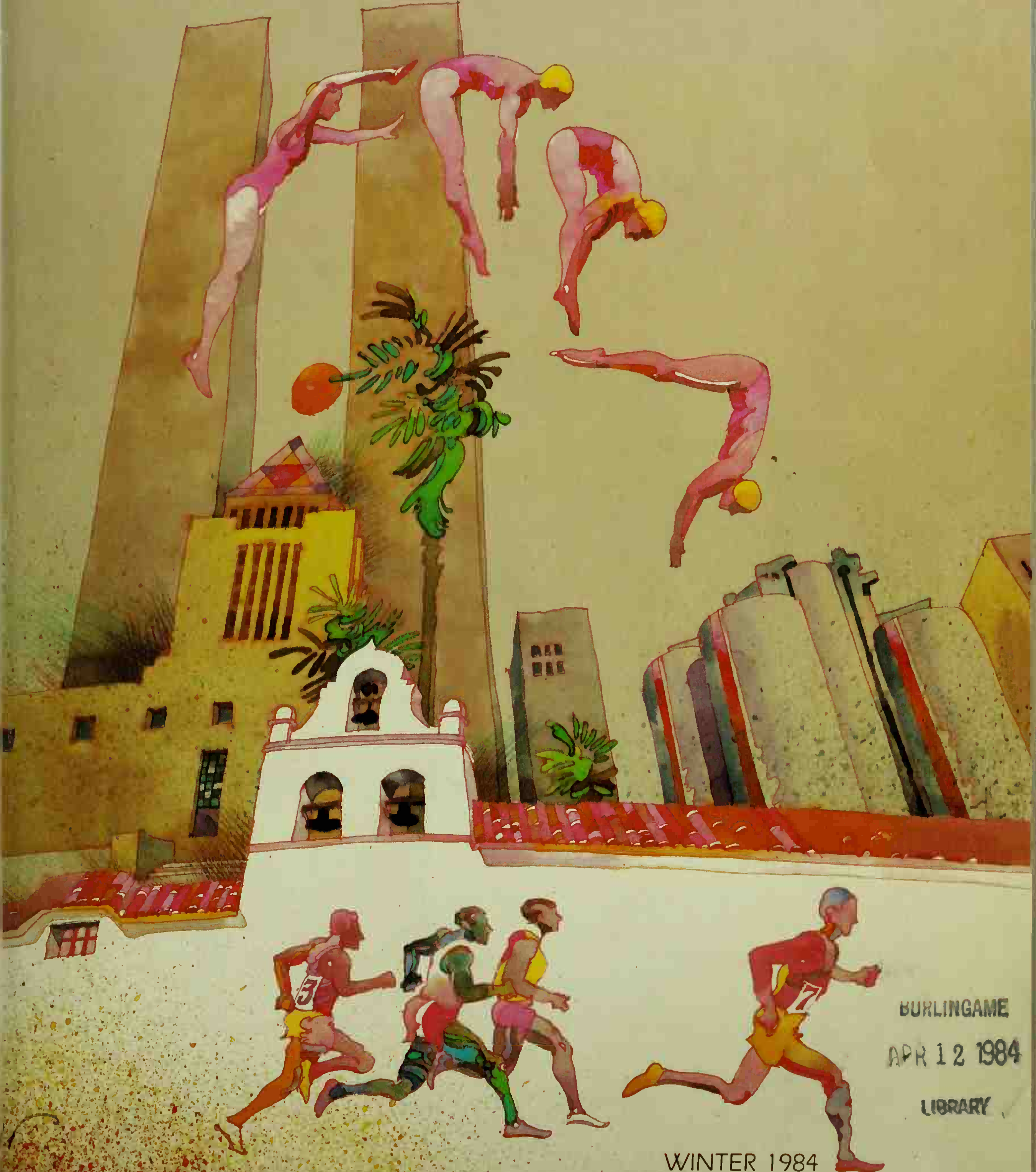
BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9042 01792468 6

CHAMPIONS IN THE SUN

A SPECIAL ISSUE OF

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



BURLINGAME
APR 12 1984
LIBRARY

WINTER 1984

In today's complex world, only one telecommunications company in California has the resources and the expertise to serve the individual needs of over 20 million customers. That company is Pacific Bell. We're California's communications company. And we're built upon a tradition of excellence that's been nurtured by over 75 years of experience. You knew us as Pacific Telephone. Today, Pacific Bell will continue to provide unsurpassed telephone service. And soon a whole array of new services will be available through connection with the Pacific Bell telephone network. Services ranging from medical monitoring to shopping by phone. But, more importantly, Pacific Bell is much more than a company on the leading edge of technology. We're a company that's personally committed to helping our customers solve all their communication needs. And, we're dedicated to being their one source of information.

SM

PACIFIC BE

A Pacific Telesis Group Com

CHAMPIONS IN THE SUN

A SPECIAL ISSUE OF
CALIFORNIA HISTORY
THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Frances Ring, Guest Editor

A grant from the Koret Foundation of San Francisco
assisted the California Historical Society in
preparing this special publication.

California History is published
quarterly by the California
Historical Society, 2090 Jackson
Street, San Francisco, CA 94109.
Second class postage is paid at
San Francisco. Postmaster: send
address changes to 2090 Jackson
Street, San Francisco, CA 94109.
LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897

To CHS members and first-time readers,

We hope you will enjoy this special issue of *California History* published by the California Historical Society. Conceived to celebrate the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles, "Champions in the Sun" seeks to bring a broad historical perspective to that major event—a perspective which might give us a better understanding of the changes that have taken place in Los Angeles during the fifty years since the 1932 Games.

The California Historical Society constantly seeks to provide that historical perspective—the link between the past and the present. In 1920 CHS published its first issue of this magazine, then titled *The California Historical Society Quarterly*. Through sixty-three years this publication has continued to serve CHS members, professional historians and the general public as the leading source of reliable information on and interpretation of California history.

Appropriate for a state where change has been called California's only tradition, many changes—improvements—have been made in the design of the quarterly, including an evolution of the title to its present, precise identity.

Beginning in the 1970's, after thirty years as a quarterly with a staid, scholarly look, editorial policy placed a major emphasis on illustrations and photo-essays, thereby to broaden the magazine's readership without sacrificing scholarly reliability. Through the last thirteen years we have given ever more emphasis to visual appeal and readability, creating a broad-based, informative magazine with a lively look and style. As well, we have achieved a greater balance between articles about the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and those dealing with the twentieth century, even the last two decades.

"Champions in the Sun" highlights that trend of studying this century, now rushing to its calendar climax, 1999. Two years ago CHS produced a special issue—"Los Angeles, 1781 to 1981"—to celebrate the bicentennial of that burgeoning, astonishing metropolis. These expanded special issues require financial support beyond our normal budget in order to pay for commissioned articles and to cover increased production costs.

The first such assistance—a generous grant to cover editorial expenses—came to us last year from the Koret Foundation of San Francisco. Our major financial support has been provided by Pacific Bell, long known to us as the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company; more familiarly, PT&T.

We are proud that this company has found in our salute to the 1932 and 1984 Olympic Games an ideal publication for distribution throughout California, thereby to extend recognition of the new name Pacific Bell and to celebrate the company's technological skill in bringing the Olympic Games to a world-wide audience.

J.S. Holliday, Executive Director
Marilyn Ziebarth, *California History* Editor

PUBLISHED SINCE 1922

J.S. HOLLIDAY
Executive Director

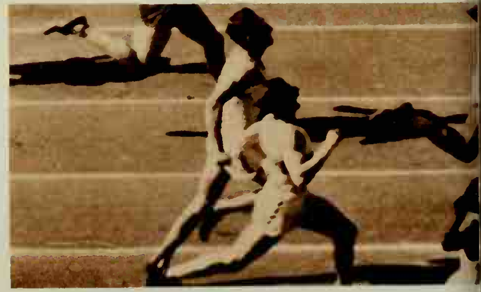
PAMELA L. SEAGER
Associate Director

MARILYN ZIEBARTH
Editor

JAMES J. RAWLS
Reviews Editor

ANDREA DuFLON
Designer

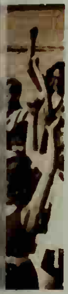
Editorial Consultants
FRANK L. BEACH
LOWELL JOHN BEAN
ROBERT BECKER
IRIS W. ENGSTRAND
JANET R. FIREMAN
FRANCIS F. GUEST, O.F.M.
WILLIAM O. HENDRICKS
NORRIS HUNDLEY
W. TURRENTINE JACKSON
GARY F. KURUTZ
MIGUEL LEÓN-PORTILLA
W. MICHAEL MATHES
DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.
RODMAN W. PAUL
DAVID PIÑIERA RAMÍREZ
ANDREW F. ROLLE
DAVID J. WEBER
FRANCIS J. WEBER
DAVID A. WILLIAMS



CHAMPIONS IN THE SUN

A SPECIAL ISSUE OF
CALIFORNIA HISTORY
THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME LXIII NO. I WINTER 1984



6
Once Was a Year When All Was Noon
by Ray Bradbury

7
Greetings
by Frances Ring

8
The Story of the Olympics—B.C. to A.D.
by Paul B. Zimmerman

22
Running With a Dream
by Jack Smith

26
The Sporting Life
by Kevin Starr

32
The Games Schools Play
by Larry L. Meyer

38
The Big Sportscast
by Sam Balter

40
Burning the Wires—Press Rate
by Ed McCray

46
In the Spirit of Challenge
by Ferol Egan

49
Once a Winner
by Lisa Mitchell

50
Dad
by John Riley

52
International City
by Richard Lillard

58
The Look of L.A.
by Walter Houk

66
Where Fancies Flicker
by Steve Erickson

71
As We Were in Avalon
by Julia Braun Kessler

77
A Show of Culture
by Elaine Attias

80
Made in California
by Sue Fleishman

84
A Memory of Byways
by Lawrence Clark Powell

88
Operation Traffic
by Carol Morton

91
Olympic Telecommunications
by Paul Ditzel

101
Return Engagement
by Jeffrey Kaye

Once Was a Year When All Was Noon

When Greece died, so died Play, Or almost,
one late day
The sun burned out. The racing
Players simply went away.
Once was a year when all was noon
And racing in the sun;
Only begun was time,
The world stopped up its breath
As the sons of sun went back
And won from death.
Yes, that was Greece,
And Athens on its sun warmed hill,
And all the thrills of being young
And winning, so's to wear the wreath.
All this, bequeathed to us, we took
And kept their games,
And banked their fun
Their joys to use through all our years,
Their thirst and banquetings of sun,
Remembering they were the first,
But not the last sweet beasts who ran the day
Left death behind, told dark and night to stay.
Because of them, because the Greeks have been
We, doubtful, run this noon, but, doubting,
Win.

by Ray Bradbury

California History is off and running with the Olympic Games. While the minutes of the stop watch tick away, we pace ourselves, not to break records but to gain a perspective on those minutes. Los Angeles in '84 is twice the winner in securing the Games on site. What is there about the city that is attractive to the sporting life?

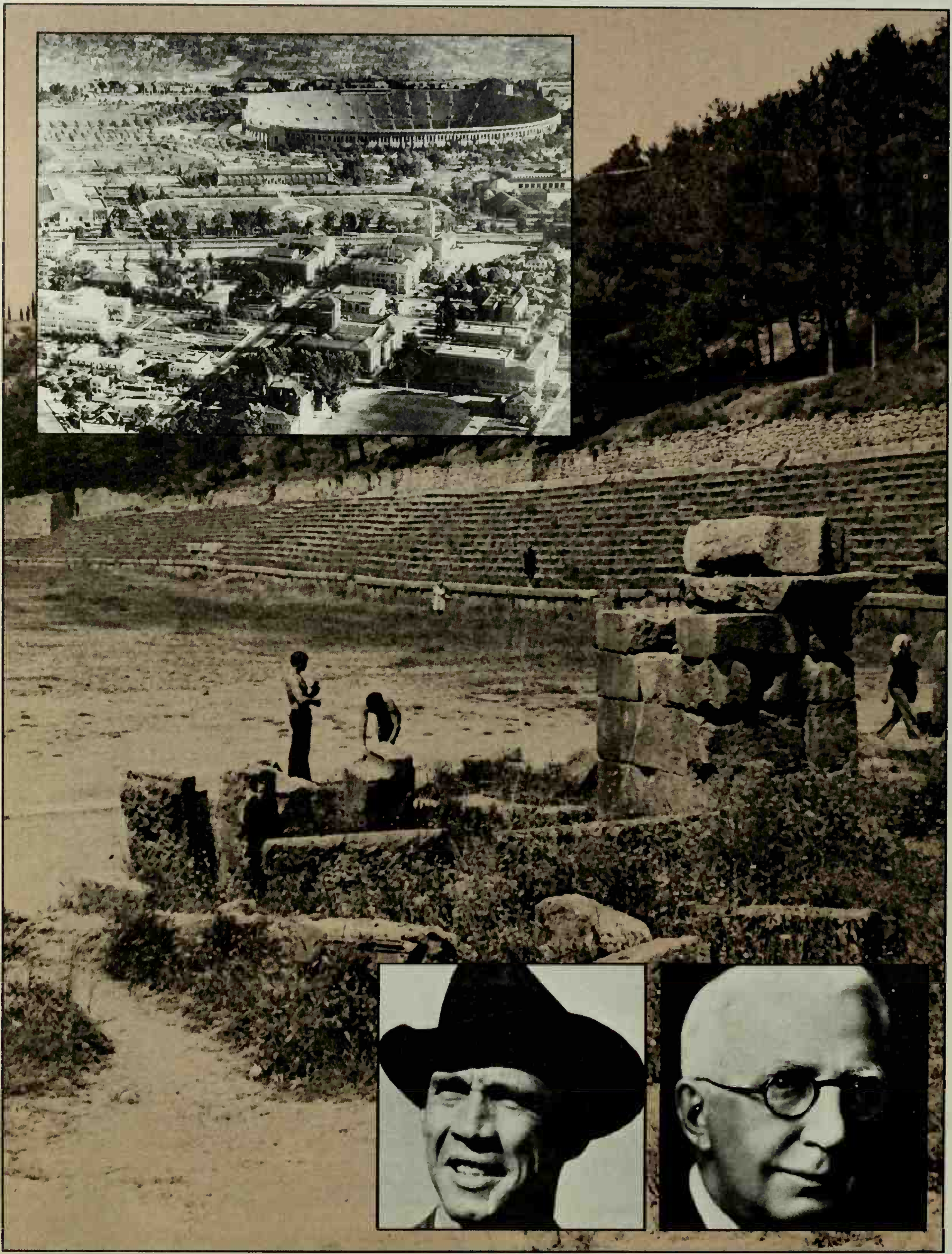
In '32, Los Angeles was, to many, a suburb of Hollywood. Some from other continents didn't even know where it was. Today Los Angeles is a city of international renown, and Hollywood, though still a functioning landmark, has moved out into the world on location while L.A. grows steadily toward the skies.

There is a glow of good health in the air despite the smog. In this issue we will examine the health and the environment and diagnose the burgeoning physical fitness and athlete-oriented phenomena of the city. We will also recall the Games of '32, point out the heroes and compare the city of then to now.

The assemblage of writers who report for this issue is as eclectic as the city itself. We mix those who were present in '32 with those who have grown up in fifty-two years and thus bridge half a century.

Television has paid millions for the right to bring the Games to your viewing room. We reserve the right in print to remember, to comment and to score the wins, if any, that civilization has made.

—Frances Ring



THE STORY OF THE OLYMPICS —B.C. TO A.D.

A chronology of the Games among shards of disaster & triumph.

by Paul B. Zimmerman

Considering that the story of the Olympics covers eons, we do not presume to try to untangle legend from literality any more than have the many who have traveled this road before.

Instead we have sought to lift out of the thousands of years key dates of unquestionable significance in a recital of the ancient and modern Olympics.

776 B.C. It is universally accepted that this was the year the festival held at Olympia, in honor of Zeus, became known as the Olympics, and the period of four years between celebrations become an Olympiad. Whether fact or legend, Ideaean Heracles, described as "a crafty diplomat," is credited with creating the idea. Cleosthenes, king of Pisa, Lycurgus, ruler of Sparta, and Iphetus, king of Elis, embraced the event by sending their best runners, musicians and orators to Olympia.

The first and only athletic event of the original Olympics was a foot race from one end of the stadium to the other—perhaps 200 yards. The first recorded victor was a cook from Elis, named Koroebos (sometimes historians spelled it Coroebus.)

Delphi Ruins in Greece gave rise to a U.S. Coliseum in Exposition Park that welcomed the Xth Olympiad, masterminded by Zack Farmer, General Manager of the L.A. Organizing Committee, and William May Garland, International Olympic Committee member who brought the '32 Games to Los Angeles.

724 B.C. A second race was added. It was two lengths of the stadium. After that a prolifery of physical tests were tried. Many dropped by the wayside.

708 B.C. Sparta, a war-like state, is credited with the inclusion of a pentathlon, because spear-throwing and discus-tossing were combative skills.

688 B.C. Pugilism became a common word in the Olympics vocabulary at this time when boxing was introduced. Two Olympiads later came the pankatron. This was a vicious contest combining boxing, wrestling, kicking—almost everything but eye gouging.

648 B.C. On this date it has been recorded that a doting mother named Pherenice, dressed like a man so she could second her son in the sport of pugilism, became the first to breach the religious ban against women and escaped the punishment of death. But there was a price. It was the wisdom of the tribunal that such an occurrence would be henceforth thwarted by requiring that trainers and seconds of contestants take part sans garments. Pherenice's audacious act did not bring immediate relief for the distaff side, but eventually their presence, as spectators, was permitted. Significant? In the upcoming summer games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad women will be competing in seventeen separate sports, including for the first time the marathon.

392 A.D. Some set this date aside as a year of infamy because Theodosius the Great abolished the Olympic Games, after 1100 years of existence, on the grounds they had become a "public nuisance." There were complaints from the Greeks that Roman heroes were capitalizing on their Olympics fame and profiting from their victories. In one way or another the Greeks had been doing the same thing. Romans took umbrage and retaliated by putting to torch the quarters where the Olympics athletes had stayed. Then nature took over. Earthquakes leveled the remains. It was almost two thousand years after Theodosius the Great had recited requiem over the Olympics that archeologists began uncovering what was left of the site of the ancient games.

1896 A.D. The Olympics had lain dormant over fifteen centuries when Baron Pierre de Coubertin of France brought about their revival April 6, 1896, at Athens. Where else?

The enthusiasm of this wealthy young nobleman was not matched by others. Charilaos Trikoupes, Greece's minister of foreign affairs, offered no official support. Only thirteen of the twenty-four countries that had promised to send teams complied.

Indeed, were it not for Baron de Coubertin's driving force, the games at Athens might well have died aborning.

The United States had no organized team. For the most part the delegation was made up of Ivy League students along with New York and Boston athletic club athletes who paid their own expenses.

Led by double winners Thomas Burke in the sprints and Ellery Clark in the jumps, the United States walked off with eight of twelve firsts in the track and field events and five second places.

The fact that the Americans had paid their own way was lost on the Athenian spectators, who chanted taunts of professionalism. It simply was resentment against success.

It was too much for the Athenians to accept—a nation not yet born even when the ancient games died, running off with the bulk of the honors.

Their surliness changed to deafening cheers when one of their own, Spiridon Loues, a postal messenger, won the marathon. Like the Grecians did with Olympics heroes thousands of years before, they showered their hero with expensive gifts, and Crown Prince Charles personally carried him on his shoulders to the king's box.

The tenuous start at Athens in 1896 was only slightly less trying than the woes that faced Baron de Coubertin four years later in Paris. Internal dissension and rumors that the games had been called off didn't help matters. Again only a handful of nations were represented, but again Baron de Coubertin's determination prevailed.

In no sense did the celebration of the IIIrd Olympiad in St. Louis improve things. Athens staged the "Intercalated Games" in competition to mark the tenth anniversary of the Olympics there. Twenty nations sent 884 athletes. St. Louis attracted 1,450 competitors.

Not until the games of the Vth Olympiad at London did the modern movement find a true course to success.

1932 A.D. This was the year Los Angeles saved the Olympics from being swept into oblivion by a world depression. The city's superb staging of the summer games of the Xth Olympiad elevated the modern games to a position of world acceptance.

The wonder was that in 1932 Los Angeles was able to keep the Olympics flame burning. There was fear in Lausanne, headquarters of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), that the games, resurrected by Baron de Coubertin less than a half century before, would succumb to the world's financial woes.

In Los Angeles, an organizing committee, after pondering the enigma, came up with a saving solution. Its scheme would make world competition possible by cutting Games expenses by two-thirds.

Out of such adversity was born the most innovative Olympics ever celebrated! Never had they been so artistically and profitably staged, nor so competitively conducted. Sixteen world records were shattered and two others matched. A remarkable total of thirty-two Olympics marks were revised.

Previous summer games had been held in the comparative privacy of a few thousand spectators. In Los Angeles an outpouring of 1,250,000 people cheered the thrilling competition.

Considering the economic climate, even more startling was a fiscal phenomenon. Los Angeles paid off a million dollar bond issued to the State of California and still had a surplus of some $900,000. Every Olympics before, and since, finished in the red.

A record capacity crowd of 101,022 spectators cheered as 1,503 athletes, following the flags of their 40 nations, marched into the stadium to the music of a band of 300 pieces and took their position on the brilliant green carpet of the infield.

From the outset, the story of the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles reads like fiction. William May Garland, a local developer and real estate entrepreneur, had dreamed the impossible dream.

Enroute to Antwerp to press his case with the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Garland stopped off in New York for a talk with America's two members, Milligan Sloane and Burton S. Works. They were dubious.

"They informed me," Garland liked to relate, "it would be extremely difficult to bring the games to America, let alone to California 3,000 miles west of New York."

In Antwerp, Garland was surprised to learn the 1924 games, which he sought, already had been awarded to Paris. The 1928 Olympiad had been promised to Amsterdam. The IOC delegates were so taken with this personable man's statesmanship, however, that they invited him to become a member of that august body. They suggested that he bid for the 1932 Games at their Rome congress in 1923.

Armed with the required official invitation from Los Angeles Mayor John Porter, Garland was amazed to find in the minds of many, Los Angeles was considered a watering place in a land of deserts, cowboys and Indians. One who had some knowledge of motion pictures asked if it were near Hollywood. Informed that Los Angeles was only a few miles away, he said: "Then I'll vote for your city. I always wanted to see them make movies."

In truth Los Angeles in 1923 was a city that had just passed the million mark in population. To sate its growing thirst an aqueduct reaching hundreds of miles into Owens Valley had been constructed. In addition to Los Angeles' miles of citrus groves, its burgeoning film industry was cranking out such flights of fantasy as *The Covered Wagon*, *The Ten Commandments*, *Hunchback of Notre Dame* and *Thief of Bagdad* with a value approaching a billion dollars.

Memorial Coliseum, to be the centerpiece of the 1932 Olympics, was opened that fall. It was constructed at the now unbelievable price of a little more than $800,000. In a blush of optimism the California electorate, on November 6, 1928, passed what was called the "Olympiad Bond Act," which permitted the state to loan the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee $1 million toward staging the 1932 games. There were dual doubts at the time; would a million be enough and would it ever be repaid? In light of the $9 billion Moscow expended for the 1980 games, not to mention Montreal's $1.25 billion for the 1976 summer classic, the fact that Los Angeles repaid the million and made almost another reads like a fairytale today.

Only eleven months after the bond issue passed, the stock market crashed. The global gloom couldn't help but permeate the tiny offices where the "big five," as the key members of the organizing committee were called, dauntlessly went ahead with plans for the Olympics only three years ahead. That quintet was composed of Zack J. Farmer, Gwynn Wilson, H. O. Davis, William M. Henry and J. F. Mackenzie.

Farmer was the general manager. He had previously managed the operation of the Coliseum. Later Zack would become known for staging the successful San Diego World Fair, and still later publishing the *Los Angeles Record*.

Wilson, his assistant, as graduate manager of the University of Southern California (USC) already had gained national notice for getting Knute Rockne to sign a pact to play USC in football, now the most famous intersectional grid game in collegiate circles. Wilson went on to become general manager of the world renowned Santa Anita Race Track.

Jack Mackenzie had been athletic director of the University of California. He, too, turned to thoroughbred racing, bringing the Hollywood Turf Club into being.

Henry, *Los Angeles Times* sports editor on leave, was the sports technical director of the games. He earned world renown as a columnist, war correspondent and radio news broadcaster.

Davis was one of William Randolph Hearst's most successful magazine publishers.

A growing concern over the effect the Depression might have on the games sent pragmatist Zack Farmer, one cold winter morning in 1930, to First and Broadway to confer with Harry Chandler, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, who had earned the reputation of being the most astute businessman in California. Farmer presented the dismal picture that confronted the impending Olympics. He could envision the financially strapped European nations, whence came most of the world's greatest athletes at the time, not being able to send more than token teams if any at all.

"Quite frankly," Gwynn Wilson would later recall, "Zack wanted to throw in the sponge."

Chandler listened and said he'd let Farmer know. He had great confidence in his sports editor and asked Bill Henry for his reaction. Henry was deeply upset when Chandler told him that Farmer suggested the games be jettisoned. A few days later Zack got a telephone call. Chandler was succinct: "Absolutely not!"

Instead, the executive committee came up with a major cost-cutting plan. Steamship lines would reduce passage fares by 20 percent; the railroads would set up excursion rates for Olympics guests. The icing on the cake was a plan to build an Olympic Village where the athletes would be housed, fed and transported.

Beautifully engraved invitations immediately were forwarded through the U.S. State Department to the nations of the world, inviting them to "celebrate the Xth Olympiad in Los Angeles July 30 to August 14."

The high level gloom that hovered over the IOC and national olympics committees had not been dispelled when Farmer reported to them at the Berlin congress in May of 1930. He knew he had a selling job to do. First he told them of the reduced travel rates. He described the plans for an Olympic Village at Baldwin Hills, only a few miles from the stadium, and announced that Los Angeles would underwrite first class housing, meals and transportation over a period of thirty days at $2.00 a day per person. The assembled delegates cheered. For European countries that meant the cost of each athlete was reduced from $1,500 to $500.

The summer games of the Xth Olympiad had been saved and the continuity of the modern games had been assured. Over 1,500 athletes representing forty nations accepted the invitation to participate in the games.

Located on 250 acres atop the Baldwin Hills was the Olympic Village. Its two-room Mexican-style haciendas circled the perimeter, with dining rooms and lavatory facilities, including sauna baths, close by. Meals were served to international tastes. Police in cowboy regalia rode guard around the fence, giving the visitors an added western touch, as well as privacy. A theater, hospital and emergency fire department completed the complex.

Chapman Park Hotel in the Wilshire District, with its walled gardens, was turned over exclusively to feminine competitors. Never before had Olympics athletes lived in such opulence. The innovation of an Olympic Village proved so popular it became a requirement for bidding cities thereafter.

The artistry and pageantry of the opening ceremonies surpassed anything previously seen in either the modern or ancient games. A record capacity crowd of 101,022 spectators cheered as 1,503 athletes, following the flags of their forty nations, marched into the stadium to the music of a band of 300 pieces and took their position on the brilliant green carpet of the infield. As the huge bronze urn atop the coliseum peristyle blossomed into a flaming Olympic torch, the white-robed choir of 1,200 voices sent music of the Olympic Hymn soaring through the crowded arena.

In token of peace, hundreds of pigeons were released —diving and swirling over the stands on their way to freedom. After United States Vice President Charles Evans Hughes welcomed the world guests, the Olympics flag with its five rings was hoisted aloft, and the games were declared open.

Lieut. George C. Calman, member of the United States fencing team, stepped to the podium with military precision and led the assembled athletes in the Olympics oath. The massed choir then rendered The Recessional, singing "Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet. . . ," as the heroes of the days to come filed out.

Seven hundred writers, the largest press corps in the history of any international happening, were on hand to send the story of deeds to come to every corner of the globe. Among the famous writers assembled were Arthur Brisbane, Bill Cunningham, Paul Gallico, Alan Gould, Frank Menke, Westbrook Pegler, Grantland Rice, Damon Runyan and Paul B. Zimmerman.

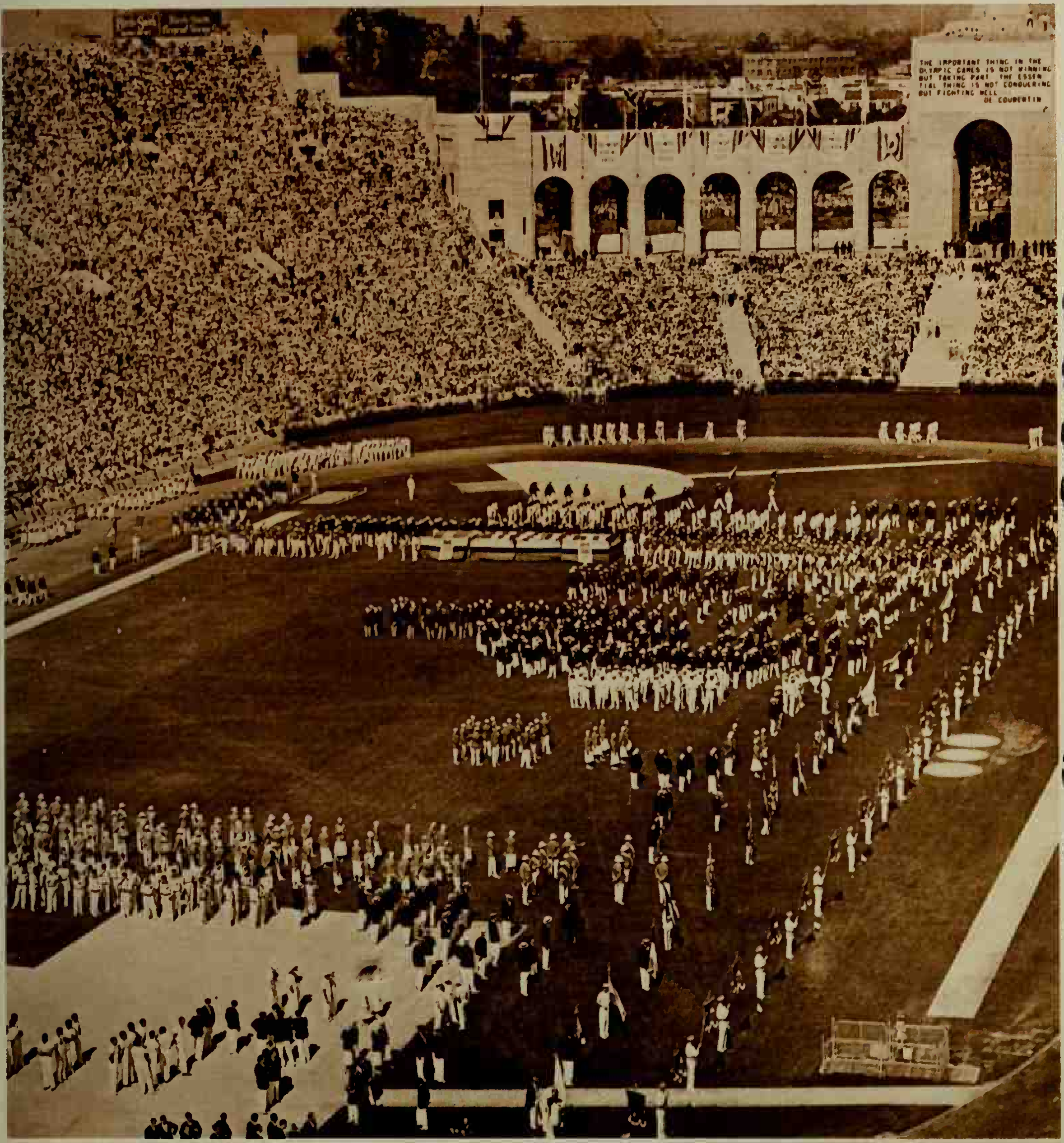
Of all the stories they wrote about, one poignant incident would outlive all others. Ask the average sports fan today what he or she remembers about the 1932 Olympics, the answer usually is:

"The 1932 Olympics? Oh! Yeh! Those were the games in which the Babe was jobbed out of a gold medal in the high jump!"

Mildred (Babe) Didrikson, an eighteen-year old Texas high school lass, had arrived at the Olympics already heralded as a feminine phenomenon. Her athletic ability, especially in basketball and softball, had earned her a national reputation.

The slender school girl from Beaumont, Texas, immediately lived up to her reputation, setting world records in the 80-meter hurdles and javelin throws. Her Waterloo was the high jump. After she finished in a tie at 5 feet 5 inches with teammate Jean Shiley, the bar was

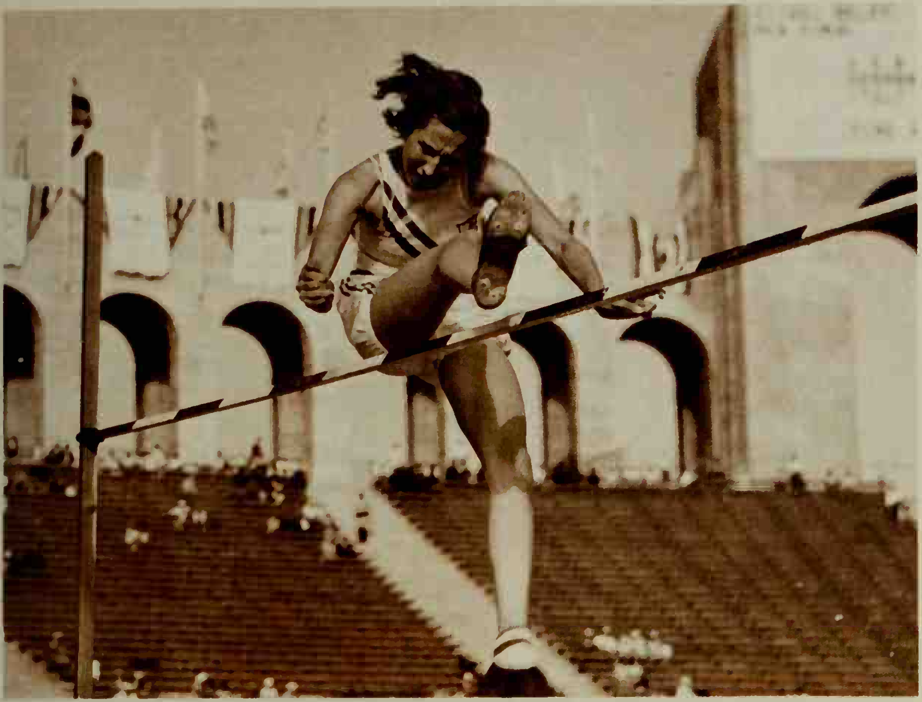
Continued on page 21

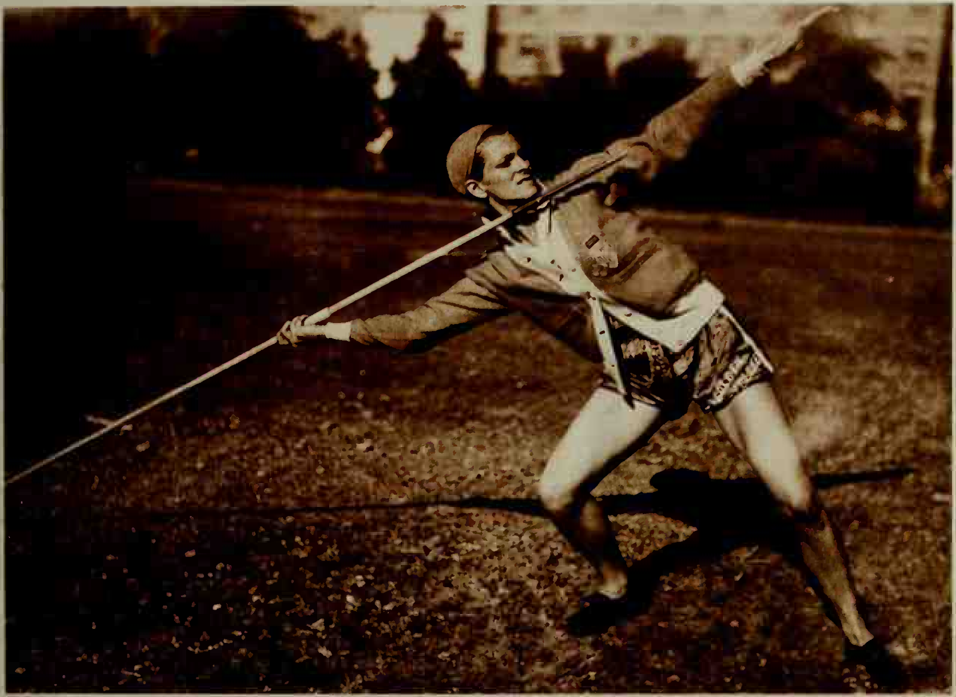

THE IMPORTANT THING IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES IS NOT WINNING BUT TAKING PART THE ESSENTIAL THING IS NOT CONQUERING BUT FIGHTING WELL
DE COUBERTIN

A crowd-filled stadium watches the spectacular parade of athletes at the 1932 opening ceremonies.

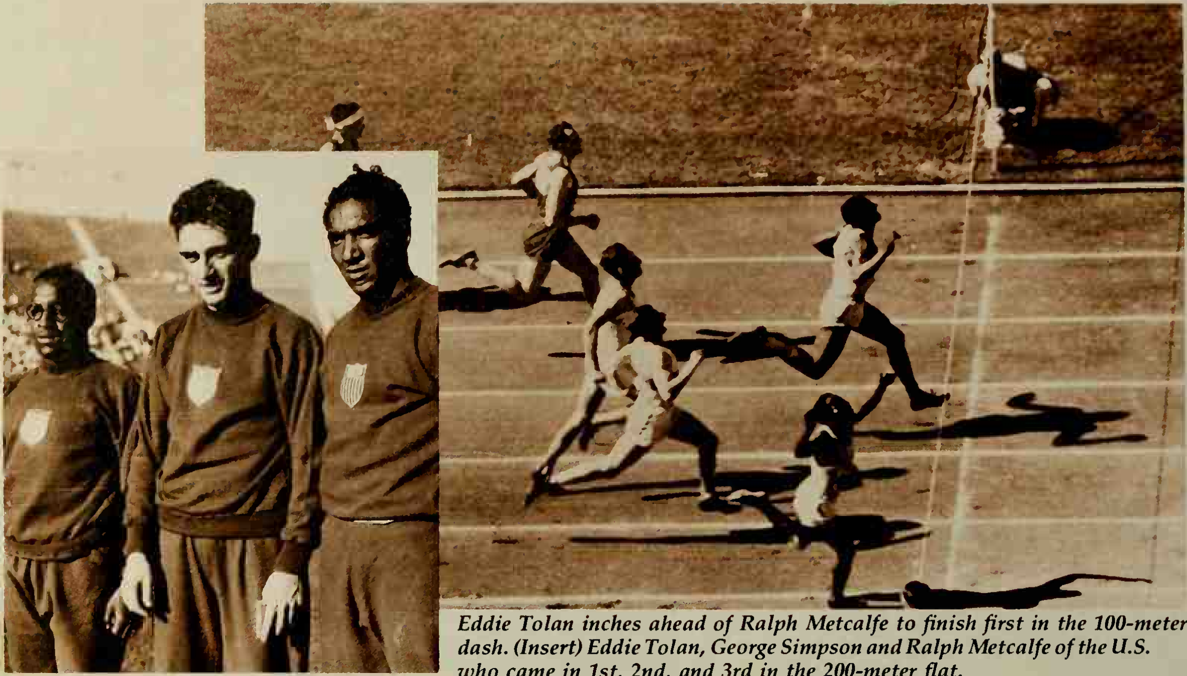
The dining room scene at Olympic Village—for men only.

Japanese Olympics women at a more elegant table—Chapman Park Hotel.

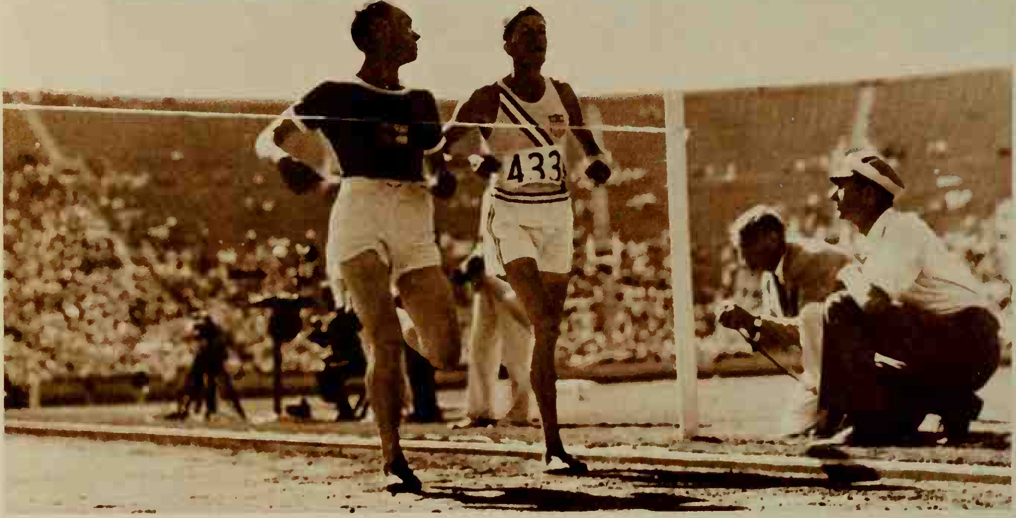




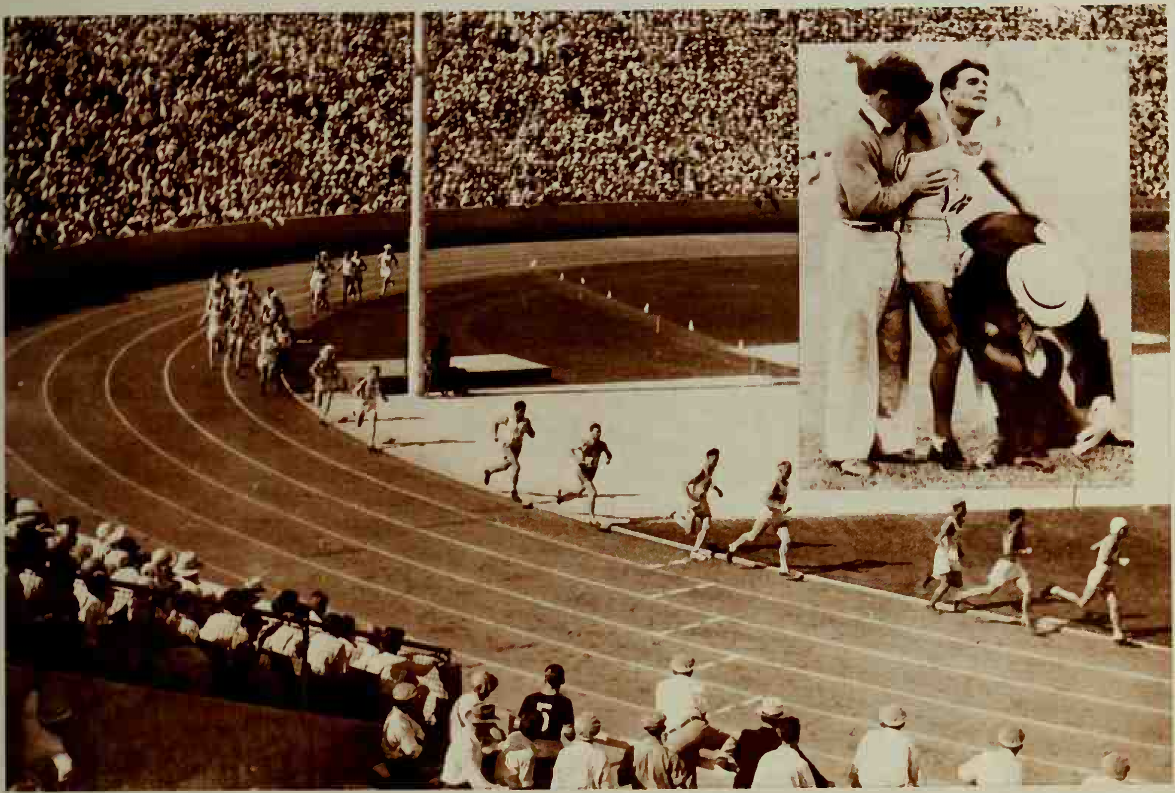
Mildred (Babe) Didrikson poised to win the U.S. javelin throw. She placed second to none except Jean Shiley (above) in the 5'5¼" high jump.



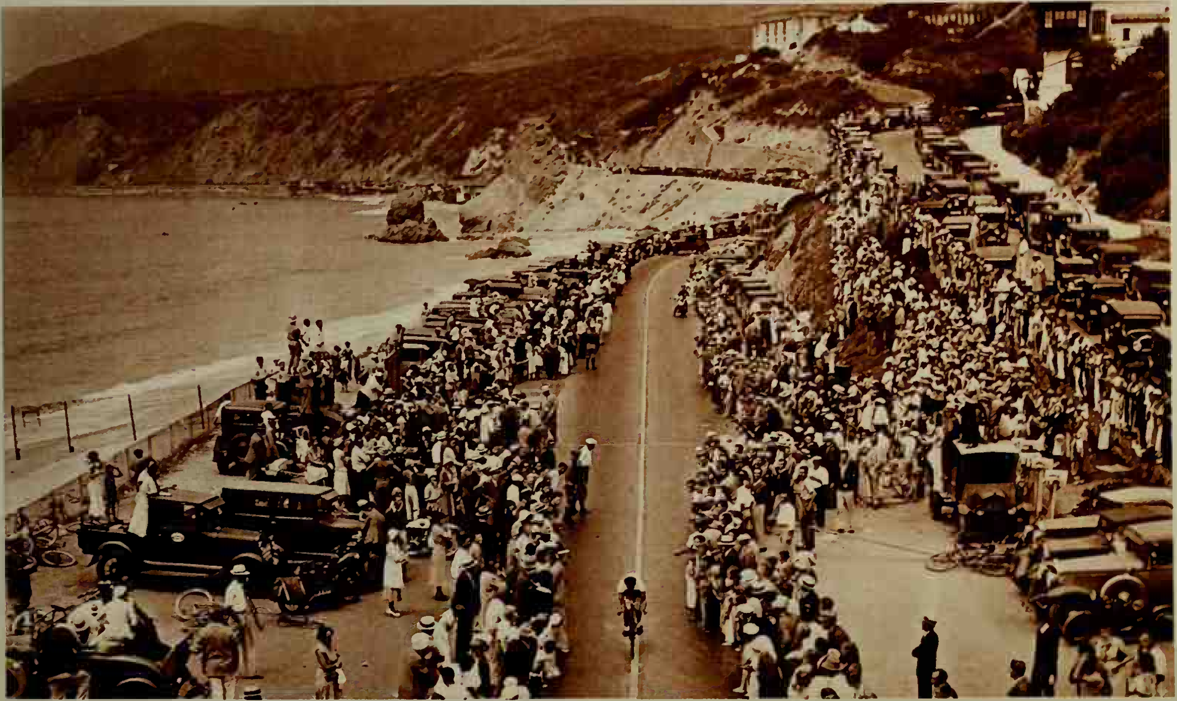
Eddie Tolan inches ahead of Ralph Metcalfe to finish first in the 100-meter dash. (Insert) Eddie Tolan, George Simpson and Ralph Metcalfe of the U.S. who came in 1st, 2nd, and 3rd in the 200-meter flat.



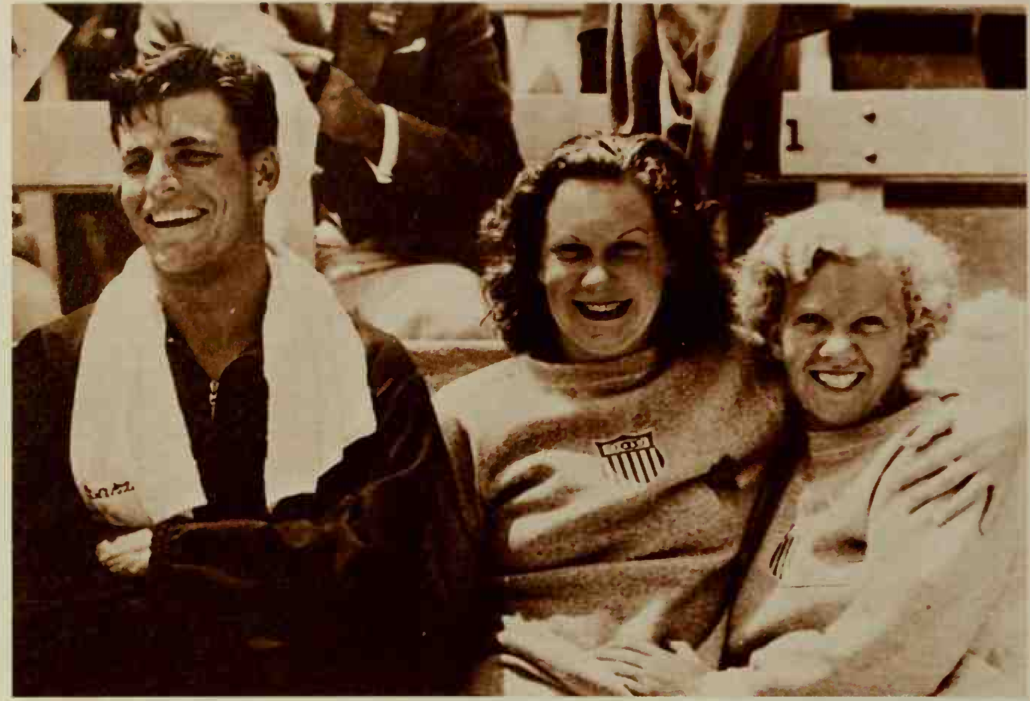
Lauri Lehtinen of Finland strains to beat out U.S. runner Ralph Hill in the 5000-meter flat. (Right) William Arthur Carr, U.S. winner of the 400-meter flat, sportingly shakes the hand of Ben Eastman who came in second.



Juan Zabala of Argentina wins the 26-mile marathon, leading from first lap to last.

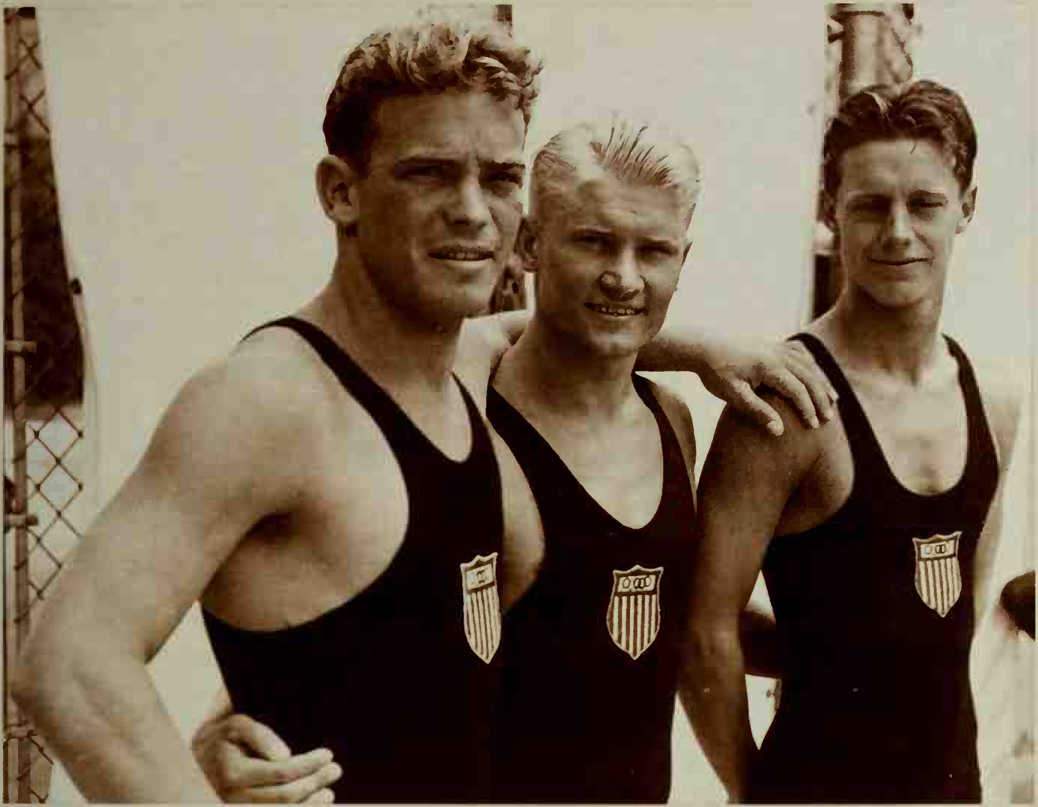


Attilio Pavesi of Italy cycles to victory in the 100-kilometer road race along Santa Monica's ocean front as crowds cheer.



Winning smiles of Clarence (Buster) Crabbe, 400-meter free style, Helene Madison, 100 and 400-meter free style swimming, and Georgia Coleman, springboard and second place in high-diving.

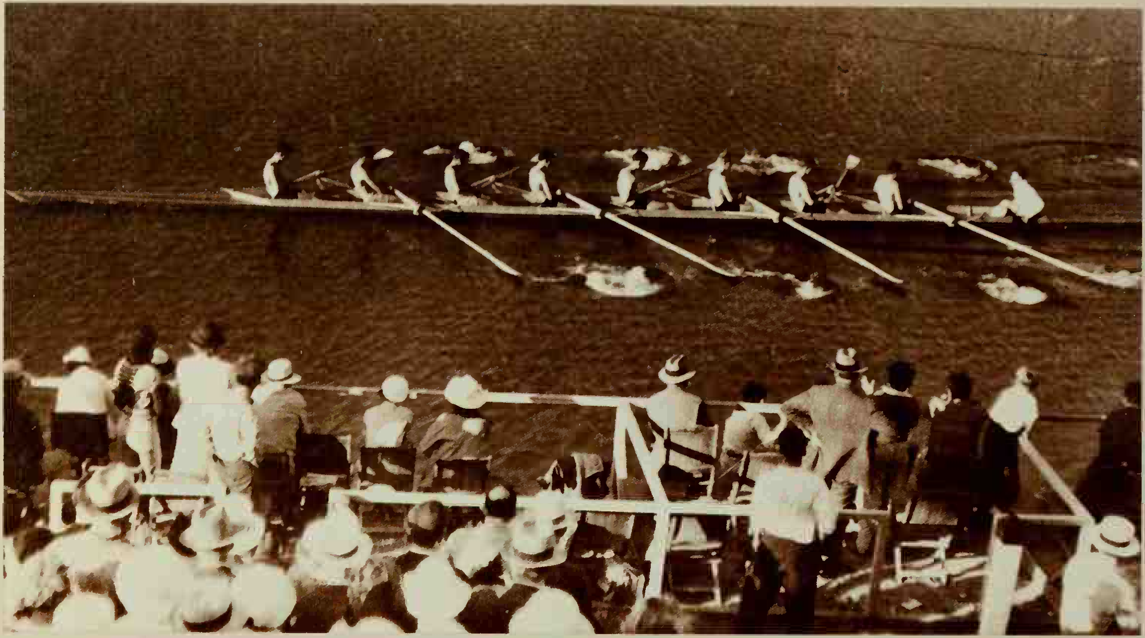
Glamorous Eleanor Holm backstroked her way to win the 100-meter race.



Harold Smith, Michael Galitzen and Frank Kurtz, high diving winners in that order.

James Bausch captures the decathlon for U.S. over Finland.

John Horn (Jack) Riley, U.S. heavyweight wrestler, takes the silver medal in second place.



U.S.A. rowing team on the Long Beach course returns with a gold medal. Left to right: Edwin Salisbury (stroke), James Blair, Duncan Gregg, David Dunlap, Charles Chandler, Harold Tower, Winslow Hill (bow), Norris Graham (coxswain).

An empty stadium glows under the Olympics torch at Games End.

CITIUS FORTIUS ALTIUS

> Before I was even into my teens, I knew exactly what I wanted to be when I grew up. My goal was to be the greatest athlete that ever lived.
> —Babe Didrikson Zaharias

Continued from page 12

lowered an inch for the jump off. Shiley sailed over with ease. Her form was the scissors. Using the Western Roll, Babe also cleared the bar.

The crowd was stunned as a judge came rushing up gesturing "no jump." Didrikson's leap, he said, was a dive. The rule, amended a year later, required a jumper to clear the bar with an arm and leg over before the head crossed the plane.

The grumbling in the press stands left no doubt the defense of the Texas lass would be loud and bitter. That tone in many newspaper stories the next day still lingered half a century later.

By comparison, the debate over whether Eddie Tolan or Ralph Metcalfe broke the tape in the 100-meter dash was soon forgotten. Unable to reach a unanimous decision, the judges turned to a new device, a photo-finish camera. It had been installed only for a test.

After almost a half hour wait to develop the picture, the victory was awarded to Tolan, the diminutive sprinter from Michigan. Even after many years, Metcalfe maintained he won. As for the new device, thirty-six years later at Mexico City, photo-electric finish cameras and timers replaced human judgings and hand stop watches.

To track and field experts, the biggest story of the Xth Olympiad was the termination of the dominance of Finland's distance runners.

It had lasted a long time, and reached a peak in Paris in 1924. There, led by Paavo Nurmi with two gold medals, the Finns swept first place in everything from the 1500 meters to the marathon. At Amsterdam, four years later, they settled for three out of four firsts.

The first blow fell before the games opened. The International Amateur Athletic Federation ruled Nurmi had made himself a professional by accepting expense money and thereby ending his amateur status. With Nurmi relegated to the role of a spectator, Finland had to settle for two victories, and one of these was tainted. In the 5000-meter run, after leading from the starting gun, Lauri Lehtinen suddenly was challenged on the final turn by an unsung runner named Ralph Hill from Oregon.

Each time Hill sought to sprint past the Finn, Lehtinen swerved out in front and cut him off. After the second such obvious foul the crowd rose to its feet and booed lustily. At that juncture, the calming voice of Bill Henry, public address announcer, took over. In gentle chastisement he pleaded: "Remember, these people are our guests." Shamed into silence, the crowd watched Hill, his energy now spent, stagger to the tape only inches behind the Finn, in second place. After Henry's public admonishment, merited though the crowd's complaint was, there was no claim of foul either by the judges or United States coaches.

Another of the unforgettable incidents in the running was the marathon victory by Juan Carlos Zabala, jockey-sized harrier from Argentina. The diminutive South American led from start to finish, thrilling the crowd with a closing spurt as he entered the stadium, to defeat Samuel Ferris of Great Britain by less than a hundred yards.

Led by Helene Madison and Eleanor Holm, the United States dominated the women's swimming events. It was a different story in the men's aquatics. Were it not for Clarence (Buster) Crabbe's record setting triumph in the 400-meter freestyle, it might have been a sweep for the Japanese.

There was one political incident to mar the games. Only a handful of those in the 87,056-person crowd saw it and understood the significance as a half-dozen youths leaped from the stands and unfurled a banner which read: "Free Billings and Mooney." Warren T. Billings and Tom Mooney had been sentenced to prison for allegedly bombing a Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco in 1916. Guilt had not been adequately established. A scattered few still espoused their cause.

The closing ceremony at the Coliseum was subdued in tone. The 1,200-voice choir sang "Aloha" with the spectators joining in the chorus, ". . .Farewell to thee." Trumpeters atop the stadium peristyle sounded taps as the Olympics flame faded and died.

"May the Olympic torch pursue its way through the ages," read the inscription on the large message board inside the stadium.

The finest Olympic Games ever staged had been held in defiance of a world depression. One indelible imprint left by the Olympics on the community is the enthusiasm generated among athletes of ensuing generations. Three decades later, of the 365 competitors selected for the United States that went to Tokyo, 101 came from California. Of the thirty-six gold medals won by the 1969 squad, twenty were collected by Southern California athletes. The ratio persists to this day.

1984 A.D. The promise is great, Los Angeles gets ready.

RUNNING WITH A DREAM

by Jack Smith

At twelve, he won a blue ribbon. At sixteen, his legs were gone and he went to the '32 Olympiad not to run but to cheer.

I went into training for the '32 Olympics in 1928, dead serious. I didn't smoke. I didn't drink. I didn't carouse.

I was the third fastest man in John Muir Junior High School, Whittier, California. Only four people could beat me in the 75-yard dash. They were Roger Wilson, Carl Linkletter, Dorothy Welch and Lucille Logue.

I was gaining on Wilson and Linkletter every day. Welch and Logue didn't count. Women didn't compete with men at John Muir, any more than they did in the Olympics, which was only fair, the way they tend to mature earlier.

If you think I am kidding about this, you don't understand what it meant to a twelve-year-old boy to know that the Olympic games were coming to town, so to speak, and to believe that he might have a chance to make the team—to represent his country against the world.

I dreamed of running a world-record 100 meters in the Coliseum and breaking the tape with the red, white and blue shield of the United States of America on my breast.

My Aunt Effie knew better. She cautioned me against such vainglorious expectations.

"I can do it," I told her. "I'm getting better every day."

I don't believe I told her about Lucille and Dorothy; I didn't think she'd understand the system.

"Well, then," she said, "maybe you can."

I realize now that she simply didn't want to crush my self-esteem.

My hopes reached their zenith in the spring track meet of 1929. I was at the peak of my form that year, and was running in the 75-yard dash

against Wilson and Linkletter. The rest of the field didn't really count. They didn't have a chance. And of course Welch and Logan weren't in it.

I was keyed up that day. Believe me, world-class athletes are always keyed up before a contest. It was a fine spring afternoon. I remember it still: the clean sky, the bracing weather, the green hills of Whittier, the festive atmosphere of the playing field. Classes were dismissed. The bleachers were full. The air was rent with the cries of schoolgirls cheering on their champions.

I trotted out to the track to pick my lane and dig my starting holes. There was something odd about the starting line. I noticed that it was not at right angles to the running lanes.

My class wasn't into plane geometry yet, but any schoolboy could see that the outside lane with the obtuse angle would be shorter than the others—unless, of course, the finish line was also angled, and parllel to the starting line. Hmmmn.

I trotted down to the finish line. It was at right angles to the running lanes. Ergo . . . Whoever ran in the outside lane with the obtuse corner would run a shorter distance than his competitors.

My heart pumped. With that advantage I could easily beat Wilson and Linkletter! There wasn't that much difference between us. Would it be cheating? It wasn't my fault, was it, that the starting line was wrong. It was fate. An act of the gods.

But every schoolboy had heard the inspiring words of Baron Pierre de Coubertin, father of the modern Olympic Games:

"The important thing in the Olympic Games is not to win but to take part. The important thing in life is not the triumph but the struggle. The essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well. To spread this precept is to build a stronger and more valiant, and, above all, a more scrupulous and more generous humanity."

I knew in my heart that if I kept silent and took the short lane and won the race I would not be helping to build a more scrupulous and more generous humanity.

I sought out our physical ed instructor. He had the starting gun, and would start the race. I tried to explain about the chalking, how the starting line was not parallel with the finish line, and so the lanes could not be of equal length.

He was trying to run the whole

track meet by himself and was too distracted for plane geometry.

"You better go get on your mark," he said.

What to do? The other boys were beginning to dig their holes. The short lane was not yet taken. Nobody else had seen what I had seen. Wasn't it dishonest to take that lane, knowing what I did? But why shouldn't I? Somebody was going to use it. Even the baron would have to agree that I had done my best.

I took the short lane and won the race.

For years I kept my blue ribbon, taking it with me from house to house, town to town, as we moved about. Then came marriage, and the war, and more moves, and somewhere along the line it was lost.

As I say, that race was the high mark of my Olympics hopes. By 1932 we had moved from Whittier to Los Angeles. We lived in an apartment near downtown and I was going to Belmont High School. My legs were gone. I was still fast enough to play left forward on the Class C basketball team, but I had lost my blazing speed. My musculature simply hadn't developed for the sprints.

I realized by then, of course, that my dream of running in the Olympics had never been realistic. My Aunt Effie was right. I was not world class, and never would be. Of course it had been childish of me to imagine that I would be ready at sixteen; but now that I was sixteen, I knew I wouldn't be ready at twenty, either, or twenty-four.

But he who is not a god pays homage to the gods.

I was consumed by Olympics fever. I read the sports pages of the *Los Angeles Times* avidly, every scrap of news and gossip and conjecture about the athletes who would be competing in Los Angeles that summer. I had many favorites, but my hero was Ben Eastman.

> I was consumed by Olympics fever. I read the sports pages of the *Los Angeles Times* avidly, every scrap . . . about the athletes who would be competing . . . I had many favorites, but my hero was Ben Eastman.

Eastman was rather an anomaly as an athlete. He was tall and bony and seemed to be all knees and elbows when he ran. He had long straight blond hair that bounced with every stride. In the year or two before the games he had become the best quarter-miler in the United States, except, perhaps, for William Arthur Carr.

Billy Carr was a Pennsylvania student, a disciplined young runner—short, trim and cool—who had turned in some startling times and was coming up fast. He was even regarded as a threat to Eastman. To me, he was the man in the black hat. The man we had to beat.

Who can explain hero worship? Ben Eastman was not a heroic figure in any classic sense. In fact he was rather funny looking. With his large horn-rimmed spectacles and his deceptive look of hapless uncoordination he reminded me of Harold Lloyd. Worst of all, he was a Stanford man, and my sun rose and set a few miles away at the University of Southern California.

But Eastman materialized in my eyes, through the cardboard-cutout sports reporting of the day, as a man of extraordinary grit and courage. He had my own virtues, beyond his physical talent.

He had a way of pacing himself in a race, looking beaten, then reaching down into some deep reservoir of energy and will, finding the right stuff, overtaking his opponents, flapping his arms and legs like some frantic bird, and flinging himself into the tape a winner.

This almost comic character was in the hierarchy of my heroes with Jack Dempsey, Red Grange and Babe Ruth, although, in the general consciousness of the nation, he never attained the mythic stature of those heroes.

In 1932 the world was deep in the Great Depression, though my own family was still living in upper middle class style. The crash had not yet swept my father into the abyss that was soon to claim him, and he indulged me with a book of tickets for the entire program of track and field events in the Coliseum. I can't remember any windfall of my childhood and youth that I treasured more or remember with such gratitude.

So I was there on Saturday, July 31, the opening day, when the torch was lighted above the peristyle, the great white Olympics flag was unfurled, cannons fired a ten-gun salute, trumpeters blew a fanfare, freed white doves rushed up in the summer sky, a great chorus of mixed voices sang the National Anthem, 1,500 athletes from most of the nations of the world paraded in their brilliant, variously colored blazers, and 100,000 people roared.

It was certainly the grandest and

most thrilling thing I have ever seen.

Baron de Coubertin's goal seemed at that shining moment to have been achieved. Surely that ceremony, bringing together the cream of the world's youth to compete in amity under the baron's rules, was the seal of his more generous humanity.

There was good reason to believe it. There might be unemployment, breadlines, bank failures; but Adolph Hitler had not yet come to power, and Franklin D. Roosevelt had accepted the Democratic nomination with a promise of "a new deal" for the American people.

It was of interest only to an elite group of scientists that an English physicist had split the atom, and they rejoiced.

Now, half a century later, I remember only the thrill and spectacle of that opening ceremony; for the details—the doves and the trumpets and the mixed voices and the guns—I have had to go back to the *Times* of the following day.

But I still remember vividly the 400-meter race in which Ben Eastman and Billy Carr settled, before the world, the question of who was the better man.

"The final between Carr and Eastman will be a classic," wrote Braven Dyer, the *Times* sportswriter, years later to become a friend and colleague. Dyer had nicknamed them Wee Willie and Blazin' Ben.

By the day of the race Carr was slightly the favorite, and I was worried. In my mind I can still see fragments of that race. They flash as clear as film clips. My seat in the Coliseum was close to the track, on the west turn, and I can still feel the terrible tension as the runners came round the bend. There were others, of course, among them Alexander Wilson of Canada, who was to finish in third place. But in my memory I see only Billy Carr and Ben Eastman.

For a few strides Eastman held the lead. He was near Valhalla, and I was about to enter whatever heaven there is for those who are not heroes but only worshippers.

Both had won their first heats, Eastman in 49 seconds, Carr in 48.8. The difference was slight and meaningless; both had been coasting. In the semi-final heats they wound it tighter. Eastman was clocked at 47.6, Carr at 47.2—only .2 of a second off the world record of 47 flat.

In the final, for the Gold Medal, they ran from a staggered start, compensating for the curves, so that each lane was the same length. Eastman started on the inside lane, Carr in the third. This was in Eastman's favor, the experts said, because he could see what Carr was doing.

A picture that ran the next day in the *Times* shows two other runners out in front at the halfway point, with Carr third and Eastman fourth. By the time they reached the three-quarter point, and were passing in front of me, Carr was in the lead, and Eastman was on his heels.

I can still see them coming around that turn. Carr running like an oiled pump, his whole body in control. His hands were cupped, not clenched; his black hair clung to his head like a cap. His breathing was measured, as if timed by a metronome. Mouth open, inhale; mouth shut, exhale. No straining, no gasping. Never had I seen a man run with such precision.

As they turned into the home stretch Eastman made his bid to pass. Braven Dyer described this dramatic moment the next day for readers of the *Times*:

"Carr was moving along smoothly on the curve, the perfect running machine. Then Ben went all out. His blond hair flashed in the sunlight as he dug in desperately in a courageous closing effort . . . He caught and passed Carr as the crowd roared. . . ."

For a few strides Eastman held the lead. He was near Valhalla, and I was about to enter whatever heaven there is for those who are not heroes but only worshippers.

"It was no use," wrote Dyer. "The greatest little running machine in the world had won."

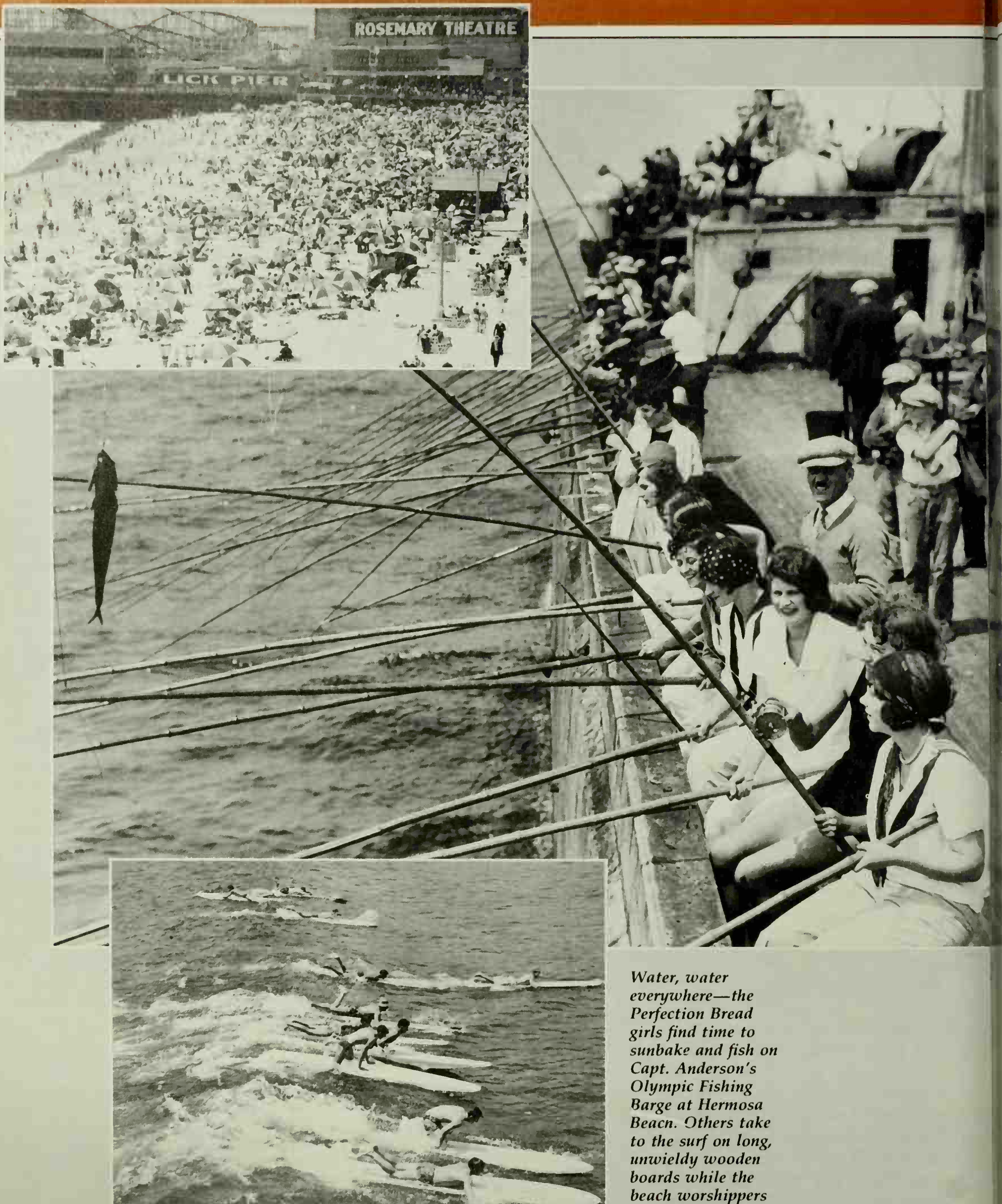
Carr had run the fastest 400 any man had ever run. Moving a stride ahead of Eastman a few yards before the tape, he had finished in 46.2, incredibly clipping .8 seconds off a mark that had gone untouched for four years.

"All hail the greatest quarter-miler of all time," wrote Dyer, going into his own home stretch. "Wee Willie Carr of Pine Bluff, Arkansas!

"More than 50,000 spectators fell back in their seats limp with exhaustion after watching Wee Willie win the greatest 400-meter race ever run on this planet. . . ."

At Moscow, in 1980, a Soviet runner named Viktor Markin won the 400 meters in 44.6.

As Kurt Vonnegut once said, "So it goes." Which means, roughly translated, sic transit gloria.



Water, water everywhere—the Perfection Bread girls find time to sunbake and fish on Capt. Anderson's Olympic Fishing Barge at Hermosa Beacn. Others take to the surf on long, unwieldy wooden boards while the beach worshippers lie on the sand in the shadow of Ocean Park Pier.

THE SPORTING LIFE

Sun, sea, space and a Mediterranean climate created an arena for Southern California's emergence as a sports capital

by Kevin Starr

It is no accident that the Los Angeles Basin should have developed over the past one hundred-plus years into the sports capital of the United States. American visitors to Southern California in the mid-nineteenth century praised the area for its salubrious Mediterranean climate, its accessible open spaces, its juxtapositioning of contrasting environments—seashore, plain, foothills and sierra—all within reasonable distance of each other. Commentators predicted that here, in Southern California, on the shores of the sundown sea, would rise up a species of American citizen healthy and happy in the joyous possession through recreation and sport of this glorious American region.

Organized sport came to Los Angeles in the mid-Victorian era, but even before that, in the first frontier period, Los Angelenos showed a passion for a pursuit—horse racing—that linked them psychologically and in actual contests with Californians of an earlier era. The vaqueros of Hispanic California were among the finest horsemen the world had ever seen; indeed, during the Hispanic era, when the economy of California depended primarily upon cattle, the Californios literally lived on horseback. The annals of Los Angeles chronicle frequent races and other equestrian contests in the 1850s and 1860s between the Hispanic Californians and the Yankees who had come into political possession of the territory. In the 300-vara (280-yard) race, Hispanics and Yankees would dash along the beach between a series of stakes set up to establish racing lanes. Most contests came down to encounters between Hispanic and Yankee horses, the betting being furious on both sides. Horse racing remained a popular spectator sport in the Los Angeles Basin throughout the nineteenth century. A vogue for Roman-style chariot racing occurred late in the century brought on by the popularity of Lew Wallace's novel *Ben Hur*.

As can be expected, such simple sports as foot racing, hiking and mountaineering were initially the most popular in Southern California, beginning in the late 1870s. These activities required little equipment and could be pursued with a minimum of expense. During this era, a number of walking associations were formed in Los Angeles, organizing their activities around two or three-day excursions through the coast regions or eastward into the Sierra Madre.

Established on September 8, 1880, by a group of forty young men from the Los Angeles area, the Los Angeles Athletic Club brought systematic instruction in gymnastics, track and field to Southern California. The 1880s witnessed the influx of thousands of middle class health-seekers into Southern California, and it is thus no accident that this decade also witnessed an explosion of interest in organized recreational sport. By 1883 the Athletic Club was capable of mounting a sports field day at Agricultural Park, in which members competed in running, jumping, shot-putting, hammer-throwing, bicycling and other track and field sports. Through the remaining years of the nineteenth century, the Los Angeles Athletic Club continued to prosper and to enlarge the scope of its activities; indeed, the history of organized sport in the Los Angeles Basin in the late nineteenth century is, by and large, identified with the activities of Club members.

Meanwhile, a new sport, bicycling, was established as an integral aspect of the Los Angeles lifestyle. Nowhere else in America did bicycling attain such instant and wide-spread popularity as it did in Los Angeles. By 1900, there were an estimated 30,000 bicycles in Los Angeles and numerous cycling associations, such as the Wheelmen, the Oberan Club, the Eastside Cycle Club, the Los Angeles Bicycle

A time to learn and a time to stretch; both are better at the beach.

Club and the Century Club. Cycling groups organized their activities around day-long excursions throughout the vast expanse of the Los Angeles Basin or, beginning in the late 1890s, around organized road races. The Santa Monica Road Race, for instance, began in downtown Los Angeles in front of the Los Angeles Athletic Club and continued for seventeen miles out Pico Boulevard to Santa Monica. During this golden age of bicycling in the 1890s, contests were held between clubs in Los Angeles and other cities and towns of the area. Los Angeles' superb climate and abundance of hard-packed level roadways made bicycling a natural sport.

Baseball, which was first played in Los Angeles in the early 1880s, experienced a similar surge of growth in the 1890s. In 1892, Los Angeles joined the California State Baseball League with a locally recruited team. In 1903, the league was expanded into the Pacific Coast Baseball League, in which Los Angeles won championships in 1903, 1905, 1907 and 1908. Baseball, moreover, became the first organized team sport to be played on a competitive basis among the high schools of the Los Angeles area which were being established at the turn of the century.

The largely prosperous and significantly upper middle class population which characterized greater Los Angeles in 1900 also brought along sports and activities—golf, tennis, yachting, polo, and cricket—associated with this socio-economic group. Established in March 1894, the Riverside Polo and Golf Club pioneered the playing of golf and polo in America; indeed, the Riverside course was one of the first golf courses to be organized in the United States. In the next few years, golf courses were laid out in Santa Barbara, Santa Monica, Redondo Beach, Pasadena and Los Angeles itself. In March 1892, the Riverside Polo club, a joint Anglo-American venture, brought polo to California for the first time. Four years later an expanded institution, the Riverside Polo and Golf Club, introduced the concept of a full service country club to the area.

The first tennis club in Southern California was formed in 1883 by the men and women of the City of San Gabriel. Tennis had also been played in Riverside since that same year. As part of the Southern California Lawn Tennis Association, organized in 1887, the Riverside Tennis Club played the tennis clubs of Pasadena, San Gabriel and Santa Monica in a yearly tournament held in Riverside. Santa Monica also quickly developed as a tennis center. In 1885, Santa Monica hosted the first tournament of the Southern California Lawn Tennis Association. By 1891 tennis had established itself as a popular sport in Los Angeles proper. Indeed, one might even suggest that greater Los Angeles must be given credit for making tennis a favored sport in America. The ease with which courts could be laid out, together with the excellent weather that made year-long playing possible, soon introduced tennis as a major aspect of the Southern California lifestyle. In 1904 a seventeen-year-old Los Angelino, Miss May Sutton, astonished the tennis world by winning the Wimbledon Women's Singles tennis title, the first American to achieve championship status in the London matches.

The Los Angeles Yacht Club was established in 1886, with one yacht, the *Rambler*, purchased for the membership. By the early 1900s, there were a half-dozen yachting associations operating on the Southern California coast. Like tennis, yachting prospered because of a balance of economic and environmental forces. In time, seashore Southern California would rival Southern New England and New York as the center of yachting activity in America.

At the same time that these elite sports were developing, more popular recreational activities continued to thrive. In the early 1890s, for instance, tug-of-war developed a strong following in Los Angeles. Various groups and associations—the Germans, the French, the Irish, the Hispanics and the Los Angeles Police Department—would meet for picnics and tug-of-war contests. These struggles could last for more than two hours, or they could be over in less than a minute, as the time when the Americans

Dry land lovers choose golf at the Wilshire Country Club, baseball with the Angels at Wrigley Field or rodeo horseplay.

The first lawn tennis meet (1884) of the Southern California Tennis Club was a family affair. Tennis everyone?

The East Side Cycle Club (1896) seems determined to get going on a 25-mile race. Not much later (1908) Pasadena cheers on the chariot racers.

pulled the Los Angeles Police Department in thirty-one seconds.

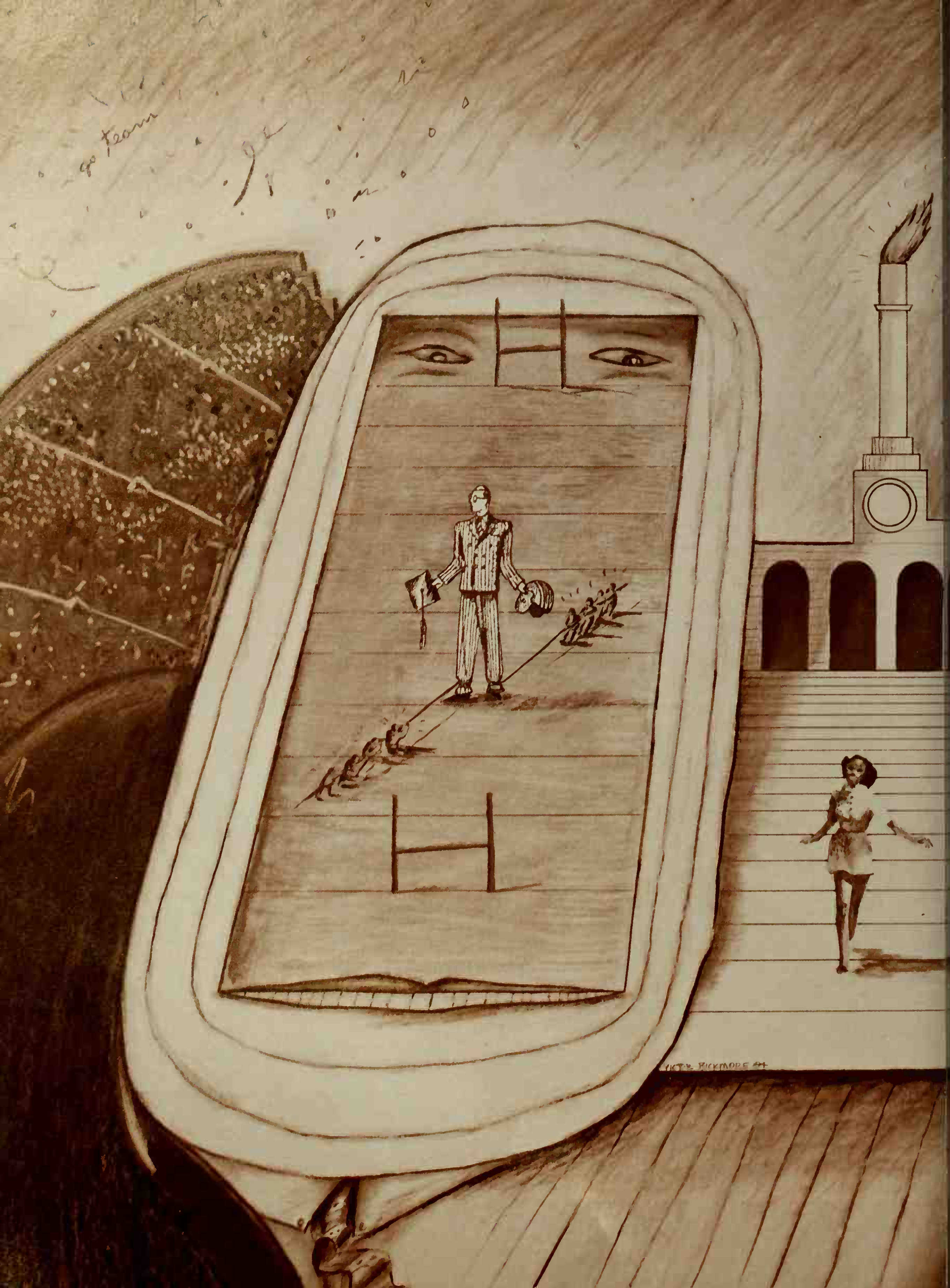
In 1896, Colonel Griffith J. Griffith donated 3,500 acres of the old Rancho Los Feliz to the city for use as a public park. For a while, the trees of Griffith Park were cut for firewood, but, eventually, with the park's proper development, together with the establishment of Hollenbeck Park, Eastlake Park, Westlake Park, Echo Park, and Exposition Park, Los Angeles enjoyed an excellent network of open spaces for sports, picnics and other recreational gatherings.

As expected, Los Angelenos also loved the seaside. On weekends and holidays they flocked by electric trolley to the seashore. Manhattan Beach, Hermosa Beach, Redondo Beach, Playa Del Rey, Huntington Beach, Newport Beach—one by one, seaside resorts grew up, Long Beach and Santa Monica becoming the city's favorites. The plunge bath at Long Beach was said to be the finest in the country. Beginning in the late 1890s, Santa Monica sponsored an annual tennis tournament, followed by a ball at the Arcadia Hotel. In 1892 William and Hancock Banning, sons of the great Southland entrepreneur Phineas, after purchasing Santa Catalina Island for about $150,000, developed the island as a summer resort.

Indoor swimming pools were scarce in early Los Angeles, which accounts in part for the rapid popularity of seaside bathing long before this recreational activity became acceptable in the rest of the United States. Again, as in the case of gymnastics, track and field, the Los Angeles Athletic Club, specifically in the person of George Freeth, its swimming instructor, must be given credit for the introduction of surf boarding to Southern California. Mastering this sport in Hawaii, Freeth brought it to Southern California in 1907 when railroad magnate Henry Huntington hired him as an instructor in the seaside Plunge and Pavillion that Huntington had established in Redondo Beach. Crowds would gather to watch Freeth ride the waves, Hawaiian style, standing atop the surf board. Thanks to this pioneering surfer and water sports enthusiast, water polo was also introduced to Southern California, and the country's first volunteer life guarding association was founded.

The rise of college and university athletics also occurred during the turn-of-the-century period. During the 1890s, Pomona, Chaffey, Occidental College and the University of Southern California began to compete systematically in track and field. In the fall of 1892, the Southern California Inter-Collegiate Athletic Association was formed. Collegiate rivalry also accounted for what is perhaps the most popular annual athletic event in Southern California, the Tournament of Roses. Organized by sportsman Charles Frederick Holder in the late 1880s, the Valley Hunt Club of Pasadena grew into a socially prestigious organization, devoted to the chase: horses and greyhounds after rabbits in its simpler beginnings, fox hunting in full regalia in later years. On New Year's Day the Valley Hunt Club held a great indoor picnic, followed in the evening by a Hunt Ball. In 1890, a Tournament of Roses, consisting of riding contests in the style of Spanish California, followed the picnic. The Tournament of Roses grew more and more formalized and elaborate through the 1890s. By 1907, it had grown to a floral parade in the morning, chariot races and other riding contests in the afternoon, and a ball at the Hotel Green in the evening. A Tournament of Roses Association, formed to run the annual event, made it an extended civic celebration over the years, turning the floral pageant into a full-scale downtown parade and replacing the riding competitions with a college football game.

The first Tournament of Roses inter-collegiate football game was played between the University of Michigan and Stanford on January 1, 1902. Michigan trounced Stanford 49-0; but the point had been made—while much of the nation suffered beneath winter snow, Southern Californians could gather in an open-air stadium for a football game. This interaction among factors of pageant, sport, and celebration of region was, and remains, at the core of the Los Angeles and Southern California athletic experience. In sport, men and women express, primarily, delight in physical existence. It was this same joy in physicality—in the disciplined movement of the human body in athletic contest—that motivated early Southern Californians to bring such a wide variety of sports to their developing region. That commitment continues to this day, for the same motivations—delight in physical existence, a love of sport, a joyous affirmation of a sunny and open environment—still animate Southern Californians who celebrate life and time, place and creative struggle, through the various stylized contests that constitute athletics.


go team
VICTOR RICKMORE '84

THE GAMES SCHOOLS PLAY

As the universities grew, so grew the Olympics movement in California—physical and mental culture vied for place

by Larry L. Meyer

The relationship between California's universities and the Olympics movement has been of long duration but only sporadic intimacy. The frictions have been many in this marriage of convenience, and a certain mental distance separates the parties. Yet the currents of history have forced the schools and the Games together, for better or worse, for richer or poorer.

Although the University of California's Fred Kelly won the 110-meter hurdles at Stockholm in 1912, and his teammate Almer Richards took the gold in the high jump, it wasn't until the 1920s that California collegians appeared in disproportionate numbers among the medal winners at Antwerp, Paris and Amsterdam. That's when the nation's press began taking note of those "sky-climbing Californians" and "fast-flying youngsters from the Coast."

In a sense, the growth of the modern Olympics movement paralleled that of California, its universities and the predisposition both show toward what Margaret Toohey, Associate Professor of Physical Education at California State University Long Beach, feels is "a body consciousness . . . a fixation with physical culture." Certainly the track-and-field successes of the state's collegiate athletes—particularly those from the powerful teams at the University of Southern California, Stanford and the University of California, Berkeley, and the later performances of the University of California Los Angeles, and California State University Long Beach—would support that claim.

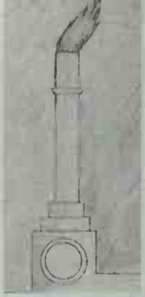
Until 1932, the contribution of California's schools was indirect, confined to training athletes for intercollegiate track and field competition, only to see the best of them go off to compete against the world's best abroad. In 1932, however, the Games arrived in Los Angeles in what came to be known as "The Friendly Olympics," and a model of efficient planning and management as well.

Such a happy and harmonious relationship between gown and games would not continue. For that matter, neither would the swarmy goodwill which blessed the Xth Olympiad. Tensions and conflict existed in American amateur sports just as they did in the relations between nations.

The struggle for control of America's amateur athletes predated the 1906 founding of the body that would call itself the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). It even predated the American Athletic Union (AAU), which was founded in 1888 and quickly displaced an older rival, the National Association of Amateur Athletics. The AAU remained the dominant body in the 1920s and held onto its power into the 1930s, even though it was largely a paper organization and usually employed college coaches and personnel to manage and officiate the meets it sponsored.

The times, however, were achanging. Swimming and diving—both Olympics sports—gradually shifted their loci from the Illinois Athletic Club and the New York Athletic Club west in their quest for a more agreeable climate. Water polo likewise made the shift. Volleyball blossomed on Southern California's beaches. All found homes in the state's extensive high school athletic programs and on the college and university campuses.

The conclusion of World War II saw the resumption of the Olympic Games in 1948, and many of the world's best athletes—Americans conspicuously among them—arrived in London after a twelve-year hiatus. That many got there quickly by airplane was one sign of change. Two more could be divined by checking the gold medal winners in the twenty-four track and field events. Mel Patton of USC in the 200 meters; Wilbur Thompson of USC in the shot put; Ray Cochran of USC in the 400-meter hurdles; Cliff Bourland of USC in the 1600-meter relay; Willie Steele of San Diego State in the running broad jump; Guinn Smith, formerly of the University of California at Berkeley, in the pole vault; and the remarkable seventeen-year-old high school student from Tulare, California, Bob Mathias, who won the decathlon. Clearly, Californians dominated. Of significance, they, along with sev-



eral other American medal winners, and the many thousands of Americans who read of their feats in the newspapers, were going to school.

The colleges and universities, now suppliers of nearly 80 percent of the nation's Olympics athletes, wanted control of "their own" through the NCAA. The AAU, which traditionally served the needs of the pre-college, post-college and non-college athlete through athletic clubs, resisted. Charges and countercharges welled up from the nation's sports sections onto its general news pages intermittently through the Fifties, Sixties and into the Seventies. NCAA officials charged AAU officials with exploiting the athlete and not caring for "the whole person," as the universities did; with being a clique of good old boys traveling the world on a freeload, playing bridge with their wives in the club car while poor athletes sat on the floors of third-class cattle cars; with corrupting young amateur athletes with under-the-table payments, or looking away when some airline or shoe manufacturer paid them off.

And the AAU had some fault to find with the NCAA, too. It was the universities—with their "use-up-their-athletic-eligibility-and-then-dump-them"philosophy—that were doing the exploiting; moreover, the colleges didn't care that much about how well the nation did in the Olympics, but were more parochially concerned with conference championships and NCAA tournaments. As for calling the AAU kettle black, there were those recurring grade tampering scandals and disclosures of payoffs proffered by alumni booster clubs.

What might have remained a minor feud, with no one getting hurt except the athletes, became a national issue in the 1950s and 1960s when the Soviet Union, and subsequently the German Democratic Republic, suddenly emerged as world athletic powers, using sport to showcase the "superiority" of their political systems. The United States Congress felt strong pressure in the 1960s to intervene in the NCAA-AAU war, but not surprisingly chose deliberation as the better part of valor.

In the 1970s, however, a flurry of legislation was enacted that would leave a lasting impact on American amateur athletics. The Amateur Sports Act of 1978, which received strong support from college coaches, clipped the AAU's wings by ruling that no organization could hold more than one membership in an international sports-governing federation. The effect was to break the AAU up into separate federations, such as TAC (for track and field), USS (swimming), USD (diving), and so on, and to put the U.S. Olympic Committee virtually in charge of non-collegiate domestic athletes. The effect has calmed matters some, though the old feud still simmers, and conflicts still arise because the various sports federations are free to set their own rules of eligibility, which are often at odds with the more rigid NCAA regulations.

Other legislation blindsided the colleges and universities. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 mandated the withholding of funds from any institution receiving federal financial assistance that discriminated on the basis of sex in its education programs. Though Title IX did not become effective until 1975, it has nonetheless changed dramatically the nature and direction of American intercollegiate athletics.

Traditionally, women athletes have received little attention and even less support. Women had been discouraged, for instance, from competing in the 1932 Olympics, even banned from the Olympic Village, though Gwynn Wilson remembers 150 or so showing up anyway, many of them products of the Illinois Womens Track Club. According to Professor Margaret Toohey, this discouragement came from almost everywhere—coaches, physical educators, even then-president of the AAU, Avery Brundage, who thought the ancient Greeks had it right in forbidding women from participating in the Games, or even watching them.

The upshot was that collegiate athletic programs, which served as a training ground for both professional and Olympics male athletes, remained largely closed to women, forcing the determined ones to join athletic clubs for a place to train. Larry Houston, retired director of physical activities for the Los Angeles city schools, local AAU secretary, one time manager of the men's Olympic Track and Field Team in 1956 and assistant Technical Director at the 1932 Olympics, remembers being called on the carpet during his tenure with the school system. Appreciating the desire of some girls to compete in sports, he organized what he called "jamborees" rather than the ugly word "competition." Yet he was chastised for it. Didn't he know it wasn't ladylike for girls to compete in sports?

Once again the successes of the Eastern Bloc countries goaded the U.S. to support its amateur athletes—women as well as men. Further momentum was provided by the American womens' movement, which

Title Nine has been very beneficial to the womens' program . . . and it's a tragedy that the federal government had to tell us to do what was long overdue.

wasn't shy about using the federal courts to pressure the mostly male-controlled school athletic departments into complying with Title IX. Title IX generated athletic scholarships for women, provided them with intercollegiate competition that kept them in training longer, and seems to have improved the quality of American women's performance in international competition.

"Title IX has been very beneficial to the womens' program," says Dick Perry, "and it's a tragedy that the federal government had to tell us to do what was long overdue." Perry, however, points out that the federal government sent no money to implement its decision, and that many schools have been hard hit. He fears that Title IX will result in cutbacks in non-income producing collegiate athletics, which generally are the Olympics sports.

Other coaches see Title IX as benefitting women at the expense of men. They point to smaller schools which have had to discontinue athletic programs and express fears that collegiate women will field teams just to get the available money. In the aftermath of Proposition 13 and later funding cuts, college athletic departments find themselves constantly scraping and skimping. Not surprisingly, many are looking to football and basketball programs, with their lucrative television revenues, to take up the slack. But here, too, the rules of the game have been changed—this time by the schools themselves.

The NCAA came under sharp attack in the late 1970s, and its policies and practices even became the subject of a year-long special congressional investigation in 1978. A few years earlier, the NCAA, ostensibly to save money for the hard-pressed schools but apparently in the interest of a more equitable distribution of talent as well, placed limits on the number of athletic scholarships a member school could offer. This 1975 change in bylaws may have opened up the race for college football's holy grail, that mythical national championship the pollsters determine, but the across-the-board reduction in financial aid awards also cut into the Olympics sports, with a restriction of fifteen scholarships in track and field and thirteen in swimming.

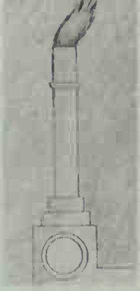
How the colleges and universities have responded to that reduction brings into the open a series of inter-related philosophical polarities that beset American athletics: Nationalism or internationalism; East versus West; provincialism or cosmopolitanism; the individual versus the team; honor or riches; amateurism versus professionalism. The tensions beg two questions: What is the purpose of the Games? What is the purpose of the university?

One way universities responded to scholarship limitations was to be more selective in awarding them. Why invest in the mere potential of an American high school student when you can offer that scholarship to a seasoned foreign athlete you don't have to develop? Especially when just a few such foreign performers could conceivably bring a school an NCAA championship?

Jim Bush, UCLA's highly respected and soon to retire head coach, emphatically answers, "Because it discriminates against the American athlete" who must borrow to make ends meet in today's academic marketplace. The shortsighted chase of conference titles or NCAA championships only helps foreign Olympics teams, which the United States competes against, by giving their athletes the training methods and the competitive seasoning we deny some of our own. Bush is unabashedly a nationalist, and he fears an impending embarrassment administered by the Eastern Bloc, still simmering after the 1980 U.S. boycott, right in our self-proclaimed "sports capital of the world."

Bush draws cross-town disagreement from Dick Perry at USC, whose coaches have been active in sharing knowledge with Third World countries. Perry views intercollegiate athletics as a means to further the university's international mission. "Any great university should take pride in its international mix . . . if it's good for the geology or biology major, why isn't it good for the athlete?" Perry cites the results of the 1976 Montreal games as evidence of USC's dual commitment to the Olympics Games and to international understanding (which in perhaps more quixotic times were seen as the means and end of the Olympics Movement). USC sent seventeen different athletes representing five different nations, and they tied the world for sixth place in gold medal production. "We take as much pride in our association with Murray Rose, the great Australian swimmer, as we do in John Nabor," says Perry, who views California's universities as the minor leagues of the Olympic Games.

That's a two-way tug, between idealists. Enter now, at the third point of the triangle, the realist. Andrew Strenk, Olympics swimmer by way of Fullerton High School and USC, also with a doctorate in history, who



has looked deeply into the Olympics' past and has taught courses in the subject, and now conducts public relations for the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, speaks for many American athletes. He deplores the jurisdictional wars waged by the NCAA and AAU, faults the NCAA for its unrealistic restrictions on college athletes, and doubts that the universities are all that interested in the performances of United States' athletes in the Olympic Games. Most schools, he points out, do not participate in very many of the twenty-one recognized Olympics sports, and such events as soccer, weightlifting and the pentathlon get virtually no support at all.

Of course to many Americans the Olympics mean track and field, and colleges still play a major, if lessening, role in preparing athletes for the quadrennial contests. Strenk agrees with Bush that collegiate recruitment of foreign athletes has, in effect, funded foreign teams and hurt an already fragmented American program. The Games' lofty purposes of celebrating individual performance and breaking down the walls of nationalism may still be shared by the few, but the many—including most prominently and successfully the Eastern Bloc countries—think nationalism. They see the Olympiads as political platforms from which to tout a system, put on a face, or save one. Adds Bush: "The Russians reward helping and pooling knowledge; we reward individual achievement—competition—not the helpers."

Addressing the purpose of athletics on the campus, Doctor Norman Miller, former director of intramural sports at UCLA, holds the traditional view that universities should play an incidental role in supplying Olympics athletes, their greater purpose being to educate the whole man or woman, with athletics remaining a means for the economically or socially disadvantaged to attain an education. USC's Dick Perry expands on the idea of schools preparing the athlete to live "a broadly based life." "What does Nadia Comaneci do after she's done competing?" he asks rhetorically. He proceeds to cite Frank Gifford, Ron Fairly and Lynn Swann as great USC athletes who have made successful switches from professional athlete to media commentator, then a longer list of Olympics medal winners from USC who are now prominent in business or the professions.

All the same, in terms of competitive advantages the state-supported athlete—tended to by physiologists, psychologists, nutritional experts, physical therapists, orthopedic surgeons, what have you—has a tremendous head start over the American college athlete who at best scrapes along on the barely adequate benefits provided on a full athletic scholarship. Of course most of the best of them don't, but get financial help elsewhere to enable them to train—beyond the restrictive reach of the NCAA.

Andrew Strenk brands Walter Byers, Executive Director of the NCAA, a "modern-day Avery Brundage" who upholds "the ancient and discredited idea that somehow there is something good and pure about amateurism in sport." What does it matter, he asks, whether the state, one's parent, or a shoe manufacturer pays the necessary costs of training an athlete, particularly when the colleges and universities are increasingly less able or inclined to support that athlete? Most world-class athletes on the campus are either drawn into America's high-paying professional sport leagues or find financial assistance (and often more than mere aid) somewhere else, even if it means competing for an athletic club rather than a university.

Implied in the tensions that strain the already tenuous, if traditional, ties between campus athlete and the Olympic Games is the reality that the modern Olympian differs significantly from his 1932 counterpart. In manifold ways. He is bigger, stronger, faster. "Back then a season was a season," says Ducky Drake, UCLA's venerable trainer and formerly its track coach for nineteen years. "Nowadays all sports seem to be year-round sports, with athletes working all the time."

That athlete is more conscious of good nutrition and the benefits of weight training, explains USC's current track coach, Vern Wolf, one of the pioneers in the latter. "We used to think it made you muscle-bound and impeded performance," he admits. "To our surprise, we have found that it actually makes you stronger and enhances performance." Wolf confirms the consensus view that today's athlete is simply "more dedicated, more purposeful."

Today's athlete also appreciates the long term value of media exposure and the potential for exploiting sports to his personal advantage later in life, says USC's Dick Perry. There are product endorsements, business opportunities, even an edge in entering the professions. In addition, for the world class athletes there usually is money-under-the-table—sometimes large amounts of it—from meet sponsors.

Called into question is not simply how well or poorly the universities serve the nation's Olympics needs. The deeper issue asks the purpose of athletics on the campus.

Goodyear Blimp over the UCLA campus.

America's modern Olympic athlete has changed in another way, believes Jim Bush. "Back in 1932 it was an honor to represent your country," he says. "But Americans now lack the nationalistic temper they used to have . . . they lack the interest and pride in representing the United States."

If Jim Bush is correct, then, that product of the university wed to gentlemanly sport is all but dead. Moreover, his descendents, bigger, faster, stronger, more self-centered and self-assured, may even rupture that long if frayed tie between California's (and the nation's) universities and the Olympic Games. Increasingly, world class athletes are doing what UCLA's Evelyn Ashford does. She attends UCLA, but does not compete for its track team. It is not in the athlete's best interest to do so, according to candid Andrew Strenk. Participating in dual meets, where one may be asked to enter events for the sake of "dear old state," takes too much out of the athlete and increases the risk of injury, so he or she joins an athletic club instead. "In a club you have more control over events you'll compete in; at college you do the coach's bidding."

As important a reason for the increase in defections from the college ranks, according to Strenk, is the medieval strictures placed on the athlete by NCAA rules. This is in contrast to more liberalized rules employed by various federations under the AAU umbrella, which allow athletes to receive money in a trust fund, in order to pay their expenses while competing and cash in when they're done. Consequently, the American "amateur" athlete, raised in the same atmosphere of competitive individualism as his professional counterpart, can now pursue the gold not struck into medals. This does not favor the already shaky marriage of academic gown and laurel crown.

An ironic footnote attends the fifty-plus-years' relationship between the universities and the Olympics movement, in which the schools have provided medal-winning athletes and received little in return. The Los Angeles games, admittedly spartan, will be different. Financed by corporate sponsors, the various facilities built on the campuses will be left behind once the XXIIIrd Olympiad is history. USC will have a new swim stadium courtesy of McDonald's hamburgers, California State University Dominguez Hills will have a velodrome, courtesy of the 7-Eleven stores, and other schools will have new Olympics-quality tracks courtesy of other corporate sponsors eager for a brush with the Olympics luster.

by Sam Balter

THE BIG SPORTSCAST

They will be coming here in July '84 by the thousands to report their findings to the rest of the world. There will be 8,000 media representatives from more than 150 nations, eager to look, question, comment and thrill over the XXIIIrd Olympiad of the modern era.

It will be the greatest outpouring of press, radio, and television ever to cover a sports event, even though the event will consist of twenty-three different sports and will be conducted over a period of sixteen days. The task of providing special facilities for radio, television, photographers, and the writing press is a huge one, dwarfing all previous efforts, especially those of the last Games held here fifty-two years ago.

The massive Los Angeles Convention Center will be the headquarters for the written and photographic media; it will be the scene of the most intensive activity. There will also be booths for radio and television commentators.

The main floor of the Convention Center measures over 210,000 square feet, ample enough for the major news services to arrange their offices, along with photographic laboratories and general news areas. Over seventy-five offices are available for the world's larger news organizations, most of whom have already booked their locations. Outside the offices, on the floor proper, non-agency journalists will find a huge area complete with tables, chairs and typewriters. The official supplier of typewriters, the Brother Company, will offer forty-four different keyboards, including French, German, Russian, Spanish, and Chinese.

For the actual filing of reports, there will be telephones, as well as telexes and telecopiers for facsimile transmissions. Over 100 telephones, accepting credit cards and reversed billings, will be at the disposal of the journalists, as well as sixty telex machines plus additional off-line machines for those reporters who wish to punch their own tapes. Xerox telecopiers can send entire pages to national and overseas receivers at a speed of about thirty seconds. The American Broadcasting Company has been designated for exclusive television coverage, coordinating the needs of rights-holding electronic media as partners with the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee. Photographic media will find their needs covered by LAOOC sponsors Canon and Fuji. Both these companies will offer complete camera repair facilities, including a loaner program for those who suffer equipment failure. Fuji anticipates that 250,000 rolls will be developed during the Olympics period.

All of these facilities are downstairs, not to mention thousands of lockers, banking, postal, and air freight facilities, plus food facilities in the Convention Center's 220-seat restaurant, 484-seat cafeteria, and 124-seat cocktail lounge.

Upstairs is a giant hall for news conferences, which will be equipped with microphones, multiple-output boxes, and seats for approximately 1,000 reporters.

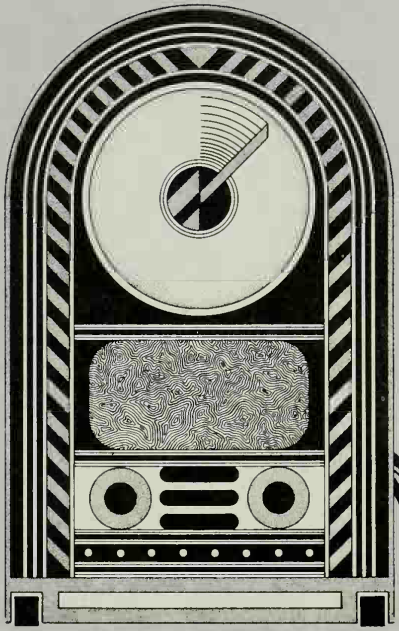
Transportation will be provided to take media representatives from media-designated hotels to the Convention Center as well as to the competitive venues or localities all over Southern California, a major convenience. (I remember trying to cover the Games in Rome in 1960 for both my radio broadcasts and my daily column in the *Los Angeles Herald-Express*. With my hotel miles from the press center in one direction and more miles in the opposite direction to the main stadium it was virtually impossible to do the required seeing, writing and broadcasting. Our visitors will have a much easier time.)

At each of the sites, seats as well as special tables will be reserved for the media. Radio and television people will use specially designed booths equipped with television monitors. The results of the various sports events will be sent to these centers as well as to the Convention Center. At most sites, electronic mail terminals capable of providing messages (even of a personal nature), global communications and Olympics information will be available. Never before in Olympics history has so much information been placed at a reporter's fingertips.

For radio and television people, there is more. An International Broadcast Center will be set up in Hollywood to provide for electronic editing needs. Satellite circuits will be used to transmit the vision and sound of the Games to an estimated 2.5 billion people, over half the population of the earth. It is estimated that ABC, through both its television and radio networks, will have an unprecedented 208 hours of coverage for American audiences. Australia will see some 250 hours and Europe a staggering 450 hours.

How do these superlatives and astronomical figures compare with the

Radio made some waves, some telephones rang and the message got through. Today 8,000 reporters and boggling electronic equipment will break Olympics news records.



Xth Olympiad held in Los Angeles?

The Games of '32 need apologize to none. New Olympics records were established in every event but one (the broadjump); the first-ever Olympic Village was built here; there were no major traffic or smog problems; and record crowds attended all the events, a capacity greater than 100,000 for the opening and closing day ceremonies. This was noteworthy in view of the fact that the Games were held in the midst of a world-wide depression.

But the difference in press-coverage is enormous. There were no facilities available at sites away from the Coliseum. Television, of course, had not yet been invented. As for radio, there were no operating networks. Bill Henry seemed to have had the only microphone for broadcasting the news of the events being viewed by the spectators. Henry, technical director of the Games, did yeoman work as the announcer, press-counselor and, later, chief historian.

The problem of communicating correct and up-to-the-minute information to the press was solved by Dow, Jones Company's new tickertape machine, brand-new in its ability to feed information over wires. Results of events at Olympics sites—which were received at headquarters over another new system, the teletypewriter—went out to reporters gathered around several hundred of these electric writing machines, as they were called, installed in centers around town.

Thus, while there were practically no radio people, it was possible for a radio station in, let us say, Keokuk or New Orleans, to pick up a telephonic or Dow-Jones broadcast from the Los Angeles Coliseum.

On a local basis, there were a few scattered sports shows (such as Frank Ball's) which received results from the station's teletype machine. They were offered by news services such as Associated Press, United Press and the now-defunct International News Service. This was virtually nothing compared to the huge, complex, multi-faceted press coverage of the present day. Little did we realize on that sunny day of July 30, 1932, a great day in Los Angeles Olympics history, how much greater and more lavish this two-week international sports festival was to become in the eyes of the world's media.

It is not too much to say that the Los Angeles Games of '32 were responsible for the status of the Olympics in the ensuing years as the greatest sports festival and competition on this planet. Nothing like it had been seen before. The prediction that the heat of August in Los Angeles would be unbearable did not materialize. The speculation that the Great Depression would be a significant deterrent to the Olympics celebration proved unfounded; attendance at the Coliseum was capacity or nearly so throughout.

The innovation of an Olympic Village was a huge success, especially the separate dining rooms and native chefs. Overall the sensational performances of the athletes, including a veritable orgy of broken records, excited the spectators.

Where press coverage was most lacking was in events not held in the Coliseum. For example, hardly anyone was aware that Argentina sent two different teams here (a political squabble at home) who got into a major fight in the Village, or that Brazil arrived here with no money and had to sell coffee off their ship to enable a few of their athletes—not all—to enter the competition, or that an argument between two Slavic waterpolo teams turned the pool water red.

Even in the '36 Games at Berlin where I was a competitor, press coverage was not play-by-play. My American team defeated Canada 19-8 in the finals of the basketball tournament to win the first of a succession of gold medals for the U.S.A. in that sport. 19-8!

Later I read a number of accounts, none of which had any explanation of such a bizarre score. If there had been reporters there, they would have mentioned that the game was played outdoors, that the rain came down in torrents, and that the play was a travesty. This won't happen here this August. Every one of the twenty-three sites will be ganged with gentlemen (and ladies) of the press.

Nonetheless, '32 made history, and Westbrook Pegler, one of sportswriting's immortals who was there, told us: "I came to chronicle sports' biggest disaster; I am leaving to describe its greatest triumph."

BURNING THE WIRES PRESS RATE

A playful New York reporter covers the Games while he mingles with the guys and dolls of L.A.

by Ed Cray

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NY

JULY 20 1932

THE SANTA FE CHIEF DEPOSITED YOUR STAR REPORTER SOUND OF LIMB IN THIS SUN-BLANCHED HAVEN FOR OCTOGENARIANS FROM KANSAS. AM IN THE COMPANY OF WES PEGLER AND ARTHUR BRISBANE WITH WHOM I PROFITABLY WHILED AWAY A GOODLY PART OF TEXAS ALL OF NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA. WILL TAKE SPEEDY TRANSWORLD AIRLINES ($160) OR CLASSY DOLLAR STEAMSHIP LINES ($200) BACK TO NEW YORK. STAYING AT BILTMORE SEMI-OFFICIAL HEADQUARTERS FOR THE OLYMPIAD.

BERN

JULY 22 1932

BERN
BILTMORE HOTEL
LOS ANGELES CAL.

NO AEROPLANE. NO STEAMSHIP. NO COPY! WHY THE HELL DO YOU THINK THIS NEWSPAPER SENT YOU 2,500 MILES TO THE COAST TO COVER THE GREATEST GATHERING OF ATHALEETS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD? ARTHUR J. DALEY, PAUL GALLICO, GRANNY RICE ALL BEATING YOU TO STORY.

KOCHLEFFLE

CHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NY

JULY 22 1932

MR. ARTHUR J. DALEY DOES NOT EAT AT BROWN DERBY ON WILSHIRE BOULEVARD WHICH IS A DINING ESTABLISHMENT MUCH FAVORED BY LOCALS. IT IS SHAPED LIKE A HAT. NEITHER DOES MR. ARTHUR DALEY LOCATE THE RESIDENT ANTI-PROHIBITIONIST ONE ANTHONY CORNERO WHO REVILES THE MEMORY OF MR. ANDREW VOLSTEAD TO SUCH EXTENT HE CAN ONLY EXORCISE HIS PASSION BY SELLING DISTILLED CANADIAN WIDE-EYE AT EXORBITANT PRICES. MR. ARTHUR J. DALEY OF THE NEW YORK TIMES INSTEAD IS VERY BUSY ABSORBING "THE GREAT DRAMA OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES" BY VISITING THE "UNIQUE ATHLETIC COLONY" WITH ITS "CLOISTERED QUARTERS" WHICH THE LOCALS BUILT FOR THE MEN LAST APRIL. CLEARLY MR. ARTHUR J. DALEY OF THE NEW YORK TIMES IS NOT AWARE—AS ARE MR. DAMON RUNYON AND YOUR CORRESPONDENT—OF THE MANY DOLLIES WHO HAVE SO GRACIOUSLY CONSENTED TO VISIT THE CLOISTERED ATHALEETS AFTER THE PUBLIC PHASE OF THEIR PRACTICED EXHIBITIONS.

BERN

BERN
BILTMORE HOTEL
LOS ANGELES CAL.

JULY 23 1932

NEW YORK TIMES HAS THREE PEOPLE IN LA ALL GENTLEMEN. HEARST HAS 13 INCLUDING RUNYON WHOM THE JOURNAL IS CALLING A "NOTED SPORTS CRITIC." I'VE GOT YOU. FILE COPY PRESS RATE SOONEST.

KOCHLEFFLE

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NY

JULY 23 1932

NOT TO WORRY. RUNYON WHO DRAWS DOWN FIVE BILLS A WEEK DOESN'T START WRITING UNTIL TOMORROW. ACCORDING TO ARTHUR J. DALEY ESQUIRE "THE PICK OF THE WORLD'S YOUTH, HAVING COME THOUSANDS OF MILES TO REPRESENT THEIR COUNTRIES IN THE FIERCEST OF ATHLETIC CRUCIBLES" DOES NOT STRIVE TO BEST THE STALWART CONTENDERS UNTIL JULY 31. MEANTIME AM DOING LONG DOPESTER ON U.S. CHANCES.

BERN

BERN
BILTMORE HOTEL
LOS ANGELES CAL.

JULY 24 1932

SEND COPY ALREADY. LOTS OF INTEREST HERE.

KOCHLEFFLE

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NY

JULY 24 1932

MORE HERE. THERE ARE 600 NEWSIES IN ATTENDANCE, 100 PHOTO TYPES, INCLUDING ONE HEARST GUY WHO RISKS ENDING UP IN THE VITALS BY TAKING PICTURES FROM THE GOODYEAR BLIMP ON OPENING DAY.

B.

BERN
BILTMORE HOTEL
LOS ANGELES CAL.

INTERVIEW HEARST PHOTOG.

JULY 25 1

KOCHLEFFLE

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NY

JULY 25 1932

WORKING ON STORY RE FINANCES FOR TEAMS. $28 G'S FROM U.S. TRYOUTS GO "TO SETTLE THE EXISTING FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION." (DALEY, NY TIMES) BRAZILIAN TEAM SELLING 50 000 BAGS OF COFFEE BEANS TO PAY ITS WAY. BUSINESS SLOW EVEN AT KNOCK-DOWN PRICE. 24 OF 69 MEMBERS TO LAND HERE. 28 COUNTRIES ON HAND NOW. LATVIA SENT TWO TEAM MEMBERS, CHINA ONE, EGYPT ONE. 2000 OF "THE MOST STURDY, THE SWIFT, THE STOUT-HEARTED, THE DEDICATED TO THE SUBLIME PURITY OF SPORT" (INTERNATIONAL NEWS) EXPECTED. THERE WERE 4000 IN AMSTERDAM FOUR YEARS AGO. DEPRESSION HAVING ITS EFFECT EVEN WITH LA PRICES. $7.95 FOR A MAN'S IRISH LINEN SUIT. $5 FOR A ROOM AT THE BEVERLY HILLS HOTEL, $7.50 FOR A BUNGALOW. ORANGES 1 CENT A DOZEN. MOST CUT-THROAT COMPETITION HERE NOW IS IN FOOD PRICES. WITH HELM'S OLYMPIC BREAD 8 CENTS A LOAF DELIVERED, WONDER BREAD JUST CUT PRICE TO 7 CENTS IN STORES.

B.

BERN
BILTMORE HOTEL
LOS ANGELES CAL.

INTERVIEW CHINAMAN. DOES EGYPTIAN WEAR FEZ?

JULY 26 1932

KOCHLEFFLE

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NY

JULY 26 1932

"THE REAL STORY OUT HERE AT THE MOMENT" NOTED SPORTS CRITIC WRITES "IS THE PRESENTATION OF THE SHOW BY LOS ANGELES. THE WAY LOS ANGELES IS PUTTING ON THE OLYMPIC GAMES IS A POSITIVE MARVEL." STADIUM SEATS 105 000, WILL BE FULL FOR OPENING CEREMONY. 24 000 YARDS OF RAYON BUNTING FOR FLAGS AND DECORATIONS HUNG. COL. H.H. ARNOLD AND MAJOR CARL SPATZ WILL LEAD 100 ARMY AIRPLANES FROM MARCH FIELD IN FLY-BY. AMELIA EARHART ON HAND TO RECEIVE MEDAL FROM MAYOR. EXPECTED GATE $5 WILL REPAY CITY $1 MILLION ADVANCE AND RETIRE $1.5 MILLION BOND ISSUE. STILL PLENTY OF SEATS FOR 50 CENTS AVAILABLE. STANDS ALL OVER TOWN DOING GOOD BOX OFFICE. SWIMMING SRO. BILTMORE CROWDED. MOVING TO BEVERLY HILLS HOTEL CLOSER TO PENTATHLON.

B.

BERN
BEVERLY HILLS HOTEL
BEVERLY HILLS CAL.

JULY 26 1932

WHO CARES ABOUT PENTATHLON? BIG INTEREST IS TRACK AND FIELD AND SWIMMING. GET INTERVIEW WITH ELEANOR HOLM. LOUELLA PARSONS IN JOURNAL SAYS "I SIGNALLED ELEANOR HOLM OF NEW YORK AS A LIKELY MOVIE PROSPECT." MISS PARSONS SAYS ALMOST ANY OF THE 20 BABES ON THE SWIM TEAM COULD GET A JOB IN HOLLYWOOD TOMORROW. INTERVIEW ALL OF THEM.

KOCHLEFFLE

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NY

JULY 27 1932

GOT HOLM. SENDING BILL FROM CHASENS FOR $3.00, DINNER FOR TWO. RUNNING DOWN STORY WITH RUNYON RE: OLYMPIC VILLAGE IN BALDWIN HILLS—NOT REPEAT NOT BARCLAY HILLS AS MR. ARTHUR J. DALEY HAS IT—TURNED INTO A NUDIST CAMP. ACCORDING TO RUNYON "YOU CAN'T TELL THE ARGENTINE FROM THE JAPANESE. THE CALIFORNIA SUN HAS PAINTED THEM ALL ALIKE."

B.

BERN
BEVERLY HILLS HOTEL
BEVERLY HILLS CAL.

JULY 28 1932

1 IS HOLM A NUDIST TOO? 2 CAN YOU WORK HER INTO NUDIST STORY? 3 WHO CARES ABOUT GRASSFIRE 100 YARDS FROM GATES OF OLYMPIC VILLAGE, THAT "BOOMTOWN OF BRAWN"? 4 WHY DO YOU SEND ME FIRE STORIES WHEN ALLISON DANZIG IS WRITING IN TIMES "THE BIGGEST MIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA SINCE THE FORTY-NINERS WROTE AN IMPERISHABLE STORY OF MAN'S COURAGE IN BRAVING THE PERILS OF THE UNKNOWN HAS MADE LOS ANGELES THE COSMOPOLITAN CAPITAL OF THE WORLD"? NOW THAT'S GOOD COPY.

KOCHLEFFLE

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NY

JULY 28

1 NO VISIBLE EVIDENCE HOLM IS A NUDIST. 2 WILL WORK HER INTO STORY WITH WILL ROGERS WHO SAYS HE HAS "JOINED THE ATHLETIC PARTY" IN HIS COLUMN FOR THE NEXT TWO WEEKS. 3 THE DOLLIES THAT SLIPPED OUT IN THE CONFUSION. 4 I AM A MERE SPORTS WRITER NOT VIRGIL.

B.

BERN
BEVERLY HILLS HOTEL
BEVERLY HILLS CAL.

JULY 29 1932

VERY GOOD STORY ON THE "DOUGHTY JAPANESE" AND "STURDY SONS OF FINLAND" "PLUCKY BRITISH" AND "TOWSEL-HAIRED APOLLO BUSTER CRABBE."

KOCHLEFFLE

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NY

AM MOVING ADVANCERS "TODAY UPON A BLOODLESS BATTLE FIELD GATHER MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS, OF EVERY RACE AND CREED, LOCKED IN THE FRIENDSHIP OF ATHLETIC COMBAT AT THESE TENTH OLYMPIC GAMES OF THE MODERN ERA." STOLE IT FROM ADELA ROGERS ST. JOHNS. DO YOU WANT HOLLYWOOD ANGLE ON GAMES? ALL HOLLYWOOD ATTENDING EXCEPT GRETA GARBO. SHE LEAVES FOR SWEDEN TOMORROW.

B.

BERN
BEVERLY HILLS HOTEL
BEVERLY HILLS CAL.

JULY 30 1932

WE'LL GET GARBO HERE. GREAT OPENING DAY COPY. ESPECIALLY THE PATRIOTIC PART: "AS THE GLEAMING TRUMPETS PEALED THE NATIONAL ANTHEM, FOR A MOMENT IN TIME THE CROWD FORGOT THE DEPRESSION, THE ROUT OF THE BONUS ARMY THREE DAYS AGO, THE TERROR OF WAR IN MANCHURIA, HITLER'S GAINS IN THE GERMAN ELECTION AND ALL SUCH WEARYING CARES. YOU REMEMBERED ONLY THAT YOU LOVED YOUR COUNTRY, AND THAT SHE STOOD FOR THOSE SPLENDID THINGS TYPIFIED BY THE NOBILITY OF THE STATUESQUE ATHLETES ASSEMBLED ON THE BRIGHT GREEN GRASS UNDER A SPARKLING SUN." DON'T WORRY ABOUT KEEPING SCORES. AP IS MOVING DAILY COUNT OF MEDALS WON, COUNTRY BY COUNTRY.

KOCHLEFFLE

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NY

AUGUST 1 1932

STAYING WITH WILL ROGERS AT HIS RANCH IN SANTA MONICA TO PICK UP FINER POINTS OF EQUESTRIAN SPORTS.

B.

BERN
c/o ROGERS
SANTA MONICA CALIF.

AUGUST 2 1932

NO INTEREST HERE IN POINTS BEYOND $2 BET WITH BIG JULIE. WHERE IS DIDRIKSON COPY?

KOCHLEFFLE

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NEW YORK

AUGUST 3 1932

PRESS RATE. DIDRIKSON. DATELINE LOS ANGELES. COPY BEGINS OLD MEN WILL SING PRAISES TO THE SLENDER SYLPH OF THE SPEAR FOR GENERATIONS TO COME, MARVELING AT THIS BOBBED-HAIR QUEEN OF THE HURDLES. HERS WAS A PERFORMANCE FOR THE AGES. ALL AMERICA TODAY LIES BEFORE THE SWIFTING FEET OF THE MODEST MAIDEN BORN MILDRED AND BELOVED AS BABE DIDRIKSON. GRAPH. IT BEGAN LAST WEEK FOR THIS MOST GIFTED OF TRACKDOM'S DISTAFF SIDE, POISED AT THE VERY LIP OF CINDER IMMORTALITY AS HER JAVELIN TRACED A LONG, LONG ARC IN THE BRIGHT SUMMER SKY, THEN HURTLED TO THE TURF OF THE CONCRETE COLISEUM TO SPEAR FOR THIS THOROUGHBRED THE SWEETEST VICTORY OF HER FIRST OLYMPIC TRIUMPH MORE

B.

BERN
c/o ROGERS
SANTA MONICA CALIF.

AUGUST 4 1932

VIRGIL NO. MAYBE OVID.

KOCHLEFFLE

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NY

AUGUST 7 1932

INVITED TO STAY AT BEACH . WIRE CARE OF THALBERG.

B.

BERN
c/o THALBERG
SANTA MONICA CALIF.

AUGUST 14 1932

WONDERFUL JOB ON OLYMPICS COVERAGE. RAISING SALARY TO $35 PER WEEK.

KOCHLEFFLE

KOCHLEFFLE
EXAMINER SPORTS
NEW YORK NEW YORK

AUGUST 15 1932

THANKS. BUT I QUIT. OFFERED $500 A WEEK TO WRITE PHOTOPLAY FOR ELEANOR HOLM PIC. LOVE YOU.

BERNIE

IN THE SPIRIT OF

Behind the Olympics Curtain are personal dramas of

Throughout the history of the Olympic Games, there have been many inspired performances that have combined talent, drive and ideals with a belief in physical and mental purity for winners and losers alike. The super-human push that won the medal, or the trick of fate that lost it, are evenly matched by similar efforts in the off-the-field drama.

The 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin had been planned as a showcase for the Nazis, for the victories of the pure Aryans. In came dark-skinned Jesse Owens and demolished the myth of the master race. He won gold medals in the 100 and 200-meter dashes and the long jump (then called the broad jump) and ran the crucial leg for the winning 400-meter relay team of the U.S.A. These incredible feats sent Hitler scurrying out of the stadium and established a record that has never been equaled.

In the American trials for the 1948 Olympic Games held in war-ravaged London, one undisputed favorite was high hurdler Harrison Dillard. He was undefeated, the best 110-meter high hurdler in the world and the man to beat in the London Games. At the crack of the gun during the trials in the United States, Dillard was off to a flying start. The only question in the minds of spectators was how fast this remarkable black athlete would run his event. But the unthinkable happened, and the greatest hurdler in the world hit a hurdle, went down and never even qualified for the event.

Still, Harrison Dillard was not a man to quit. He found there was the possibility of entering the trials for the 100-meter dash. Not only did he qualify for the United States team, but he won the race at London in 1948. Dillard continued to run the high hurdles during the next four years, and in the Helsinki Games of 1952, he won the 110-meter high hurdles, proving to himself and the world that he was the very best in that event during his career.

For sheer drama beyond the range of great performances, Abebe Bikila of Ethiopia was an unknown runner who had the courage and endurance to win back-to-back marathons in two successive Olympic Games. In the Rome Games of 1960, the crowd stood and cheered as the barefoot runner entered the stadium far ahead of the other marathon runners. Then four years later, he repeated his victory in the Tokyo Games of 1964. But while trying to run with an injured leg in the 1968 marathon at Mexico City, the gallant Ethiopian had to drop out. As though this foreshadowed tragic events, Bikila returned home where he was struck by a car while training for an attempt to win the marathon at the 1972 Olympic Games. Crippling injuries ended Bikila's running career, but did not break his spirit. Confined to a wheelchair, he gave advice to the younger long distance runners who were to follow.

Every four years the Olympic Games capture the attention of the world. With the exception of world wars and the tragedy at the Munich Games in 1972, the spectacle of the Olympics has combined outstanding performances, unexpected losses and victories, and the meeting of men and women from all nations in the give and take of competition.

But the road to the Olympic Games is long and hard for even the most gifted athlete. Along the way, there is the chance for injury or the sudden appearance of an unknown competitor who has the extra bit of talent that gives him the edge in his chosen event. As David Maggard, Director of Athletics at the University of California at Berkeley, puts it: "Any athlete who hopes to become a member of the Olympic team must be driven."

David Maggard knows what it is like to be possessed by such a drive. It began when he was a high school athlete in Turlock, California, where he discovered that he had the strength to send the shot a long distance. He worked on perfecting his talent, and he dreamed of becoming a member of the United States Olympic squad. But after high school and then university competition, he knew that like all other Americans he would have to support himself while training for the Olympics trials, for the United States—unlike Russia and many other nations—does not support the athletes who will wear the American uniform.

Budgeting his time, Maggard coached high school athletes, taught classes to support his wife and family, and worked out between ten o'clock and midnight. In the end, this self-discipline and sacrifice paid off. He made the United States Olympics Team as one of its shotputters. Though he didn't win a medal, he did finish in fifth place against the best shotputters in the world at the Mexico City Games.

Alfred A. Oerter? He won the discus gold medal in the Melbourne Games of 1956. Back in the United States, still in college, Oerter was riding in a friend's

CHALLENGE

thletes waiting to be told.

car when he was thrown headfirst through the windshield. In a frightened attempt to help, Oerter's friend pulled him back through the broken glass, and a jagged piece tore into his throat. His friend ran for help as Oerter spurted blood and lay unconscious. But fortune smiled upon him, a stranger stopped, applied a tourniquet to control the bleeding and sent for an ambulance. The wound required eighty to ninety stitches, and it left this great discus thrower with a long, crescent scar and an extra fold of skin under his chin, but no name of the man who saved him from bleeding to death.

Once Oerter got back into shape, he began training for the 1960 Olympic Games with the knowledge that every moment of life counts and should not be wasted. With a driven determination, Oerter won the discus throw in the 1960 games, then continued to set an astounding record by winning the gold medal in 1964 and 1968. Four times in a row, this man with a true fervor for life won the discus throw to set an incredible record. He continues to compete, and though he may not be on this United States Olympic Team, he can't be counted out before the trials end.

There are the unpredictable happenings that add to the spirit of the Olympic Games. In the Tokyo Games of 1964, the United States seemed to be an unlikely bet to win the 10,000 meters. No American had ever won this race, and there was no reason to expect that unknown William Mills would even finish among the first few runners. But nobody had counted upon the determination of this Sioux Indian who had grown up on a reservation. Mills had only run the distance in four other races. Now he would be competing against the best long distance runners in the world. In a race that saw him come out of the pack to overtake and pass the favorites, Billy Mills became the first American to win the 10,000-meter run. Today he heads the Billy Mills Indian Youth Leadership Program. *Running Brave*, a recently released film financed by the Ermine Skin Band from Hobima, Canada, is the story of his life.

Those who watch the 1984 games at Los Angeles will be waiting for records to fall as the competition among world class athletes takes place. The 1500-meter run has all the trappings for a duel among the very best runners in the world. America's Steve Scott, Ireland's Eammon Coghlan, and Great Britain's Sebastian Coe

and Steve Ovett are the favorites in what promises to be a close and fast race. Yet some unknown might ease by all of them to become the new middle distance champion.

An unusual chance to equal one of the greatest records in the modern Olympic Games may come to America's Carl Lewis. This slim, compact black sprinter has the potential to win both the 100- and 200-meter dashes and the long jump, and to run a leg on the winning 400-meter relay team. While there are possible stumbling blocks for Lewis, with the right breaks he could match the four gold medals won by the great Jesse Owens.

Athletes who make it through the trials of their own country and earn the right to represent their nation in the Olympic Games, have often been inspired by a great champion, for it would be hard to overlook outstanding performances of past games. Certainly, sprinters on the United States women's team must think of Wilma Rudolph, who as the seventeenth of nineteen children in a poor black family suffered both severe pneumonia and scarlet fever as a child—diseases which left her unable to walk and confined her to a wheelchair for over two years.

Gradually through heat and massage treatments and the use of special shoes, she overcame what appeared to be permanent crippling. She began to walk, and as she reached the age of fifteen, she was able to run. Then by 1960, Wilma Rudolph was a member of the American Olympics Team. She won gold medals in the Rome Games of 1960 for the 100- and 200-meter dashes, and in the process set an image of a tall, black girl who ran with the wind, while the spectators who cheered her were unaware that she had been expected never to walk, much less run and win races in the Olympic Games.

There have been great athletes who never had the opportunity to compete in the Olympic Games. A champion to be looked up to by any pole vaulter is Cornelius A. Warmerdam, the first man to pole vault over 15 feet. He did this in 1940, using a bamboo pole, and he went on to do it forty-three more times before anyone else broke the same barrier. He set a world record of 15′7½″ in 1942 that lasted for fifteen years.

Tall, lean, strong in the shoulders, Warmerdam became interested in pole vaulting early in life. During his years in the sixth and seventh grade he had a runway, a pit and pole vault standards in his own backyard. By the time he was in his second year of high school, he vaulted fourteen feet, and he already dreamed of breaking the heights and going over fifteen feet.

As Warmerdam puts it, he never had to practice more than two hours per day, for he had the ability to run a 10.5-second hundred-yard-dash with a bamboo pole in his hands, and his strong shoulders enabled him to propel himself off the end of his pole upward and over the bar set at fifteen feet or more. This was before the days of fiberglass poles.

At the peak of his career as a pole vaulter, Warmerdam saw World War II bring a halt to the Olympic Games. After the war, as he tried out for the 1948 United States Olympic Team, he developed a severe tooth infection that spread to one ankle, and he had to drop out of the competition. So it was that the pole vaulter who set new standards for his event never participated in the Olympic Games.

Elements of luck, fate, wars, international affairs and injuries can and do spell the difference between winning a medal or losing a dream. The 1972 Munich Games and the 1980 Olympic Games in Russia cancelled the hopes of athletes who, after years of priming for the competition, were denied the opportunity to compete.

Still, the true spirit of the Olympic Games is more than winning a medal. While victory is cherished, the intangibles of the Olympic Games play a role of great importance. To meet and know athletes from other nations, to exchange ideas that have no barriers of race, language, religion or politics is what the Olympic Games truly are about. These meetings between men and women from different cultures and other countries bring forth the commonality of all human beings. In such personal give and take, the athletes discover that they are more alike than they ever realized. There isn't much difference between boys and girls running races in the Australian Outback, a Russian village, a London street, a dusty road in Kenya, a sandy beach alongside a fishing village in Japan, or the hardpacked soil of a ranching town somewhere in the American West.

From these towns, communities, cities and isolated farming and ranching areas, the athletes find a way to pursue the dream of being on their nation's Olympics Team and to celebrate humanity in the spirit of the Games as the ancient Greeks wished them to be.

by Lisa Mitchell

ONCE A WINNER

Jean Shiley Newhouse "Beat the Babe" in '32, but her real achievement lies in the rewarding life that followed

Jean Shiley Newhouse recalls the gold medal high jump.

There is such a Rip Van Winkle edge to all of this. For some 1932 competitors, a glory born at the L.A. Coliseum—then put away with the scrapbook clippings and medals and memories—is being roused for the first time in fifty years. One wonders what went on in the interim; what *mark* an Olympics victory leaves on a life. . . .

Which is not to suggest that track and field gold medalist Jean Shiley Newhouse has been anything but active and fecund over those fifty years. But they were years without interviews, cameras, questions, special appearances; without people knowing *who she was*. Today, at seventy-two, she is suddenly in the spotlight again.

Though she says, "Interviews and pictures embarrass the hell out of me," clearly she is enjoying the renewed—and new forms of—recognition. In '32 newspapers hailed her as the girl "who halted the sensational winning streak of the famed Babe Didrikson. . . ." Of the current interest in her Jean relects: "If Babe were alive, I wouldn't be getting all this attention now."

What must it have been like for Jean Shiley . . . Beating the Babe?

"Grantland Rice and Paul Gallico made it into such a controversy," Jean says, "when it was really pretty simple." It was not, however, without its drama. "Of course, everyone expected Babe to win. She had won the javelin on Sunday, the hurdles on Wednesday, then the following Sunday was the high jump. And along comes little old me, and I think they were very chagrined; 'How dare you beat our heroine?' But that's the way it was. On any given day, anybody can win. Any two jumpers can jump the same height. But in my day, the rule was that there could be no ties, so you had to jump it off.

"Babe and I tied with the bar at 5'5¼". Then they put it up to 5'6¼". We had three chances to make it and we both missed all three times. They put it down to 5'5¼" again. I jumped first and I made it. On Babe's jump, her shoulder preceded her body over the bar . . . and there was a rule against that. . . . The German girl and the Canadian girl were standing at my shoulder saying, 'Claim a foul! Claim a foul!' I said no. If I'd have claimed a foul, Babe would never have let me forget it, and it would have made big, black headlines. You have to beat Babe at her own game. Luckily, I made it."

If Jean hadn't been favored to win by the media, she was by the girls on the team—of which she had been elected captain. "You have to go back into the context of the time," Jean says. "It just wasn't a lady-like thing for women to be doing this kind of thing. So you lived sort of a double life: You were a tomboy out there on the field, and you were supposed to be very modest, very demure the rest of the time. And Babe just wasn't that way. For one thing, she was her own press agent. No matter what you happened to be talking about that you could do very well, she could *always* do it better. And the stories got pretty weird, they really did . . . She was very brash. Very humorous! Besides, she played the harmonica, so she was fun."

Jean and Babe never competed against each other again, but they remained friends through the years and kept in touch until Babe's death in 1956.

Jean also stays in touch with Dora Lurie, now of Laguna Beach, "the original news reporter who started this whole thing." In 1927, as sports writer for Philadelphia's *Morning Inquirer*, Dora Lurie was covering Jean's Haverford High School Basketball game—basketball being Jean's "first love." "In the course of doing her job, she said out loud, 'That girl jumps so *high*!' And some little boy who happened to be sitting next to

Jean and Babe never competed against each other again, but they remained friends through the years . . .

her said, 'Oh, didn't you know? She jumped 4'10" last year!' " Lurie knew that "that was worth an Olympic target" and called Jean the next day to ask if she'd like to try out for the Olympics. "I said, 'Yeah, sure. What's that?' "

Within a week after she tried out, she was off to Amsterdam on the S.S. *President Roosevelt*. Family and friends were shocked because nobody—including Jean—knew how good she really was. She came in fourth in the high jump at the '28 Olympics, but for Jean, the prize was in the going. "I was just a country girl from Brookline, Pennsylvania. I didn't know *anything* till this all happened to me," she says, and remembers her bewilderment over which utensils to use at the table setting in the ship's big dining room.

When she came to Los Angeles as an Olympics competitor in 1932, Jean—who had already won the 1929 women's high jump world championship—got to watch the movies being made at the studios, meet the stars and be entertained in their homes.

After her Olympics victory, Jean returned home to Pennsylvania and her studies at Temple University, where she was majoring in physical education. "I wanted desperately to be a doctor, but there was no money. I figured if I took physical education and got a job, I could go to medical school, but it didn't work out." Her father "had a terrible time" with the idea of his daughter being an athlete, and winning the Olympics made no difference. Girls weren't supposed to go to college, either, so Jean had to work to put herself through. One of her jobs was teaching swimming at a local country club. It cost her her amateur standing. She tried to appeal the Olympic Board's decision in order to compete in the '36 Games, but was refused.

"Because of the depression, there were no jobs for any of us when I got out of college. But thank God for the W.P.A. [Works Progress Administration]."

She worked for the W.P.A. until she joined the Navy. While she was a WAVE stationed in Rochester, New York, she met Herman Newhouse, a civilian physicist in the Navy, whom she married in 1945. The first of their three children was born when Jean was thirty-six. "Having children in later life keeps you young."

Though she never competed after the '32 Olympics, she remained an athlete—golfing, swimming, playing baseball with the kids and bowling.

The last year has found her buzzing around to speak at schools and sports events as part of the Olympic Organizing Committee's "Spirit Team"—a group of former Olympians who act as "ambassadors between the Committee and the community." She anticipates an even heavier schedule as the 1984 ceremonies start. "I used to think that by this time of life, I'd be sitting in a rocking chair, watching the rest of the world go by. Now I think it's the rest of the world that's sitting in rocking chairs, watching me run by!"

DAD

He aspired to wrestle for the gold medal; silver was only second best.

by John Riley

My father, John Horn "Jack" Riley, wrestled in the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. It was his last appearance as an amateur athlete. Formerly he'd pulled an oar on a crew that set international records at his prep school, St. John's Military Academy of Delafield, Wisconsin. He'd been named an All American as a tackle at Northwestern University. And twice he'd won the N.C.A.A. title in heavyweight wrestling.

His wrestling coach at Northwestern, Dr. Orion Stuteville, had been coached at Oklahoma A.&M. by the father of American wrestling, Edward Clark Gallagher. Stuteville, a doctor who invented the collodion pack treatment that put an end to the scourge of wrestlers, cauliflower ear, taught my father an almost invincible takedown maneuver called the flying double-wristlock. Using it, my father pinned most of his opponents in three years of varsity competition. It was so effective that it's been made illegal now.

In 1932, after winning the

Americans training for Olympic free-style wrestling, then and now, have to re-learn their sport.

Wrestler Jack Riley today—sports fan still.

N.C.A.A. title at Providence, Rhode Island, he continued training and won the U.S. Olympics tryouts at Columbus, Ohio. No member of his family could afford to accompany him to Los Angeles. He went alone.

In the first-ever Olympic Village in Baldwin Hills, he roomed in a wooden hut with an alternate competitor on the U.S. team, twenty-eight-year-old Conrad Caldwell, a graduate of Oklahoma A.&M., officially representing the Los Angeles Athletic Club. He remembers that Caldwell's sharp Indian features and quick sense of humor made him easily the handsomest and most popular member of the U.S. wrestling team. My father loved the carnival atmosphere of the village, where the U.S. team celebrated a "drugstore rodeo" that made foreign athletes think our athletes were crazy.

Americans training for Olympic free-style wrestling, then and now, have to re-learn their sport. In America, wrestlers must hold their opponent's shoulders to the mat for a full three seconds to win by a fall. In Olympic wrestling, a fall may be scored by causing an opponent's shoulders to touch the mat only briefly in the so-called rolling fall. The flying double-wristlock required briefly touching one's own shoulders to the mat before causing the opponent's shoulders to be held there, and so it was a useless weapon for my father in the games.

All of social Los Angeles wanted to entertain the U.S. team. My father wrote the girl who would become his wife that he'd met a few four-flushers at parties: "Everybody out here seems to be related to or married to a movie star."

By day he trained at the Hollywood Athletic Club. He weighed 235 pounds and had a 17½" neck. He pulled a calf muscle slightly. He sparred with Czech Greco-Roman heavyweight Joseph Urban, who would take a gold medal in the games. One night the whole wrestling team watched *Huddle*, a football movie, at the Loew's Palace Theatre. Later, during the after-movie stage show that featured a sketch by Jack Dempsey, the team was brought up on stage and cheered by the audience.

Wrestling competition was held on a platform at the center of the Olympic Auditorium. In order to win a gold medal, according to International Wrestling Federation rules, my father had to defeat the defending 1928 Olympics gold medalist, Johan Richthoff, of Sweden. Richthoff knew my father needed to win by a fall or a clear decision, and so he continued to back away from my father in the conservative style of older European wrestlers.

My father looked to the Norwegian referee to warn Richthoff for stalling, as the Swede would have been in American competition. My father was placed in the unenviable position of moving forward all the time, leaving himself vulnerable to countermove in desperate attempts to throw Richthoff to the mat to pin him. Dad seldom got hold of him. Judges awarded the decision to Richthoff.

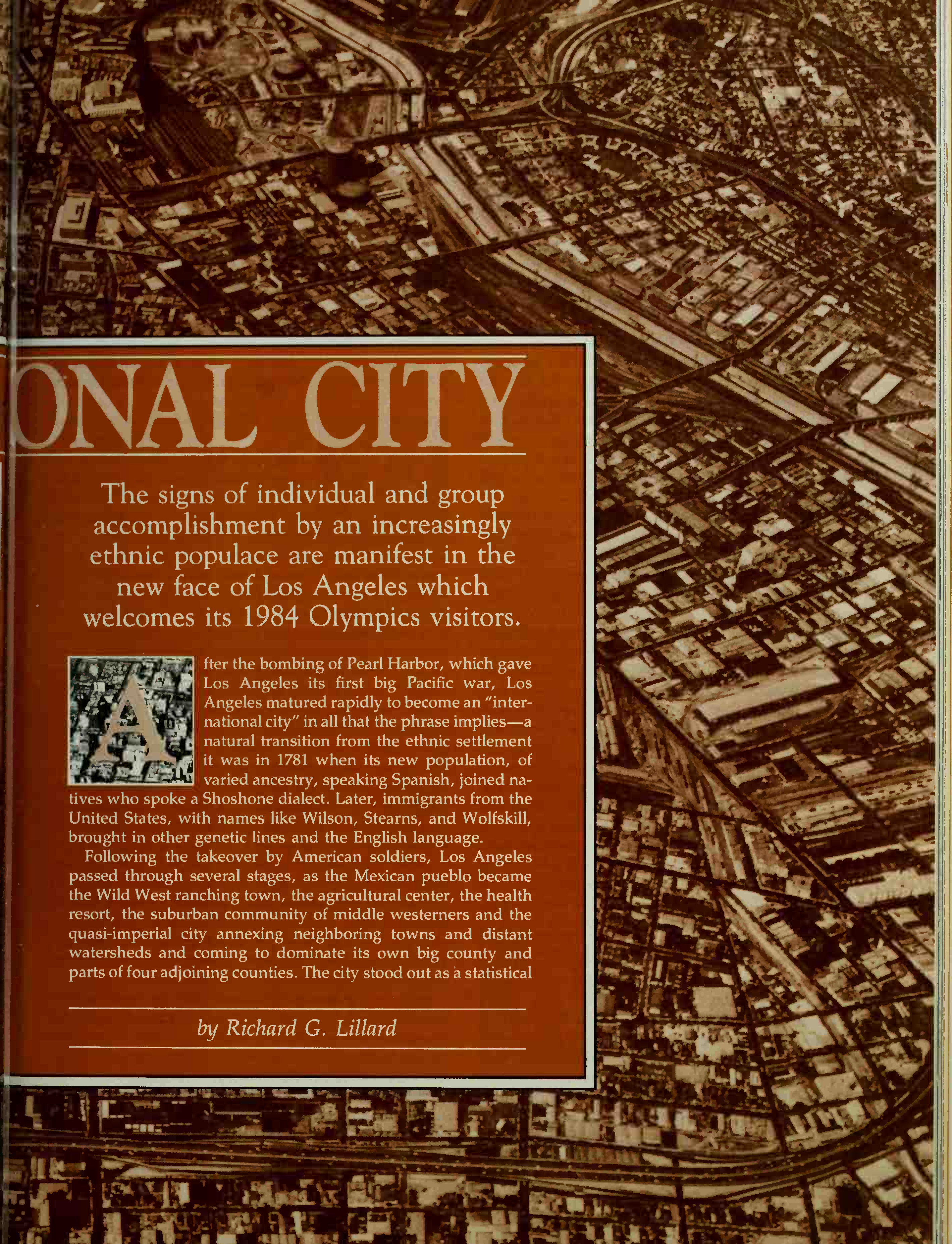
In the next two matches, Richthoff and my father both wrestled an Austrian, Nikolaus Hirschl. Richthoff, again the cautious defender of his previous title, backed away and was awarded a victory over Hirschl by decision. My father then defeated Hirschl by a fall in eight minutes and thirty-two seconds. Still, Richthoff was awarded the gold medal, my father a silver, and Hirschl a bronze.

On the way home to Chicago by train, my father showed Jane Fauntz, a seventeen-year-old Chicagoan who had won a bronze medal for high diving, a picture of himself locked in struggle with Johan Richthoff.

"This is how I lost the Olympics," he told her.

INTERNATI

HEBREW SONGS
Hassidic
Israeli
CLUB DATE
HEBREW SONGS
CANTORIAL
PEARLS



ONAL CITY

The signs of individual and group accomplishment by an increasingly ethnic populace are manifest in the new face of Los Angeles which welcomes its 1984 Olympics visitors.

After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, which gave Los Angeles its first big Pacific war, Los Angeles matured rapidly to become an "international city" in all that the phrase implies—a natural transition from the ethnic settlement it was in 1781 when its new population, of varied ancestry, speaking Spanish, joined natives who spoke a Shoshone dialect. Later, immigrants from the United States, with names like Wilson, Stearns, and Wolfskill, brought in other genetic lines and the English language.

Following the takeover by American soldiers, Los Angeles passed through several stages, as the Mexican pueblo became the Wild West ranching town, the agricultural center, the health resort, the suburban community of middle westerners and the quasi-imperial city annexing neighboring towns and distant watersheds and coming to dominate its own big county and parts of four adjoining counties. The city stood out as a statistical

by Richard G. Lillard

With the sudden start of motion-picture production before World War I and the industrial and population booms before, during and after World War II, the metropolis hurried toward its evident destiny.

Evident? In 1981, after 200 years, Los Angeles competed nationally with New York and assumed pacemaking status with the economic, cultural and sports capitals of the globe. And three years later, when it joined Paris and London to be one of the three cities in modern history to hold two Olympiads, it would confirm its ranking, its momentum and its promise.

The promise had its roots in the expansive, optimistic eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. When the first Spanish land party crossed the Los Angeles River in 1769 it found the area to have "all the requisites for a large settlement." Thereafter this spacious site on the coast, the location at a crossroads of continental trails and the Mediterranean climate, evoked panegyrics and prophecies.

In the early 1880s, issues of *The Illustrated Los Angeles Herald* foresaw great futures for trade with Pacific islands and Asia, for railroad connections with the interior of North America and for capitalists, financiers, insurance men and artists, all of whom could flourish in this "western Eden." Its future was "as bright and permanent as its sunshine and climate."

In 1923, when a burst of home construction made Los Angeles for a while the world's largest lumber importer, a firm of financial advisers published "Why Los Angeles *will* become the World's *Greatest City*." It played up international trade with fifty-nine countries, in particular exports of oil and the "movie," for Los Angeles was producing 90 percent of all films, and "it will be admitted some of these days that the 'movies' have switched the *style-setting center* of the world to Los Angeles."

Even before its sesquicentennial in 1931, Los Angeles' sports and engineering feats had snagged attention. Its road races, especially the rough desert competition from Los Angeles to Phoenix, tested the skill and endurance of European and American drivers. At Dominguez Field in 1910, it had staged the first International Aviation Meet held in the United States. Also, an enormous achievement unsurpassed in history had brought water by gravity across 220 miles of desert and mountains through canals, pipes, reservoirs and siphons. And the year after the sesquicentennial, in the midst of the Great Depression, Los Angeles caught and held the attention of startled nations with the Xth Olympic Games.

After 1932, Los Angeles meant big news, big names, big money, big crimes, disasters like Palisades landslides, the Bel Air Fire, the Watts Riots, and the assassination of a Kennedy and the arrival of large numbers of immigrants, legal and illegal, that led some observers to call it the biggest Third World city in the First World.

When Los Angeles held its bicentennial in 1981, celebrating its growth from forty-four persons to almost three million, it was the commanding city of the American West and the second-ranking American metropolis. It "Los Angelized" immigrants, urbanizing rural arrivals, and entertained touring visitors from everywhere. It led the world in scores of ways, from initiating fads in cowboy boots and blue jeans to pathbreaking new designs in home construction and freeways, from recording popular musicians and vocal groups to developing private group-medicine plans, from proliferating health clubs to amassing foreign cars, or from building Jacuzzis and backyard swimming pools to founding community colleges. The metropolis was not only the undisputed capital of the film industry but also a leader in aviation, think tanks, electronics, and jewelry—and in murder, counterfeiting name-brand goods, pornography, and dope. In 1983 the Vice President of the United States called Los Angeles "the drug-smuggling capital of the world," a dubious distinction.

After Washington, D.C., and New York City, Los Angeles ranks third in the Americas for the number of foreign newspersons—250 resident correspondents from fifty-five nations, here to cover entertainment, aircraft, science, business, social problems, legal and juridical novelties, economic trends, scandals, and the "laid-back" life-style.

In part, the metropolis dealt with the three worlds through forty-five consulates from nations large and small and through dozens of tourist offices from lands as contrasting as Canada and the Cayman Islands. Its eminence rests on the makeup of its populace, three million in the whole area, on its business and financial assets, its facilities for science and technology, its tourist attractions, and its achievements in athletics, the arts, and humanistic culture.

In 1981 in the Los Angeles Unified School District . . . there were 114,000 "non-English-speaking" students. Though 85 percent of them spoke Spanish, the other 15 percent . . . spoke 103 languages and dialects.

As a cosmopolis, Greater Los Angeles had many faces, many racial, ethnic, and national lines. Once pure North American Indian, then an assortment of native, European, Chinese and African lines, then largely European (via the Mississippi Valley), Los Angeles became increasingly polyglot after the Armistice, when Hollywood with its special industry drew more talent from the world around than did any other city of its size.

The Nazi era brought refugees and exiles, a galaxy of creative minds, to all the city's arts, crafts and professions. After World War II, repressive government or military turmoil in the Soviet Union, Lebanon, Israel, Hungary, Greece, Cuba, Iran and Central American and southeastern Asian countries caused millions of citizens to depart for America, for California, for Los Angeles, which in 1979 state officials were calling the new Ellis Island. Los Angeles had become a crossroads of worldwide migration and resettlement. *Time* magazine said, "Today *everyone* in L.A. is a member of a minority group."

In 1981, census data compiled by the Los Angeles Community Development Department showed the city itself to be 48 percent "Anglo," 27 percent persons with names of "Spanish Origin," 17 percent "Black," 6.7 percent "Asian and Pacific Islands," and .55 percent "Native American"—all with a very uneven geographical distribution.

Persons with Spanish surnames, for instance, dominated East Los Angeles, composed 89 percent of the population in Boyle Heights and 79 percent in El Sereno; blacks 87 percent in Baldwin Hills and in the South Vermont Avenue district; Anglos 91 percent in Encino and 92 percent in Brentwood; and Asians 29 percent in Gardena and 30 percent downtown near Civic Center in the expanding Chinatown, the elaborately renewed Little Tokyo, and in the new Koreatown. Such figures, based on an ambiguous federal attempt to classify by color and last names, swallowed up important international data. "Black" included residents from Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Haiti and Nigeria. "Native Americans" included Canadian Indians and such nations recognized by solemn treaty as the Navajo and Iroquois. "Anglo" included a heterogeneous group from Iceland to Israel to South Africa, from the Iranian Plateau to Tasmania.

The full import was reinforced by public school attendance. In 1981 in the Los Angeles Unified School District—much larger in area than the city—there were 114,000 "non-English-speaking" students. Though 85 percent of these spoke Spanish, the other 15 percent, from 2,700 Vietnamese to 2 Swahili and 2 Nepali, spoke a total of 103 languages and dialects. Students at Hollywood High School, once an Anglo bastion, spoke 38 languages, including the speech of 600 Soviet Armenians, 250 Koreans, and 200 Filipinos and Vietnamese.

The conspicuous mix in population led supermarkets to install special shelves for "foreign" foods, and there were "uncommon market" shops in ethnic neighborhoods. Restaurants, run mostly by newcomers, provided the foods of a hundred nations, including Morocco, Thailand, Romania, Bangladesh, Peru and Mongolia.

In 1979, *Forbes Magazine* carried a thirty-page special advertising section, "Los Angeles: The New Look," text by Paul Ditzel. The city was visibly solid at its core, with five buildings as high as sixty-two stories for banks and oil companies and with the 300,000-square-foot World Trade Center nearby. Other massive headquarters buildings were going up.

Through foreign trade, Los Angeles received or shipped the wealth of nations. During the 1970s the city's foreign trade rose 600 percent. A third of the exchange was with Japan, a third with the rest of Asia, notably South Korea, and the rest with the remainder of the world. Trade with mainland China remained more a potential than profit in the pocket, but already Senator Thomas Benton's pre-Civil War vision of fabulous commerce with the Orient was a reality in the pueblo that Benton's daughter and son-in-law, Frémont, had seen as a picayune cow town.

By the twentieth century the growth of industry and the multiplication of engineering problems associated with elaborate water works, highway and bridge building and development of astronomy on Mount Wilson had made the metropolis a center for practical invention and pure research, with major activity centering at the University of Southern California, University of California Los Angeles, and California Institute of Technology in Pasadena.

Within a few decades of its founding in 1891, Cal

Tech achieved a reputation "capable of attracting to its faculty some of the most eminent of the world's scholars and scientists." In 1936, Cal Tech began research in rocketry, and by mid-century the Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) began to amaze mankind with numerous firsts—such as launching the first U.S. satellite, *Explorer I*—and marvels of unmanned space exploration that included flights to Jupiter and Saturn. In 1983, the spacecraft *Pioneer 10*, tracked and navigated by JPL, became the first man-made object to pass beyond the orbit of the outermost known planet in the solar system. The same year, working with the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, JPL launched an Infrared Astronomical Satellite.

The huge Los Angeles County/University of Southern California Medical Center, associated with General Hospital, ranked as the largest trauma center on earth. It was famed for its doctors' skill in neurosurgery. The new comprehensive Cancer Center at USC, basic in the whole drive for clinical research and cure, kept the institution in the forefront of testing "new modalities of treatment."

The UCLA School of Medicine and its hospital, housed in a building with twenty-two miles of corridors, a school new in every respect since 1946, had placed from the start an emphasis on nuclear medicine. It had one of the first bio-medical cyclotrons and was building a larger one.

How did the enormous expansion and development of Los Angeles affect athletics? They flourished along with the city as it gained in wealth, recreational facilities, campuses, and in the number of talented young men and women—whole generations often taller than their parents—encouraged by the climate to take part in year-round outdoor competitions. The public schools gave training to blacks, Latinos, and others who went on to college or professional careers in track, water sports, football, basketball, baseball, and boxing.

The history of organized athletics in Los Angeles began after the Civil War with the Turnverein and the founding of the Los Angeles Athletic Club, which employed, among others, German gymnasts and a fencing instructor brought to Los Angeles from Antwerp. The club first entered athletes in Olympic games in 1912, in Stockholm, where Jim Donahue won a silver medal in the pentathlon. Thereafter, to a series of Olympics the club sent winners and record breakers in swimming, diving, boxing, shot putting, pole vaulting, dashes, relays, and other contests. In the Pacific Palisades section of Los Angeles, the club developed the Riviera Country Club golf course, which the Professional Golfers' Association rated as one of the ten "best" courses in existence.

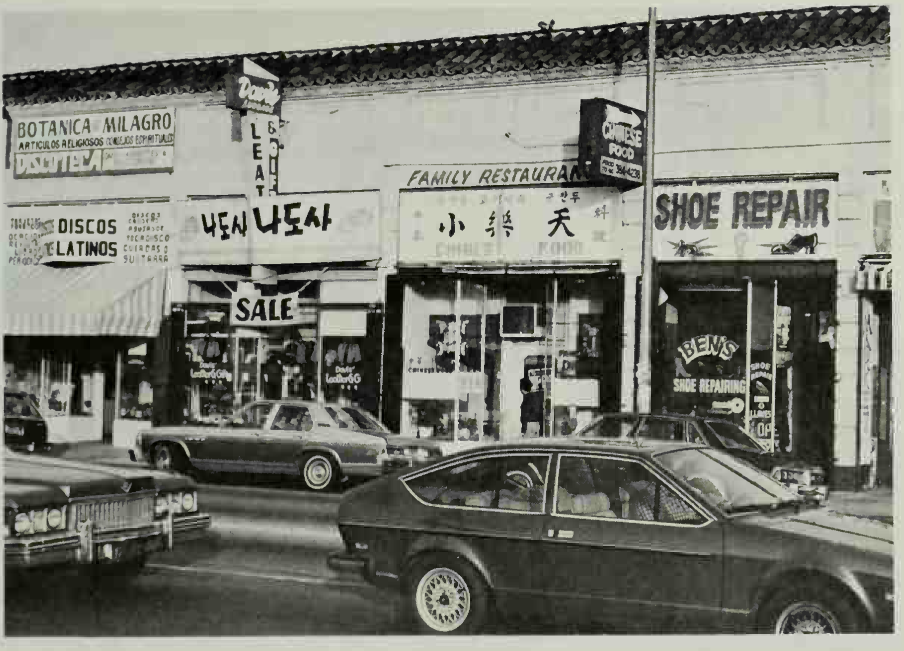
It was USC that produced Charles Paddock and dozens of other international champions, who in turn made the university one of the leaders in the training of world-class athletes. By 1930 USC stood as a salient element on the sports scene, soon to be joined by UCLA.

For much of the world, Los Angeles reached permanent prominence in 1932 during the Xth Olympiad, with its opening and closing ceremonies in the Coliseum, and with a series of stellar performances. Athletes smashed more records than in any of the preceding eight Olympiads as they recalled the glory that was Greece while competing in a mammoth arena that recalled the grandeur that was Rome. Japanese men and American women gained notable victories in swimming and diving. South African boxers won honors, as did French weight lifters, Swedish wrestlers, American racers, Italian gymnasts, and East Indian hockey players.

In 1932 the International Olympic Committee for the first time politicized the games. It refused to recognize athletes from the new Japanese puppet state, Manchukuo. Half a century later the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, an innovative association, not only welcomed participants from all the world's nations, but went to great lengths to make the games a popular event that involved the polylingual young people of the metropolis.

From early 1982 into the middle of 1984 this youth program, with corporate sponsors, caught and held the attention of a million elementary and high school students. Since the program embodied the Olympics ideal of free political affiliations or economic status, it meant open opportunity for minority young people to gain in skills, health, self-respect, status, and to win prizes and fellowships.

In all populous parts of the far-flung megalopolis the Olympic Youth Program scheduled educational, cultural, and athletic classes and contests such as those



Shops on Vermont Avenue near Wilshire Boulevard illustrate the ethnic diversity of Los Angeles.

in art sponsored by a bank and by a jeans manufacturer, in judo sponsored by a soup company, archery by an aluminum firm, track and field by an oil firm, sailing by an airline, swimming by a fast-food chain, synchronized swimming by an automobile corporation, volleyball by a computer firm, basketball by a shoe company, and soccer by a soft-drink maker.

In a city bulging with minority and immigrant children, the program offered an extraordinary opportunity for the youthful amateurs to be creative and self-fulfilling and, as the director said, "to learn more about each other within the framework of competition and fair play." From these local boys and girls would come future Olympics candidates.

In culture, as in finance, science, sports and tourism, Los Angeles vastly expanded the modest facilities of 1932 to the formidable offerings of 1984, when foreigners, like resident boosters, would see Los Angeles as a total cultural complex of world rank.

Many campus playhouses and commercial theaters were producing dramas, world classics or new plays. One little theater used multi-ethnic casts in plays like *Macbeth*. Ethnic enclaves supported El Teatro Campesino and the Japan-America Theater, and another theater pulled audiences regularly to hear poetry read in the original language—Russian, Farsi or whatever.

The County Museum of Art continued to expand and to acquire new collections, from pre-Columbian Mexican art to Japanese art of the Edo period, which one critic called "another cache without rival in the Western world."

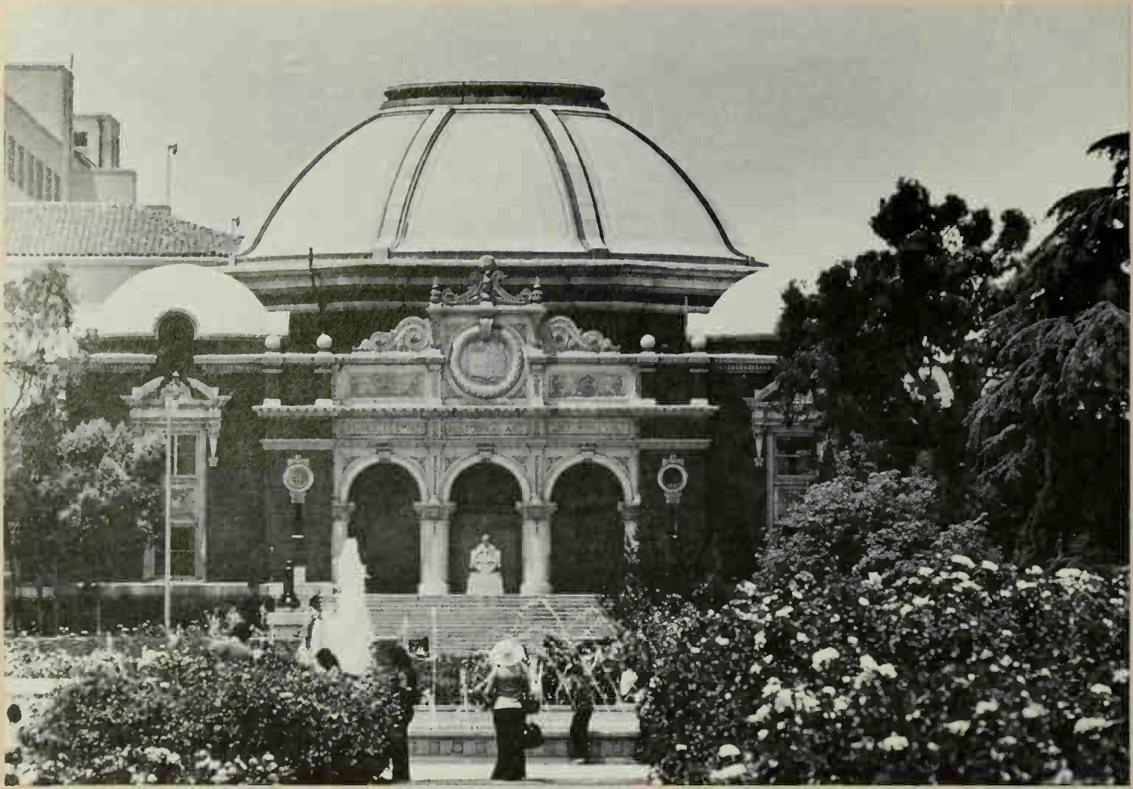
New since 1932 were The Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, the Music Center in downtown Los Angeles, and the Ambassador Auditorium in Pasadena.

In the early 1980s the Los Angeles Olympics Organizing Committee, with the sponsorship of Times-Mirror Co., started planning "The Olympic Arts Festival, Los Angeles 1984." It was to be a consummate, many-faceted series lasting longer than the weeks of sports events. It would present, for instance, the Royal Opera of Covent Garden, a special exhibit of French impressionist paintings from the Louvre, exhibits at the Craft and Folk Art Museum and the Museum of Afro-American History, motion pictures at Filmex, and a multi-national dance festival in Pasdena.

It was the Hollywood motion picture that had given Los Angeles a universal dominance from before the first world war to the 1980s, affecting styles, manners, morals, and dreams of the good life, while from 1950 on, Los Angeles as television capital reached a similar eminence. From 40 to 60 percent of the profits from television serials, as from movies, came from sales abroad. An example was the night-time soap opera "Dallas," unappreciated in Japan, stopped in Egypt on account of "immorality," accused in West Germany of poisoning the minds of youths, but watched by multitudes in more than ninety nations, where sometimes it was the premier television show.

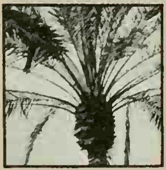
In 1820 Sydney Smith, writing a famous piece in the *Edinburgh Review*, asked, ". . .Who reads an American book? Or goes to an American play?" In 1984 one could ask, "Who hasn't seen an American film?"

So—the visual arts and public sports are ready to attain a resounding climax in the year 1984, when metropolitan Los Angeles will live up to the predictions about its destiny.



by *Walter Houk*

THE LOOK OF L.A.



One afternoon in early August 1932, our family took a drive in our 1925 Dodge sedan over to Exposition Park, not far from home. We went to see the place the whole town, the newspapers and the radio were talking about, Olympic Stadium. The Olympic flame burning from the lofty torch atop the ceremonial entrance was exciting to behold. In my young life it was the first thing I had seen both in actuality and in the newsreels.

Retracing the course of old outings today, I am struck by how much of the built and planted environment remains from that Olympics year. And how strong even in 1932 were such themes—later persistent in that peculiar urban presence we think of as Los Angeles—as the automobile, the sun, the beach, the industries of film and broadcast, aircraft and oil.

The automobile had arrived for good in the 1920s. So had the people. More than a million had settled in Southern California, and Los Angeles had doubled in population, to pass the million mark by 1930. Those people and their prosperity built a city so recent that when modern architecture came along it did not seem much of a contrast of new with old.

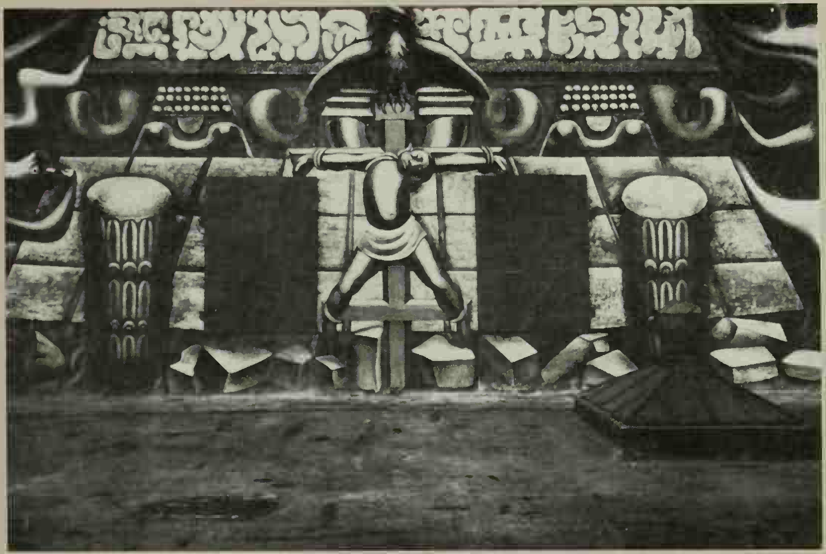
Even the landscape was often newly planted. Comparatively few mature trees softened the glare of concrete streets and sidewalks and the whites and pastels of stucco and masonry buildings in this Mediterranean climate.

Some of today's landmarks were then youthful. From the Olympics the park, of course, retains the 1923 stadium, enlarged to 105,000 seats by 1932 and renamed the Coliseum. Also still there are the swimming stadium and the armory, where fencing competition was held. Not far away are the Olympic Auditorium, venue for boxing and wrestling, and Olympic Boulevard, the city's former Tenth Street renamed in honor of the Xth Olympiad.

Exposition Park, site of the Coliseum, is equally renowned for its Rose Garden and Museum.

The Los Angeles City Hall, 28 stories high, is framed by the tall palms that distinguish the city's flora.

The controversial Siquieros Mural.



From its downtown hub, Los Angeles wandered toward the sea, erupting along the way into unexpected communities and exotic architecture.

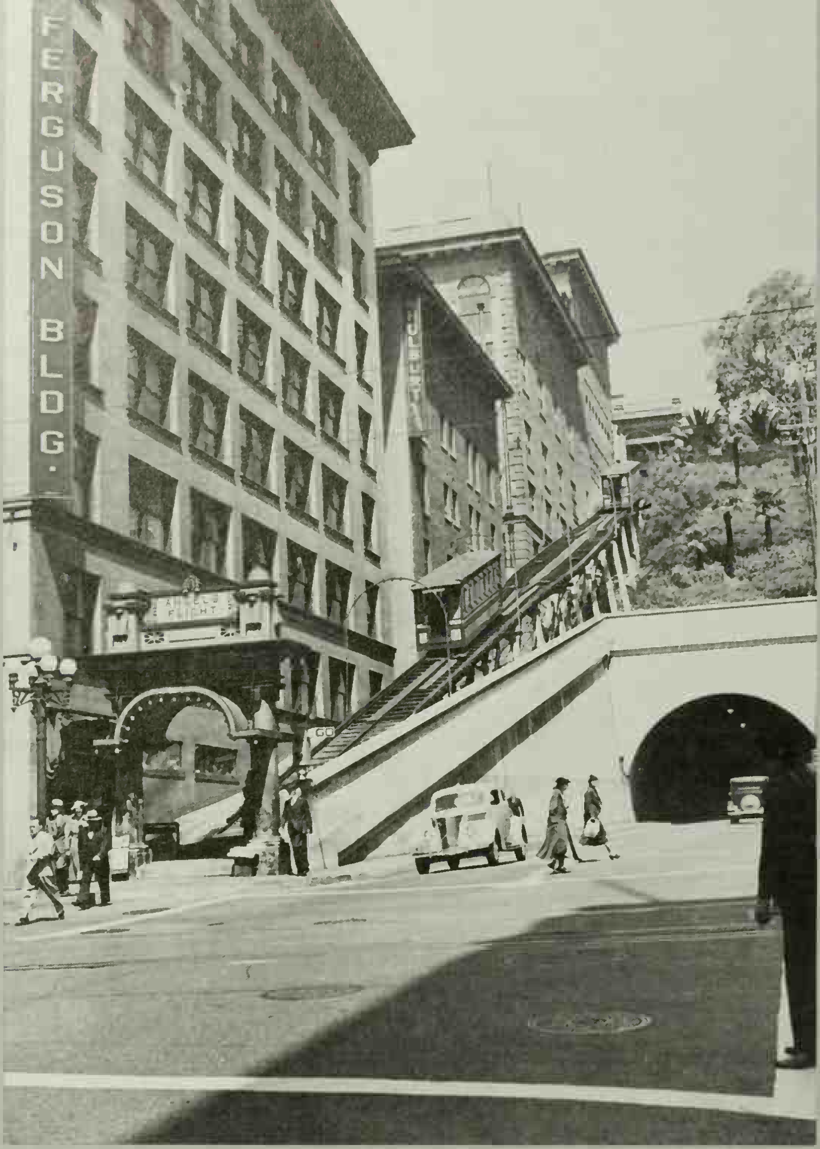
North of the Olympics complex you soon reached downtown and at its far end a civic center ready for half a century of ballooning into one of the most grandiose in America. Part of that process was the 1928 City Hall tower. At twenty-eight stories it was the exception to the city's height limit of thirteen stories, an earthquake safety measure decreed after the 1906 disaster in San Francisco. Presiding there in 1932 was Mayor John C. Porter, Iowan by birth, used-car dealer by trade, who epitomized Southern California as it had developed in the Twenties.

Within view of city hall, Olvera Street had just been created from a tacky back alley off the old Plaza. It preserved the Avila Adobe, the city's oldest house, and was in business as a tourist attraction. It also briefly displayed a mural by the fiery Mexican David Alfaro Siqueiros. When unveiled in 1932, the picture—an eagle, presumably American, perched above a bound *peon*—bearing the title "America Tropical" seemed so anti-U.S. that the proper merchants of the street soon had it whitewashed over.

Downtown south of civic center was lively. More than ever before or since it was a vital hub at the opening of the Thirties. Central to that vigor was Broadway, a canyon of facades, mostly traditional in design, mostly the same height—like streets in Paris after Baron Haussmann's height-limit edict.

The autos that had proliferated in the Twenties were mostly black, but rail passengers rode in yellow, orange and red. In 1932 a continual parade of bell-clanging Los Angeles Railway streetcars crept through thick car traffic, on narrow-gauge lines funneled in from far corners of the city. Shoppers rode them headed for the great department stores, from the May Company at Eighth Street to the Broadway at Fourth.

They also thronged Grand Central Market, the city's largest, occupying a former department store on Broadway just south of Third. In turn the market's Hill Street



opening received riders from the orange funicular cars of Angels Flight, beside the Third Street tunnel, down from aging Victorian, once-suburban houses atop Bunker Hill. And people came on the big red cars of Pacific Electric through a tunnel to the Subway Terminal at Fourth and Hill.

Day and night the street surged with life. Moviegoers came for the still-new "talkies," about the only widely affordable entertainment then. Six blocks, Third to Olympic, contained no fewer than fourteen picture theaters—all but one still there. The oldest was from 1910. The last, the Roxie, was built in 1932, ending an era for this Great White Way West. Theaters had been springing up for nearly two decades by then in Hollywood, along Wilshire Boulevard and elsewhere, and the end of downtown dominance was in sight.

The whole transition from stage to film, from nickelodeon to movie palace, was—and is—represented. Many of the theaters still have stages and dressing rooms, four have pipe organs, three are vaudeville houses. The grandest were true movie palaces, exuberant in that stylistic melange best described as "Theater Baroque." Their facades were adorned by fanciful sculpture: figures from the history of entertainment on the Million Dollar, the "Four Muses of Vaudeville" on the Palace, Michelangelesque pairs of film figures on the Tower, heroes and gnomes on the Spanish Gothic United Artists.

To the west, numbered streets were active tributaries to the great Broadway river.

Fifth had the Philharmonic Auditorium and the 1923 Biltmore Hotel, both facing Pershing Square, the now-gone Biltmore Theatre, the 1926 Central Library—a distinguished public building that hinted at the modern era to come.

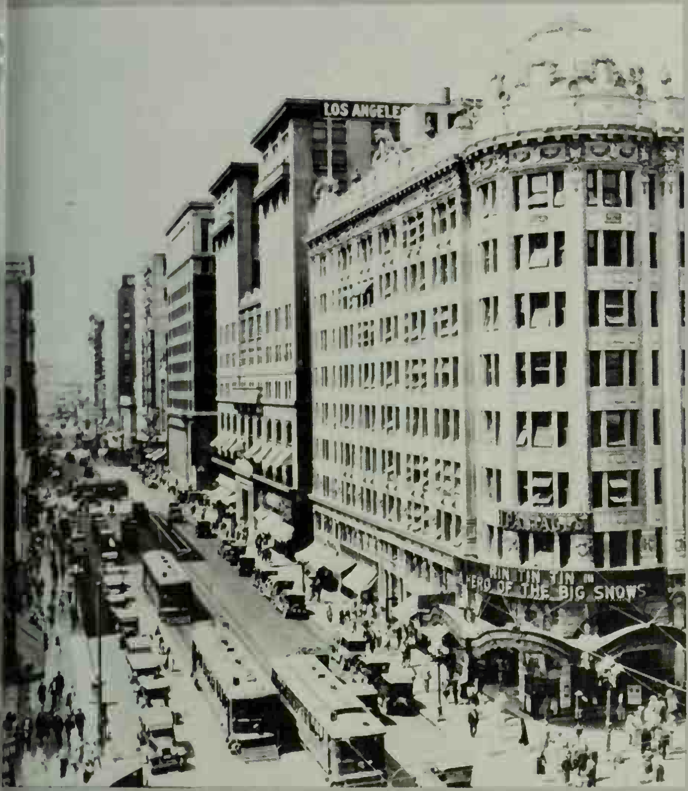
Sixth had the sedate 1908–26 Pacific Mutual complex and, by contrast, the exuberant black-and-gold Richfield Building, from L.A.'s Parisian Moderne infatua-

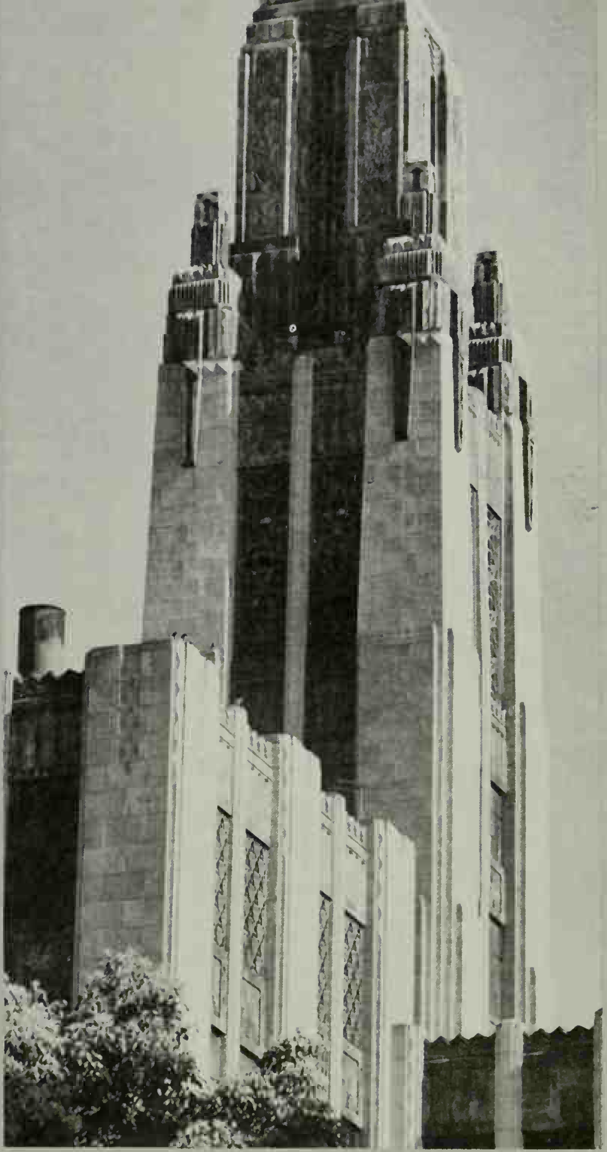
Angel's Flight at 3rd and Hill went the way of all flights—down and out.

A sculpture detail of the facade of downtown's Million Dollar Theater.

Downtown Los Angeles at 7th and Hill Streets when trolley cars were transportation arteries.

Bullock's Wilshire opened in 1929 to answer "the growing needs" of the city.





tion of the late Twenties—now gone.

Seventh had big stores—Bullock's, Robinson's, Barker Bros.—and the Los Angeles Athletic Club, the Xth Olympics nerve center.

No one then realized the implications of Wilshire Boulevard, soon to cut across the lake of Westlake—later MacArthur—Park to become the grand avenue from downtown to the sea. But along the street the character of Los Angeles could even then be extrapolated, as it can be read today.

One harbinger of future glory was the splendid Art Deco Bullock's Wilshire, opened just three weeks before the stock market crash in 1929. Excellent in design, it was also a pioneer in the retail flight from downtown and the first major building oriented to the car. Its main entrance was not on the street but on a parking lot in what could no longer be called the rear. It was a grand, lofty *porte-cochere* where madame could debark from her Pierce Arrow in dignity. Today its ceiling is still bright with a mural of the last word in transport in 1929: a steam locomotive, an ocean liner, the Graf Zeppelin (which called at L.A. that year), a Ford Trimotor plane with "Maddux" on the wing—for an L.A. airline bearing its owner's name, flying to San Diego and San Francisco.

Nearby was a hotel district anchored by the great 1920 Ambassador. A resort of vast lawned acreage and a swimming pool with a sand beach, it glittered with a night club—the Coconut Grove. Neighborhood hotels included the Chapman Park, where women Olympics athletes were put up, the Gaylord and the Town House, still operating today.

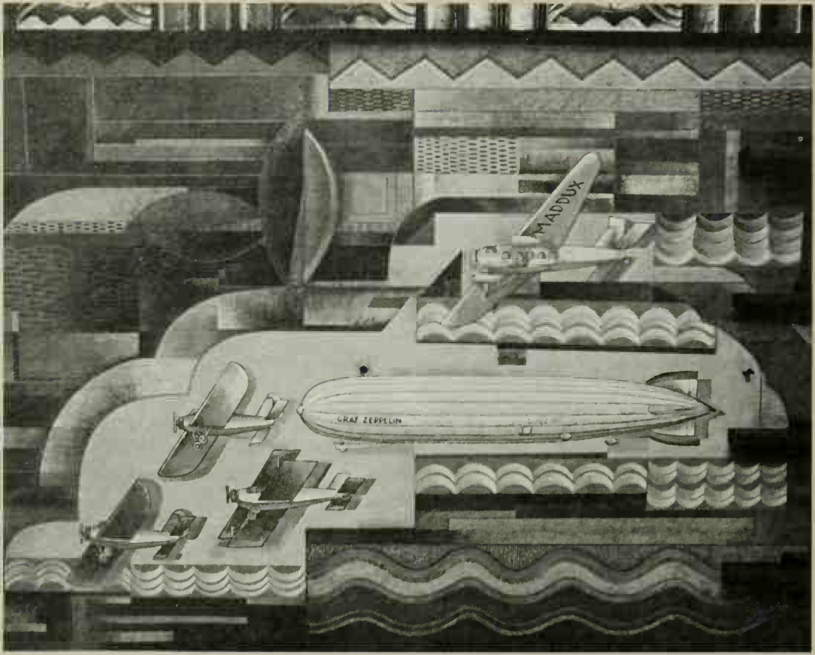
Incongruous amid the Wilshire hotel cluster, the famous 1926 hat-shaped Brown Derby Restaurant summed up a class of structures fashioned in shapes of objects or animals. Such promotional architecture reached its pop-art apogee in Los Angeles in the newly mobile Twenties, when most—coffee pot, chili bowl, ice cream

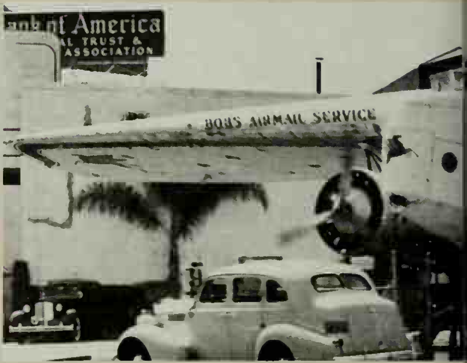
The Porte Cochere ceiling mural at Bullock's Wilshire entrance depicts the trend toward flight (below).

Western Air Lines celebrates the first four-engined aircraft—the world's largest plane—with dancing girls, of course.

The Happy Landing Gas Station at Wilshire Boulevard and Cochran Avenue —designed in the city's era of eccentricity.

Royce Hall, UCLA, one of four original buildings designed in Italian Renaissance style (far right).





cone, piano, owl and the like—were built. Their purpose was instant messages to motorists, customers in motion.

One stretch beginning to acquire serious commerce was the so-called Miracle Mile, La Brea Avenue to Fairfax Avenue. The resplendent modern Pan Pacific Auditorium was less than a mile away off Beverly Boulevard. The miracle of the mile was less physical than the fact of business surviving at all this far out, six miles from downtown. The automobile was making its presence felt long before the Pan Pacific became its cult temple via the annual auto show. The drive-in burger joint with its attendant "car hops" and the drive-in movie—both to become trademarks of the motor society—led the way.

A subclass of promotional buildings used vehicle forms. Scattered around town were the Zep Diner in a blimp shape, the Pacific Dining car restaurant in a widened rail car, the Ship Cafe, and so on. The most spectacular of all, seen on the Miracle Mile, was a real airplane.

It was a Fokker F-32, the biggest thing flying. L.A.'s own airline, Western Air Express, inaugurated two of them in 1930, with a chorus line of eighteen Fanchon and Marco beauties dancing on the wing of one. The four-engine, thirty-two-passenger behemoths proved uneconomical though, so one was scrapped and the other came to rest on Wilshire as the Happy Landing gas station.

Seven blocks west of the Happy Landing, the bubbling tar pits in Hancock Park—famous for their trove of Pleistocene animal fossils—represented the important oil component of Los Angeles life. The park was part of an oilfield, one of many in the Los Angeles basin that resulted in gasoline so cheap it encouraged widespread car use. L.A. was then an exporter of petro-

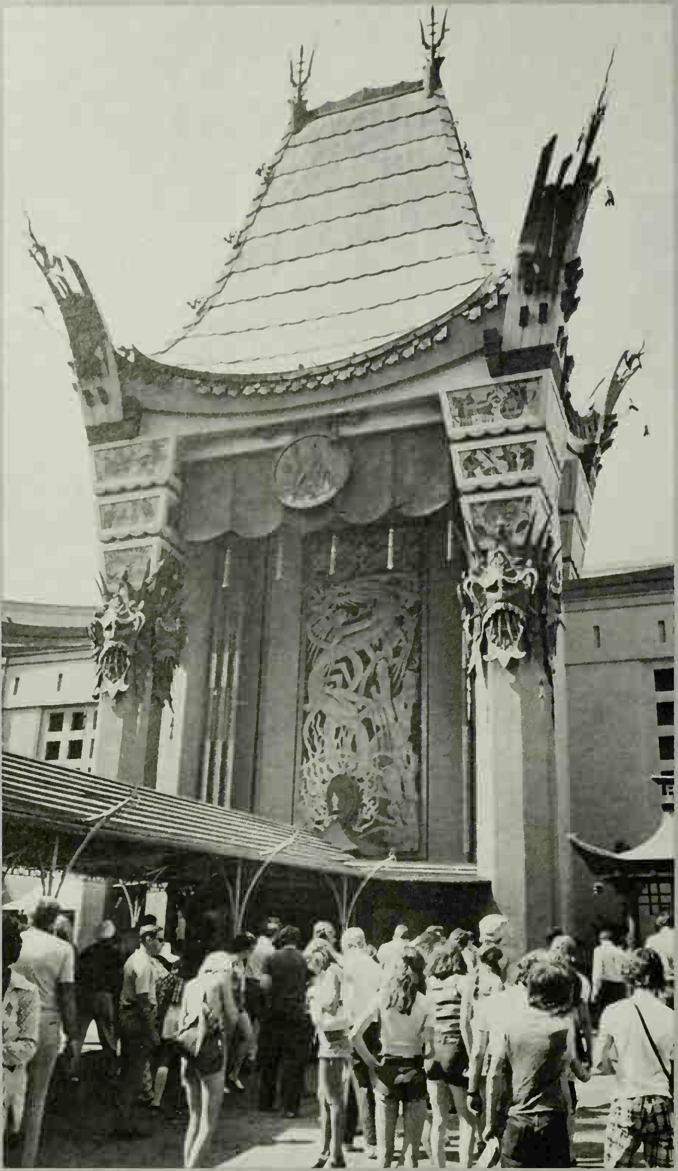
leum, and vast tracts of wooden derricks, refineries, tank farms and tanker piers were accepted parts of the landscape.

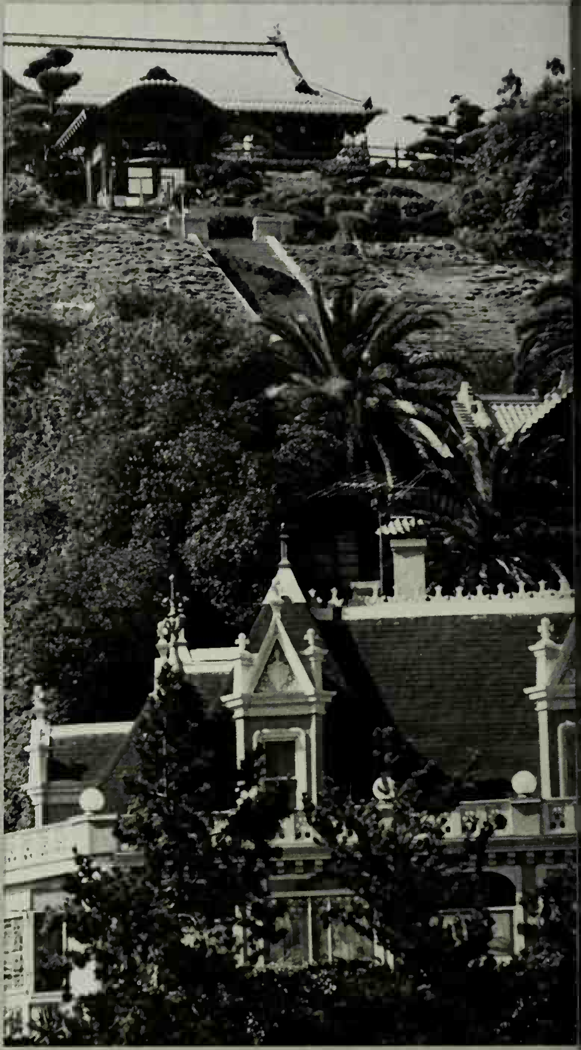
Such oil fortunes as that of the Dohenys had built the opulent Churrigueresque Saint Vincent's church over at Adams and Figueroa and the Tudor Greystone Mansion in Beverly Hills. That house must have inspired Raymond Chandler, himself once employed by an oil company, when he had an oil tycoon look down from his balustraded terrace over his derricks and the park he had donated—just as Captain Hancock had done.

West on Wilshire, the next significant cluster was Beverly Hills. Along the boulevard it was all one- and two-story shops, with a sprinkling of theaters, restaurants and night spots, huddling around a 1926 Beverly Wilshire Hotel, tallest structure in town, like a Mexican village around its church. But the style of the Spanish colonies was no longer grand enough for wealthy communities or patrons of the affluent late Twenties. Beverly Hills would show that in its city hall, derived direct from Old Spain. It opened in 1932.

Farther west yet, in the infant community of Westwood, the University of California looked back to Lombardy of the twelfth century in choosing Romanesque, a style coeval with the development of the university idea, for the first buildings of the school opened there in 1929. By fifty years later, unity had given way to the rampant diversity of an evolving "multiversity."

Wilshire's end on bluffs overlooking the beach in Santa Monica was "45 minutes by Electric or 30 minutes by motor from the heart of Los Angeles," to quote an ad for the Miramar Hotel there. The hotel was a hideaway for the film colony and others seeking seclusion. It overlooked its opposite, a showcase for the same people not seeking seclusion, a Gold Coast down on





the beach of palatial houses and such beach clubs as the Deauville, a branch of the Los Angeles Athletic Club.

Hollywood was a visible and viable entity in 1932. The studios were even then baronies walled off from the common world, but movie personages could be seen on Hollywood Boulevard, in such nighteries as the Montmartre Cafe (now a bookstore), such restaurants as Musso & Frank (favorites of writers) and the Brown Derby on Vine Street (the second, though not in a hat shape, opened in 1929).

A Hollywood Boulevard theater district had begun to take shape nearly ten years before Sid Grauman's Egyptian in 1922, but that theater brought the fame. It had the first forecourt for that tribal ritual that came to be called the "premiere," and staged the first such extravaganza at its opening. Forecourt, premiere and architectural fantasy went on to greater heights five years later with the Chinese Theatre up the street. By the time the Pantages—America's first great Art Deco movie palace—opened in 1930, Hollywood's half-dozen movie houses rivaled Broadway downtown for status. Nearby, the Hollywood Bowl was in its tenth year in 1932.

Centered about Grauman's Chinese was a gallery of fantasy that outraged out-of-town writers and moved Aldous Huxley and Nathanael West to celebrated descriptions. Besides the Egyptian, within a few blocks were a French chateau (now Magic Castle), a hilltop Japanese palace (now Yamashiro restaurant), a white-domed Vedanta Temple and even a Frank Lloyd Wright house on a hillside above a Methodist church rendered in Gothic.

The Chinese Theater in Hollywood, an architectural fantasy.

The Magic Castle in architectural contrast to Bernheimer's Garden, now Yamashiro's Restaurant—both tucked away in the Hollywood Hills.

The dramatic, cast-concrete Sowden House designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, executed by his son Lloyd, on Franklin Avenue in Hollywood.

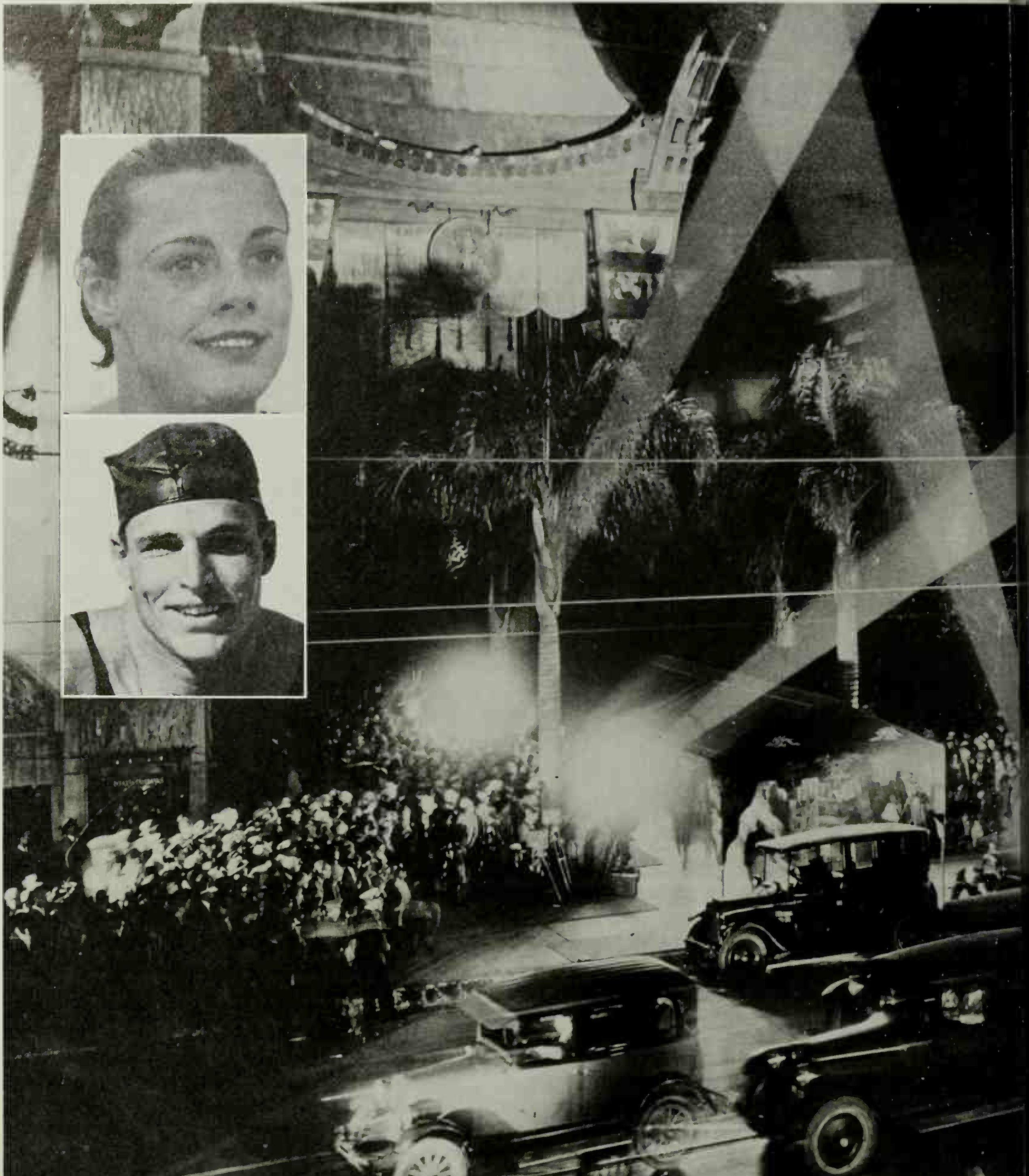
The Huntington Residence and Art Gallery in San Marino.

The message was equivocal. The public impact of unbridled stylistic hijinks obscured L.A.'s equally significant flowering of serious architecture, mainly residential—some of the finest work of Wright, Irving Gill, Richard Neutra, and Rudolph Schindler, dating from before the Twenties.

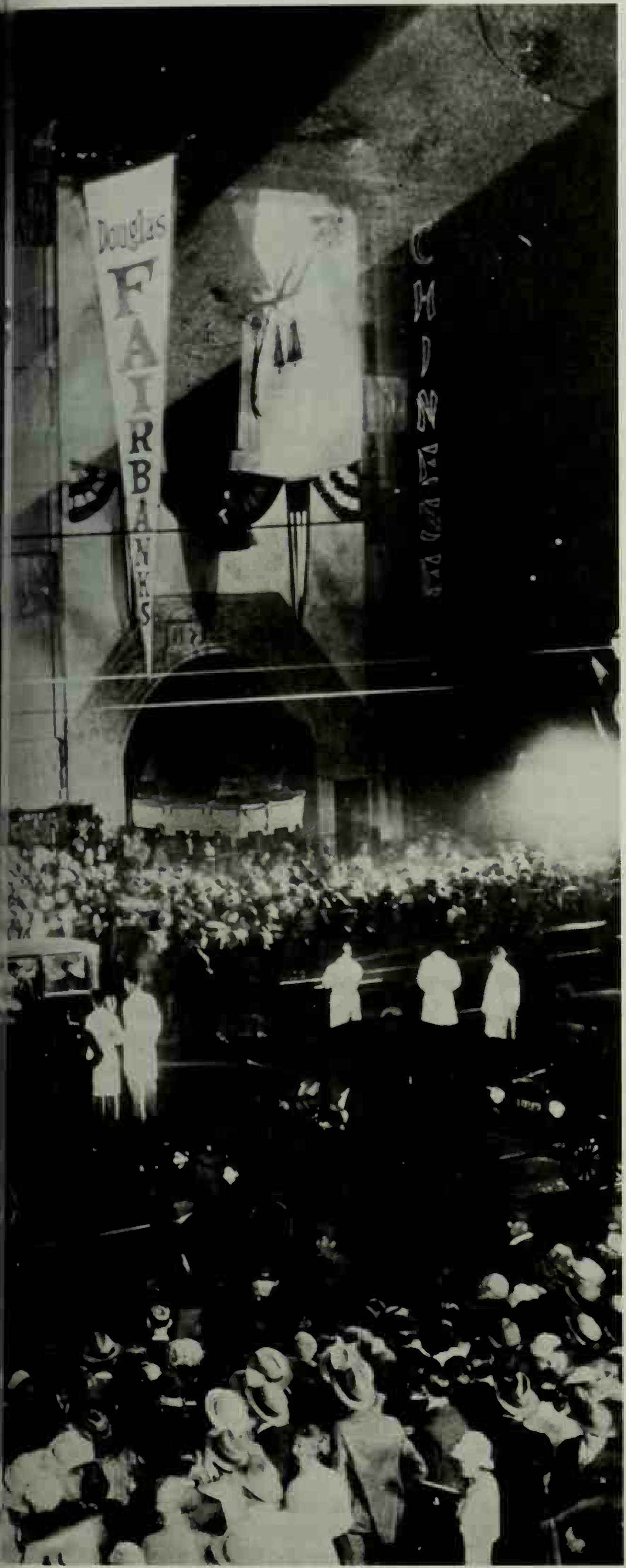
Pasadena and environs made contributions to the L.A. personality, too. The Colorado Street Bridge over the deep Arroyo Seco had become notorious as the "Suicide Bridge" as the Depression deepened, claiming seventy-nine despondents before the city lined it with an unclimbable fence.

Atop the abrupt mountains immediately north, the sun glinted on the silvered dome of the 100-inch Mount Wilson telescope, the world's largest, instrumental in forming the then-new idea of an expanding universe. At the foot of those slopes, Professor Einstein was visiting Cal Tech in 1932, and must have been bemused at the idea of a float dedicated to him in the Rose Parade.

And in neighboring San Marino, one of America's great houses, its library, art collections and gardens had opened to the public four years earlier. As the legacy of Henry E. Huntington, they summed up one era and looked forward to the next. Huntington had made his fortune from an electric rail network—and associated real estate—that translated the city's historic transportation into the technology of the times. Those routes predicted the freeway system that today structures the metropolis. And his estate opened another avenue, as the first in a series of art collections gone public. By the time of the XXIIIrd Olympiad, the city would be home to four more major art museums and a truly Medicean array of art and literary riches.



Grauman's Chinese Theatre ablaze with klieg lights on preview night. Olympics champions Eleanor Holm and Buster Crabbe are destined to be caught up in the starlight.



by Steve Erickson

WHERE FANCIES FLICKER

In Hollywood, a camera can turn a champion into a star. Some Olympics winners accepted the metamorphic challenge.

Ralph Faulkner remembers, at the age of ninety-two, and every line in his face reaches back. Some of the memories have necessarily become codified—having been stated for others so often, and in so much the same way, they're punch lines.

What brought Faulkner to the summer of 1932 was, put concisely, bad knees. Faulkner had been a budding actor in the early 1920s, when Hollywood was something between an unsubstantiated rumor and speculated salacious behavior—like a dark boat that had just pulled into bay, and about which everyone supposed, deliciously, an illicit cargo rested in the hull. But the knees went bad which, curiously, ended an acting career and began an athletic one: Faulkner began fencing because it was therapeutic exercise. He got to be rather good. Within a decade, he was brandishing his blade in the dueling chambers of Europe, where one morning the French champion suggested Americans were of a breed too barbaric to master the finer points of the art. This was intended, and interpreted, as a challenge. Faulkner remembers, "I beat the pants off him."

But we are running the picture through the projector backwards. A more typical pattern was one of honed and glistening champions with a distant gaze on thespian pursuits, once their speed, grace, agility or strength gave way before the last lingering toned muscles of their forms. That Los Angeles should host the Xth Olympiad in the August sun of 1932 was the kind of coincidence only achievable by a Fate with a sense of metaphor. For starters, where—more than a few won-

> What they [Hollywood] saw there in that strange sunlight were Olympic skaters and swimmers and decathlon stars, any number of whom were ineffably photogenic and bore the charisma that goes with being superhuman.

dered—was Los Angeles? A colony somewhere out there on the Coast; Indians, for the most part, weren't they? An odd place for a world event—must be a great deal of open space, ranches and the like. What do they do out there?

Movies.

Movies?

Hollywood.

Why didn't you say so.

In other words, *everyone* had heard of Hollywood, for which Los Angeles was barely a native, common-born euphemism, either vulgar or exotic depending on your perspective concerning Hispanic names. *Everyone* knew Hollywood was a very glamorous place where people were lovely and lived with other lovely people and were possessed of an opulence that would shame Egyptian pharaohs; and they never aged. But by 1932 Hollywood's world-magic was more charged than ever. Those who luxuriated in its excesses did not care about something going around called the Depression. Hollywood's rather careless refusal to dirty its optimism with bad news had a certain authority about it, because whether the public at large was entirely aware or not, or entirely cared or not, the industry had just gone through some bad news of its own, beginning a handful of years before when Al Jolson walked on screen and warbled. Suddenly the movies were filled with all these sounds—not a happy turn of events for those whose profiles had always told a thousand of their own words, particularly given the wearying fabric of the tinny-tintype voices that went with some of those profiles. Hollywood, in other words, had its own depression, induced by no collapse of any market but the collapse of silence; and sound, first written off as a fad, then an unreasonable panic, became a way of life, changing the art forever. And the art reeled, its sublime visual expression abandoned for the crude clunk of something new: even the Great Chaplin was intimidated, his current picture *City Lights* still clinging to soundlessness just as would be his next picture four years later, their only concessions being to a musical score and an occasional sound effect. To Chaplin's credit, the pictures were hits. But now The Dream had a soundtrack, and it crackled and hissed; it did not sound like a dream anymore. For a while, the movies didn't look like dreams anymore either.

By the time the Olympics got to Hollywood, the industry had fought its way back to preeminence among the popular arts: faced with a revolution, they surrendered and then, in inimitable fashion, assimilated the upheaval until it was no longer certain who surrendered to whom, and in fact no longer mattered. In a way Hollywood had spent the last few years catching up to its own promises and high watermarks of the very last silent years, and the new era had already produced *All Quiet on the Western Front*, *Disraeli*, *The Front Page*, *The Champ*, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, *Shanghai Express*, and *Grand Hotel*: it did this as though barely fazed by the Depression at all. When the Olympian athletes converged on Los Angeles, then, they held a great deal in common with the residents, namely an unshakeable certainty as to their own claims on human deification—the power to create their own reality, rewrite limits on human achievement. As the citizens of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and Paramount were in no way bound by the mundane constrictions which hardened and tested the lives of Poor Folk, the citizens of the Olympics rendered trivial notions of how high the earth's gravity might prevent a man from flying, or how quickly, on land or sea, man might zoom. It was as though the Coliseum were only the extended arena of the L.A. dream bunkers and everything they created inside: the magic was airbound.

What they saw there in that strange sunlight were Olympics skaters and swimmers and decathlon stars, any number of whom were ineffably photogenic and bore the charisma that goes with being superhuman. Virtually all of these superhumans would rise to their greatest cinematic potential confronting wintry romance in a snow-machine's exhale or the wildlife challenges of the industry's celluloid veldts: by this time Sonja Henie had already established records in the 1928 and 1932 winter games and would do it again four years hence; moreover, she even had a screen credit to her name, in the form of a 1927 Norwegian picture. Her ensuing Hollywood career was, by any measure excepting esthetics, a triumphant one, with her first two movies in 1937 titled *One in a Million* and, yes, *Thin Ice*. She had personality and blue eyes. Within three years she made half a dozen pictures, the most appealing with Tyrone Power, with plots that invariably involved ice rinks.

Johnny Weissmuller swam right into the limelight from the 1924 and 1928 Olympics where he'd amassed five gold medals; by the time he released *Tarzan the*

Hollywood, where Olympics champions became stars.

Ape Man in 1932, a kid from nearby USC named Clarence was breaking Weissmuller's Olympics record—not to mention the world record of Frenchman Jean Taris—in the 400-meter freestyle at the new games. The studios took the hint. They cast Clarence in the role of—take a wild guess—*Tarzan the Fearless*, which appeared a year later as a serial. Unlike Henie or Weissmuller, however, Clarence had dimension; this man was *versatile*, hardly confined to whooping it up in the Congo. He could portray not only Tarzan but Flash Gordon too, as well as Buck Rogers, Billy the Kid and Captain Gallant of the French Foreign Legion. Portray them all he did, in a steady stream of projects that began to wane only some twenty years after his first big splash. In that time he made almost three dozen features but, perhaps more importantly, nine serials which put the name Buster Crabbe on the lips of every kid who sat through all umpteen chapters of *Flash Gordon Conquers the Universe* and *Mars Attacks the World*.

Most notable of all, however, was swimmer Eleanor Holm. Of those who openly hungered for a more celestial stardom than even the bequeathal of gold medals could imply, Holm was both the most immediately famous and ultimately thwarted. She is not listed in the movie encyclopedias as a figure of even minimal importance, though in fact she did have a film career of sorts. But Eleanor Holm *understood* Hollywood. She was on its wave length; what they cared about was what she cared about, and they would have seemed naturals for each other. It may well be, in fact, that Hollywood's sights were just a bit on the low side for Eleanor Holm, that she saw things they never dreamed of; at any rate, there was nothing Hollywood could teach her about Fun, which perhaps took some of the impetus out of her ambitions. Always a fine swimmer, she was national champion in 1927 and, in the 1928 Olympics, finished fifth—respectable, but out of the money as far as medals were concerned. She became something better than a fine swimmer by concentrating on where she was weakest, which was her backstroke: obsessed with improving her backstroke, she began practicing it exclusively. By the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles, she was swimming the 100-meter backstroke in 1 minute, 19.4 seconds. Nobody in the Olympics had ever swum it better or faster. It was a performance good as gold.

But just as important to Hollywood was the fact that the nineteen-year-old Holm was a looker, and the swimmer herself didn't miss a beat. Were there protests forthcoming, with the insistence that the woman be evaulated in terms of her abilities and not appearance, and incensed indignation that all this attention to her beauty—stuff in the papers about the "Venus of the waves" and her background as a New York Follies girl—was demeaning to her as a human being striving to compete and be judged as an equal to men? Were feminist trails blazed and frontiers of progressive thinking opened anew, to the long-reaching betterment of sisterhood everywhere?

"The moment," Holm announced, "that I find my swimming is making me look like an Amazon rather than a woman, I'll toss it to one side. My appearance is more important to my life as a woman than any swimming championship." Hollywood wept for joy.

Warner Brothers signed her immediately to a $500-a-week contract and, some months later, having yet to make a single picture with her, renewed the contract at $750. They assigned to her as an acting coach Josephine Dillon, who in the Twenties had run her own company and was at the present newly divorced from a fast-rising young star named Clark Gable. Reports are that Holm spent most of her time with Dillon asking pointed questions about her ex-husband; whether she was getting anywhere as an actress will never be clear because, by the time Warners came up with some roles, the 1936 Olympics were on the horizon. What complicated everything was that the roles involved swimming, not too surprising to anyone but Holm herself, who perhaps thought she was ready to play Anna Karenina. At any rate, Holm balked, for the simple reason that if she was paid for swimming in movies, she would no longer be an amateur athlete, and no longer eligible to defend her record in the games. Which, whatever else she may have said about being glamorous, she was determined to do.

So she gave up on the movies and went back into training, a decision fate was not to look kindly on, and one which would bring to a head, in a way, the inevitable collision between Hollywood's lifestyle and the Olympics' purported ideals. One night somewhere in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, on the S.S. *Manhattan*'s voyage bound for the games in Berlin, Holm spent one very gay evening with playwright Charles MacArthur, during which they, if nothing else, consumed a fair amount of bubbly. Holm was at this point married to singer Art Jarrett, who must have been somewhere else. MacArthur was at this point married to Helen Hayes, who wasn't dampening the party with her presence either. Word of the fete got around very fast. Avery Brundage, whose leadership of the Olympic Committee was by now as set in granite as his thinking, fired Holm from the team. It was a staggering blow to America's chances in the swimming events. The newspapers in Nazi Germany—which had been anticipating the arrival of Holm with alternating fascination and panic—congratulated the Committee on its upstanding decision. Holm was unrepentant.

"I've never made any secret," she informed everyone, "of the fact that I like a good time, and that I'm particularly fond of champagne."

She switched her approach only when her teammates took up a petition on her behalf, at which time she promised to be good if given another chance. But she was not given another chance, and she was out of a gold medal plus a stage contract waiting for her back home on the condition she won another championship. Holm told the Committee they were a bunch of hypocrites and could take their games. . . . She returned to Hollywood where she did—yes!—a Tarzan movie with the winner of the 1936 Decathlon, Glen Morris.

Finally, in the case of Ralph Faulkner with whom we came in, as is so often the course of those less known, leading lives less spectacular, survival beats all: he is the oldest known Olympian, having fenced his way onto the 1928 U.S. team and then returned to do the same four years later in Los Angeles. What he saw on the other side of the night was a once defunct show-biz career starting all over again, though now what the art wanted wasn't his acting but his foil. For the next fifty years, Faulkner taught and coached the likes of Douglas Fairbanks, Errol Flynn, Cornel Wilde and Basil Rathbone, often standing in for many of them in scenes that demanded the skills of a champion rather than a dramatist. He rates Wilde best. He claims to have done many of Rathbone's more difficult stunts himself: "I've had a dozen female students," he notes with some scorn, "who could beat Rathbone on his best day." The last film with which he had some involvement was *Clash of the Titans*, and his most illustrious student of recent years was Bo Derek, with whom he sounds slightly in love.

He still runs a studio on Hollywood Boulevard, where he personally teaches three times a week. The studio looks like it may have been on this earth as long as its proprietor. There are many old pictures on the walls and the young actor is still around, with the bad knees. He answers the phones and becomes particularly engaged in conversation with young inquiring women; if they tell him they're German or French he will lapse into a bit of the native tongue, with an excellent accent, and then proceed to translate what he has just said into every other tongue imaginable, including several middle Eastern and African languages you've never heard of. A bit of the ham. He tells a story about an old director who once said he could recognize Faulkner's fencing style anywhere, "He said he'd know me by a square inch of the seat of my pants." So Faulkner made himself up and walked out on the sound stage one day successfully incognito: "Who's that guy," asked the director. A bit of the actor remains for sure, behind the sword.

In the meantime, the face of the neighborhood has grown a few lines of its own. By the Forties, even Hollywood was not immune to the world anymore, what with nightly blackouts before the threats of Japanese subs and aerial strikes; the studios may have transformed the war into the language of their dreams, but one way or another the war was there. Give reality a year or two and it will run all over the rest of your life, traipse across the lawn and trample the ground before you've had time to pull your head up. By the Fifties, Los Angeles had this weird sort of idea about being a real place; they call it Hollywood Boulevard. At the back door of Ralph Faulkner's studio there is a tree. Faulkner remembers—really remembers, as in a memory with texture and not just a punch line—when the tree was a little taller than his bad knees. Now it is a very tall tree, and it's still there, and he can still see it. And for all it has changed, it is, in some ways, the only thing he knows that hasn't changed at all.

by Julia Braun Kessler

AS WE WERE IN AVALON

Dance, romance and big band music were its lure, and on a clear day you can still see Catalina from the hill-tops and beaches of Los Angeles.

They may have been singing the blues all over the nation, but out on Catalina Island there was still dancing! In the '30s, there came from the spanking new ballroom at the Grand Casino, the strains of "Avalon," or "Santa Catalina, Lovely Isle by the Sea," while the legendary big bands made music every evening and on weekends too!

People came in droves. Young and old, Californians brought their visiting families. World travelers sought it out on their tours. They all flocked over on the steamers to the sun-drenched island for fun and games, mooning about on the open terraces overlooking the Pacific.

Even today, Catalina Island is that gem in the ocean, a desert island. Though every bit as far from the South Seas as Los Angeles itself, it

The shores of Catalina promise sun, boats and Big Band dancing in Avalon.

The Avalon Casino had just opened in 1929, a dream "place of entertainment" built by William Wrigley, Jr., the successful chewing gum magnate. He had bought the island ten years earlier sight unseen.

remains a special kind of place. And not, in fact, so very different from the one people sailed for in the Thirties.

Evoking the past, generally an impossible dream at best, seems potential at least on this sleepy island. And when Frank Buck, the current manager of the Casino Ballroom, turns up the music and lights up the enormous circular hall whose cantilevered construction makes an unbroken expanse possible, immediately the mood is soft. Empty though the dance hall is at the moment, the urge to dance wells right up.

Overhead is the lavender-gray fluted ceiling with its large central chandelier surrounded by a sunburst design. The colors, silver leaf, apricots and blues, seem just a little faded, but once the lights glimmer in their varying tones, the Thirties are right back with us again.

The smooth floor, more than 15,000 square feet of dance area, is itself laid in strips of maple, white oak, and rosewood, making a pattern around the central circle and resting on another layer of pine floating on cork. And whether it was to favorites like "Stomping at the Savoy," "My Reverie," "Star Dust" or other great tunes of the era, more than 6,000 people have danced here in this grand hall all at one time! Over the years, almost every big band was represented: Curt Houck, Jan Garber, Hal Grayson, Benny Goodman, Kay Kyser, Ben Bernie, Harry James, Glenn Miller, Count Basie, Woody Herman, Dick Jurgens, Freddie Martin, Buddy Rogers, Ray Noble, Ted Weems. Along with them came vocalists of the stature of Rudy Vallee, Jo Stafford, Dick Haymes and Perry Como to croon those popular songs.

And how proper it all was! Dress codes meant no trousers for ladies, coats and ties for the gentlemen. Though it was considered quite acceptable to dance with strangers, and meeting and mixing were encouraged, the ballroom was "policed" politely by the local constabulary. As a local lady, Virginia Renton, remembered it, "We were always guests of Mr. Wrigley and were expected to behave with that in mind."

Gambling was never even conceived of in this pleasure palace, nor was alcohol served in the Casino, even after Prohibition was repealed. Instead, the elegantly Catalina-tiled, palm-tree lined soda fountain served up ice creams or phosphates for 15 cents, or delectable sundae concoctions like "Avalon Temptation" and "Banana Royale" for 35 cents.

Dancers took that breath of sea air by strolling out onto the balcony between numbers. The spectacular view of the moonlit bay with the yachts rocking in the water, along with the softened tones from the ballroom made romance a thriving commodity on the island, and honeymooners were its particular specialty.

The Avalon Casino itself had just opened in 1929, a dream "place of entertainment," built by the then-owner of Catalina, William Wrigley, Jr., the successful chewing-gum magnate. He had bought the island ten years earlier sight unseen, to help a business friend in a speculative venture.

But from the moment of Wrigley's first visit, the Chicago industrialist was so enchanted by the rugged, mountainous terrain that it became his private passion to build the resort up again after several disastrous fires had left it devastated. This dream pavilion, complete with dancing and a huge new movie theater for talkies, the latest innovation yet, became the culmination of Wrigley's ten-year plan.

The structure, now a landmark for the island, was designed by Walter Webber and Sumner A. Spalding in Moorish style. Its solid construction, vast scale (twelve stories high, the skyscraper limit, as prescribed by Los Angeles County law), and its dramatic location way out on Sugarloaf Bluff, had it jutting right into the sea. Outlined against the sky, it was visible to ships approaching the beautiful Avalon harbor.

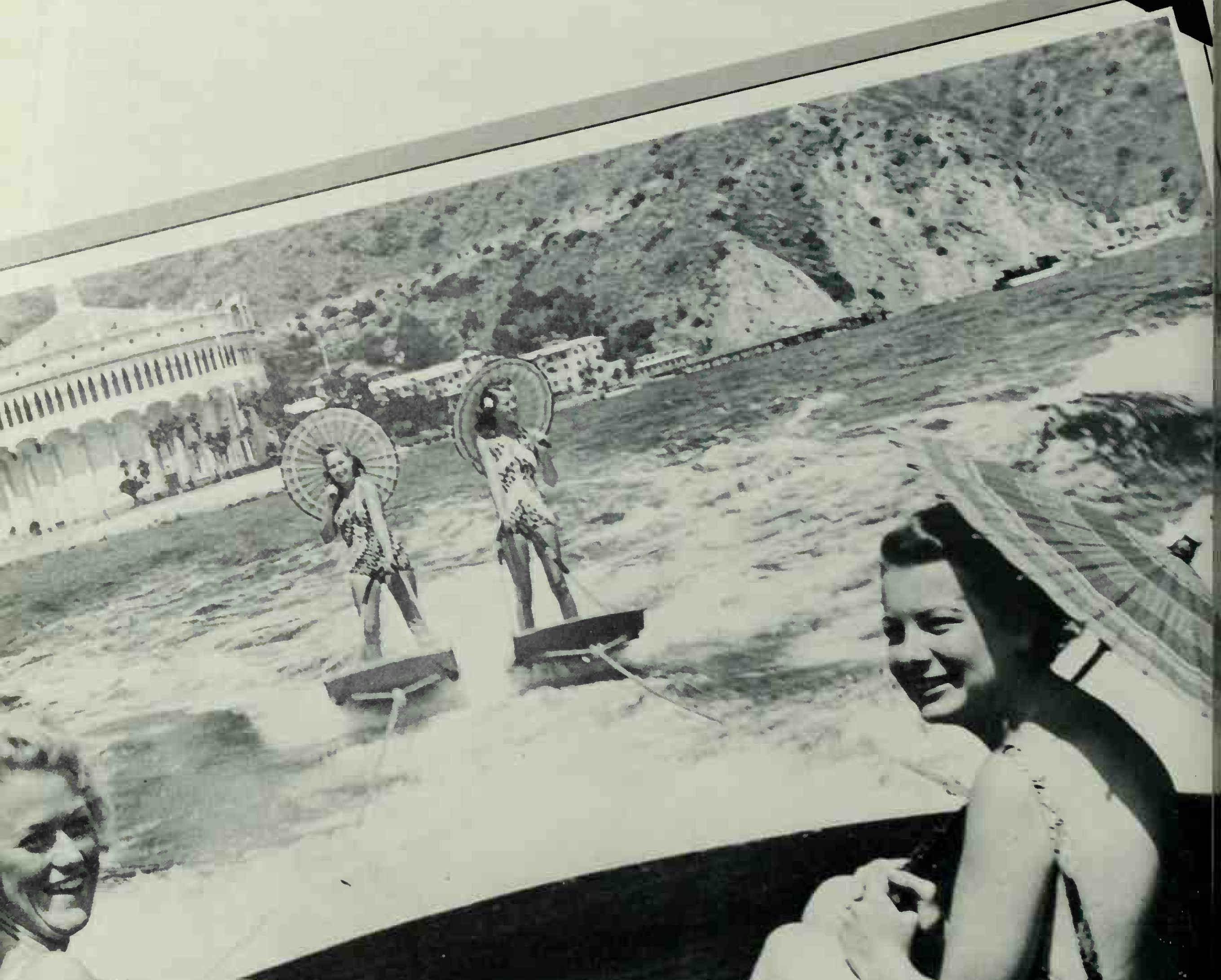
Showing us around this bright morning, Buck glides across the vast expanse of the dance hall to point proudly to an old microphone from the great days of the '30s performances. "I discovered this buried back behind the stage," he tells us. "All the big bands used it. It's an old RCA-M44A. I had it rebuilt again and now not a band plays here that doesn't beg to buy it."

"Don't forget," Buck adds, "in 1932, if you could afford the $2.95 round trip on the steamer, dancing here at the Casino was free, and later on, when they did finally charge, it only cost 25 cents at that."

He squires us all the way to the street floor, down on the broad winding ramps, which have served the many thousands flowing through the building over the years. There we enter yet another vast hall, the Avalon Theater, a movie palace seating 1,200.

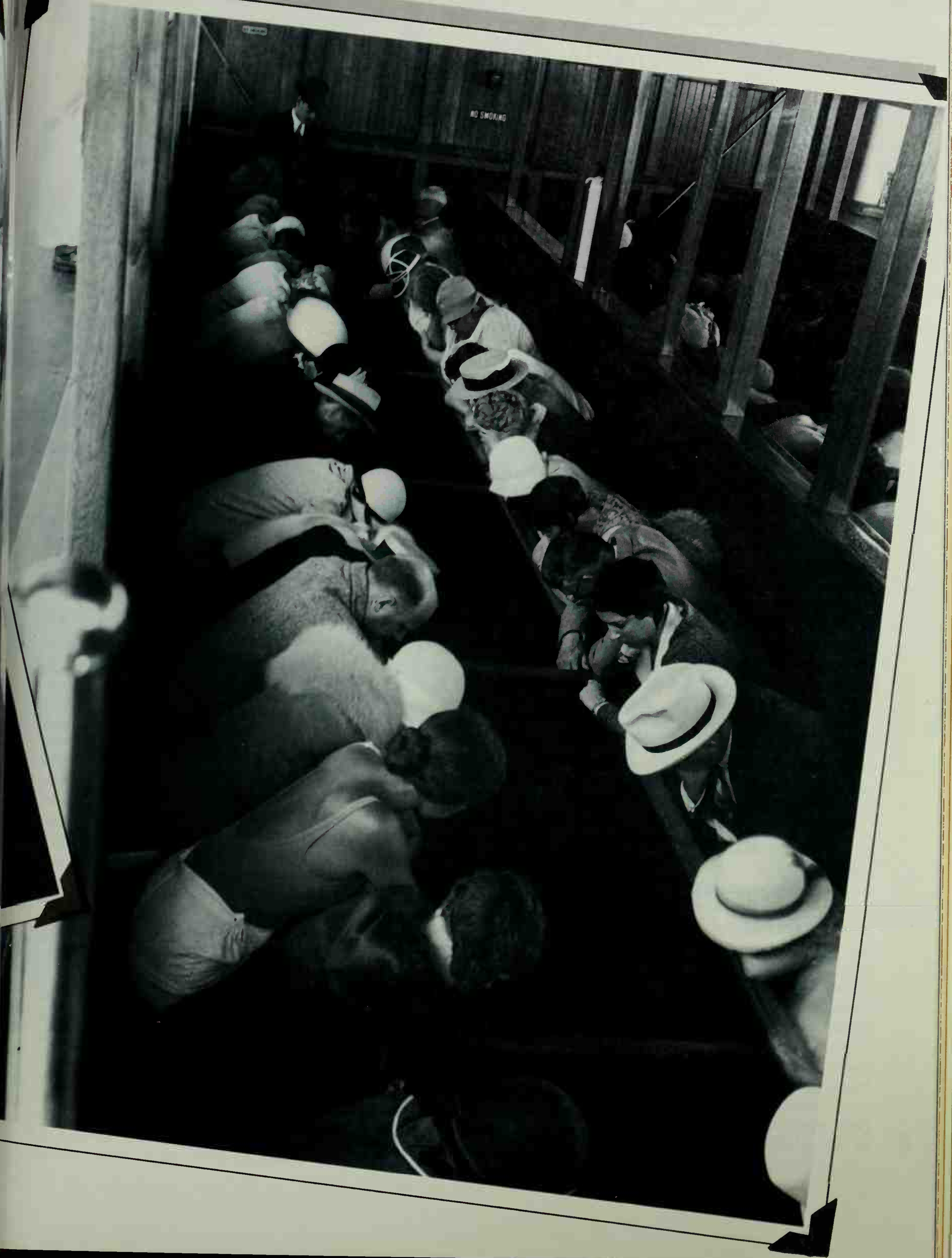
The grandeur and elegance that once was is still discernible right in the theater's lobby. On the walls is

A view of Catalina and Avalon Casino from an island tour car.



Smiles 'neath parasols in sunny Catalina in the late '30s.

A head-first look at the clear Catalina waters from aboard a glass-bottom boat.


NO SMOKING

> Even today, Catalina Island is that gem in the ocean, a desert island. Though every bit as far from the South Seas as Los Angeles itself, it remains a special kind of escape place.

paneling of solid black walnut just under beamed, barrel ceilings. Beautiful standing lamps are still in operation, and even some plush red carpeting with blue and gold floral design remains from the original decor.

The auditorium itself is complete with a magnificent Page pipe organ, a variety from Lima, Ohio, no longer made. The acoustics are so sensitive they soon have us whispering, as our voices carry across the 138-foot, 43-foot high theater area.

On the walls are the dramatic Art Deco murals of Gabriel Beckman, a Hollywood studio artist of the period. Over to one side, we see Indians riding across the plains on horseback, while on the other Spanish ships sail upon stormy seas as dark-hooded figures of missionaries lurk in the background. From the ceiling bright stars twinkle in a firmament of deep blue. And just above the stage area an Art Deco rendition of Botticelli's *Venus* rises from the sea. Below her, on the asbestos fire curtain, the figure of a giant strides the waves. It's all still impressive.

Back in 1932, a typical program cost 15, 25, or at most 40 cents for the luxury loge seats. You could enjoy a gala concert on the organ by Leonard Clark, the theater's earliest soloist on the instrument, before the movies began. Then, you might have watched Fredric March and Miriam Hopkins in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, and Joe. E. Brown in *Local Boy Makes Good* on a double bill.

But these were merely the indoor and nighttime festivities Catalina offered. There were scores of visitors who were more enthusiastic about great outdoor pleasures to be had by day. Many spent their two-week holidays on the island. Pouring off the steamers, these folks quickly plunked themselves down on the beach for swimming or sunning, or they headed straight down to the golf course, went off horseback riding on the picturesque trails or out on their rented bicycles. They hiked into the wild interior, trooped down to Seal Rocks with their binoculars, or were off on the excursions in the glass-bottomed boats.

The latter had been a tourist attraction peculiar to Catalina since the turn of the century. The deep-sheltered waters surrounding Avalon are so perfect for undersea growth that when the visitor of the '30s ventured up on this diversion there was a whole fleet of such boats in service to choose from. Either *The Princess*, *The Phoenix*, or *The Cleopatra* would sail tourists out to the leeward side of the island for a look at the spectacular submarine gardens with their exotic vegetation, along with the colorful denizens of these clear waters: the golden perch, opal-eyed bass, ratfish, kelpfish, candlefish, moray eel, abalone, sea porcupine, among them. There were the divers, too, boys fetching coins. It kept things lively.

But above all, it was the passionate big-game fishermen who frequented this benign island. From early on, they recognized a sporting paradise in the continuing supply of white sea bass, yellowtail, marlin, swordfish, tuna, bonita, mackerel, barracuda.

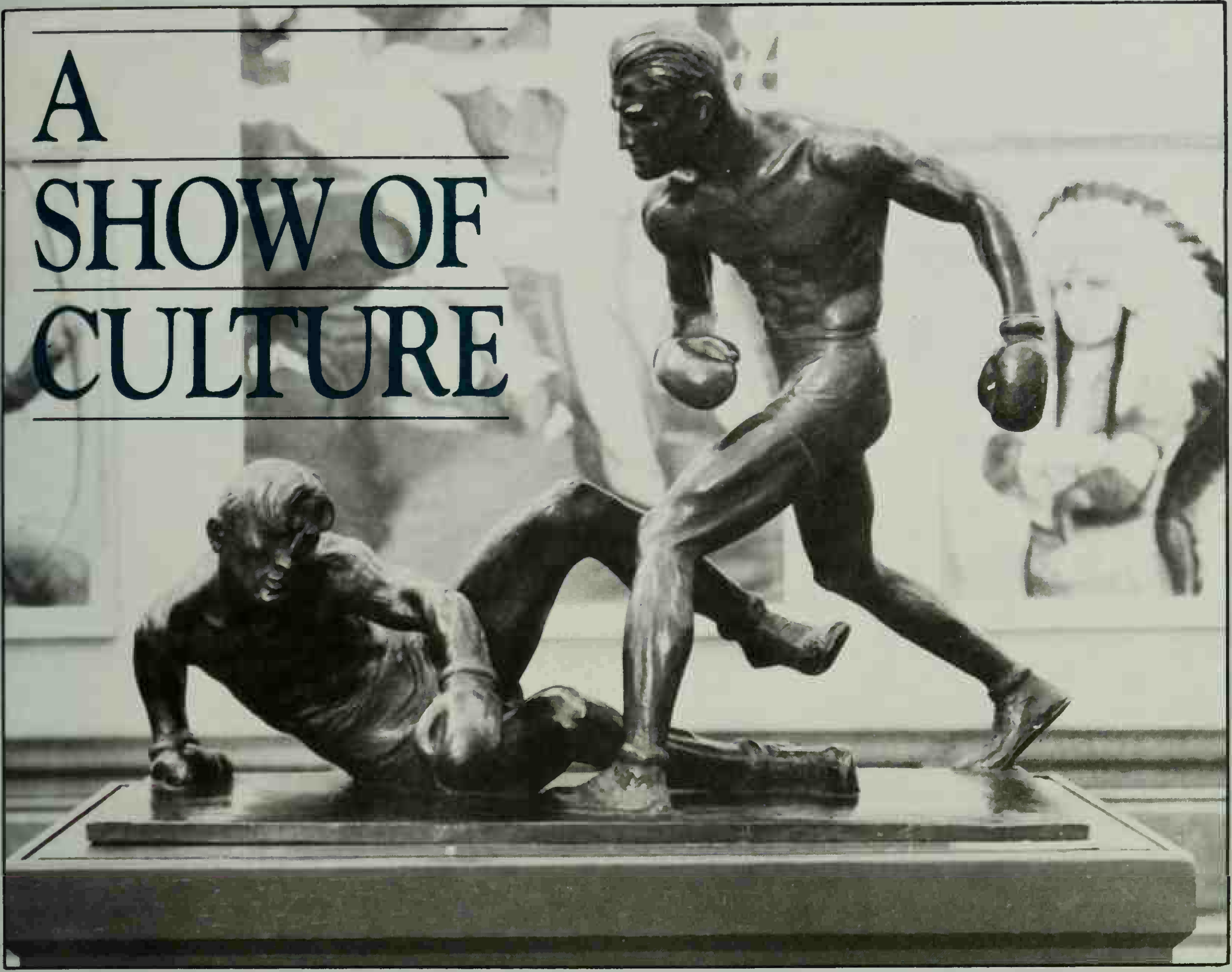
No need for tall-tales or big-fish stories at Catalina Island! Thirty- and 40-pound catches were common, and for the more successful anglers, a 150-pound tuna or a 500-pound swordfish was not unheard of. The island was soon known as the most aristocratic hangout for sports fishermen on the Pacific Coast.

One of Catalina's curiosities has been the existence of numbers of wild buffalo upon it. (Today, as many as 400 roam the interior. They are even known to turn up on the golf course, or be seen nibbling the shrubs in the Avalon School playing fields.) The buffalo made their arrival in 1924 with a movie company filming local-resident Zane Grey's *Vanishing America*. They brought just thirteen bulls to the Isthmus (Catalina's very own "movie set") to photograph them on location. The company then simply allowed the animals to wander away and graze peacefully in Skull Canyon, just at the back of Avalon.

Legend has it that William Wrigley, Jr., imagining his precious island as a honeymooners' paradise, deemed it inappropriate to possess such lonely bachelor beasts. He promptly dispatched his ranch boss, Jack White, to Colorado to import thirteen young cows for the bison. Their progeny thrived and multiplied.

Ever since 1972, this peaceful island has been run by the Santa Catalina Island Conservancy, a non-profit foundation whose aim is to protect its open space, its wildlife and its unique flora and fauna as a natural preserve. The special charms of Catalina will be gently guarded as the years go by. As a result, that quiet beauty will remain inviolate, and as visible to generations to come as it has been to the many who have loved it through its heyday of dance, romance and big band music.

A SHOW OF CULTURE



"The Knockdown"—sculpture by Mahonri Young of the U.S. —took first prize at the '32 Olympic Games Art Competition.

The bare walls of '32 have become an assemblage of riches in '84.

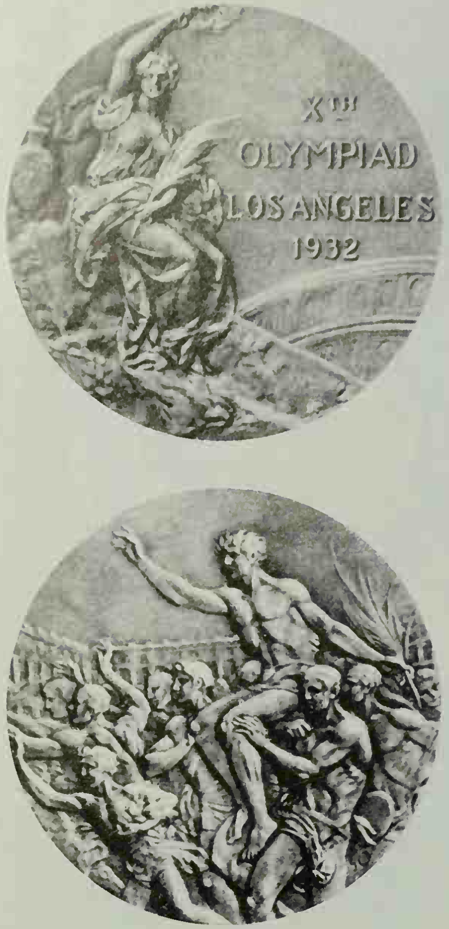
by Elaine Attias

Almost a century ago when the French aristocrat Pierre de Coubertin dreamed of reviving the ancient Olympic Games, he envisaged more than an international sports competition. A celebration of Man himself—in all his excellence—was Coubertin's lofty vision. Such it had been on the plains of Elis where Phidias had sculpted and Herodotus read from his histories. By 1912, the Frenchman's ideals were made concrete by an addition to the Olympics charter mandating that a cultural arts component accompany the Games.

So it was that the Los Angeles 1932 Olympic Organizing Committee was charged with mounting an international arts competition "to reunite the muscle and the mind in Holy Matrimony (Coubertin's words)."

Surprisingly, the combination of oilmen, real estate boomers, tourist promoters, publishers, industrialists and movie magnates who constituted the Committee made a valiant, if fundamentally unsuccessful, effort to get the couple to the altar. Not only was Los Angeles staggering under the weight of the Great Depression in 1932, but, in terms of the current vocabulary, it was culturally a far cry from what is described as a "world-class city." There were certainly artists of real quality around (among them, Neutra, Schindler, the youthful Bella Lewitsky, and Lorser Feitelson), but the essential arts infrastructure was lacking.

"Cultured" Angelenos who could afford the train fare would head "back east" once a year to see the shows, visit the museums, attend the opera and hear the music available mostly on radio and records. Little wonder the Committee looked outside city limits for help in planning their cultural extravaganza. They turned to Homer Saint-Gaudens, director of Pittsburgh's Carnegie Institute, to establish the budget. General Charles H. Sherrill,



Designed on a classical Greek motif, the prize medals of the '32 Olympics were finished in gold, silver or bronze.

a member of the International Olympic Committee, was named Arts chairman.

The 1932 Olympics Advisory Committee reads like a roster of the American arts establishment of those days: directors and trustees of the Metropolitan, the New York Museum of Modern Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, Washington's Phillips Gallery and Corcoran, the Yale School of Fine Arts, Harvard's Fogg Museum and the Los Angeles County Museum of History, Science and Art. (Replicas of the dinosaurs unearthed in the La Brea tar pits were exhibited along with paintings.)

The real responsibility for organizing the exhibition and competition, however, rested on the slight but formidable shoulders of Miss Leila Mechlin, secretary of the American Federation of the Arts, the group given responsibility for the job. It was she who successfully contested inclusion in the exhibition of *Historunner*, a sculptural depiction of Italian dictator Mussolini with a human head and wolf body, arms extended in the Fascist salute. A controversy erupted but Mechlin stuck to her guns. The jury, she insisted, "was prohibited from accepting any work that doesn't pertain to athletics." "Another of those 'art sensations' which spread over the front pages of Los Angeles newspapers," observed the *National Art Digest*.

Indeed, politics aside, all works submitted to the art competition were required to be "sports-related," created by artists living in the period since the last Olympic Games. The artists, musicians, writers and architects were actually invited to participate by the committee, but provision was made that others might submit works to juries set up in New York and Los Angeles. An unofficial exhibition for the Olympics called the "California Artists Fiesta" was organized by the L.A. Artists Council and held at Barker Brothers, the downtown home furnishings store. A selection of sports-related paintings by the respected but deceased Thomas Eakins, Winslow Homer and George Bellows was exhibited non-competitively.

Olympics artists and exhibitions from abroad were the responsibility of each nation's own Olympic Committee. The Los Angeles Committee helped out on transport and insurance costs with coverage up to $400,000.

By early May 1932, the boxes and crates, travelling mainly by steamship through the Panama Canal, began to arrive at the exhibition site, the L.A. County Museum, by happenstance located a few blocks from the Olympics Coliseum.

Some 500 contestants from thirty-one nations entered the competition. Together with some 600 non-competitive entries, they filled the museum's rotunda, foyer, adjacent halls and fifteen galleries.

On July 30, the same day as the Games began, the Exhibition opened. Some 384,000 visitors poured into the museum that month. They exclaimed at the hundreds of prize fighters, wrestlers, polo players, surf fishermen, mountain climbers and other assorted muscular figures drawn, painted and sculpted.

Eighteen of the twenty-four judges were Americans. Judges included Finland's Eliel Saarinen, Sweden's Carl Milles and Mexico's David Siqueiros. Thornton Wilder and William Lyon Phelps assisted Hugh Walpole and André Maurois in picking the literature winners. Predictably, the United States took top honors, winning three firsts, four seconds, and seven honorable mentions. California's Lee Blair won first prize in water colors for *Rodeo*; Mahonri Young's *Knockdown* won for sculpture and Joseph Golinken's *Leg Scissors* for prints. America's nearest competitors were Germany with two thirds and two honorable mentions and Sweden with one first and three honorable mentions. Other winners were Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, France, Guatemala, Holland, Hungary, Japan, Italy, and Luxembourg. Some artists bypassed by the judges altogether included De

"Joie des muscles, culte de la beauté. . . ."
Baron Pierre de Coubertin

Sports-theme paintings and sculptures arrived by steamship in Los Angeles from around the world.

Segonzac, Von Dongen, Willy Baumeister, Walter Gropius, Jack Yeats, José Orozco and William Zorach.

Each winning artist was accorded the same fanfare at the victor's podium as the athletes received. National anthems were performed and flags proudly displayed.

Not everyone was happy. *Los Angeles Times* Art Critic Arthur Millier wrote, "The show as a whole is inept and saved from complete mediocrity by the paintings of Thomas Eakins, Mahroni Young and R. Tait Mackenzie. . . . As for the foreign offerings, either the good painters do not paint sports or the Olympic Committee didn't find them."

In 1984, Los Angeles will stage its second Olympic Arts Festival. Not one, but twenty major official art exhibitions are scheduled. Today's County Art Museum, with help from the Louvre, will mount the largest exhibition of Impressionist paintings in history. The new Museum of Contemporary Art will stage a mammoth "Automobile and Culture" show.

Seventy of the world's outstanding performance groups are coming—the Peking Opera, the Rustaveli Theatre of Tiblisi, Russia, the Royal Opera of Covent Garden, Merce Cunningham, the Joffrey Ballet, the Dance Theatre of Harlem, Pena Bausch's Wuppertaller Tanz Theater of Germany and more.

The competitive aspect of the cultural festival has long since been erased from the Olympic Charter. Excellence alone is the criterion for participation.

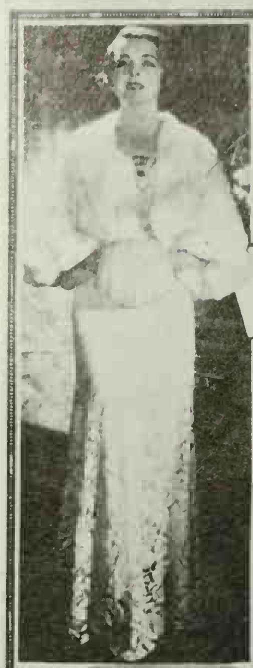
"Sometimes I jokingly refer to the Olympic cultural festival as the *Arts*-Mitzvah of Los Angeles," says Miss Mechlin's 1984 counterpart, Robert Fitzpatrick, Olympics Arts Chairman.

Coubertin would have been very pleased.

OLYMPIC FASHIONS

SPECIALLY POSED AND DIRECTED BY "Peggy Hamilton"

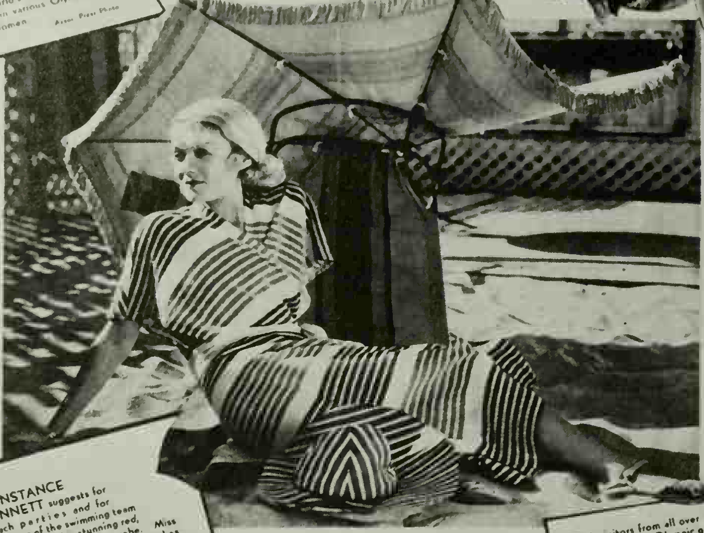
"Welcome, Olympic Guests, to the "Land of Sunshine and Fashions"



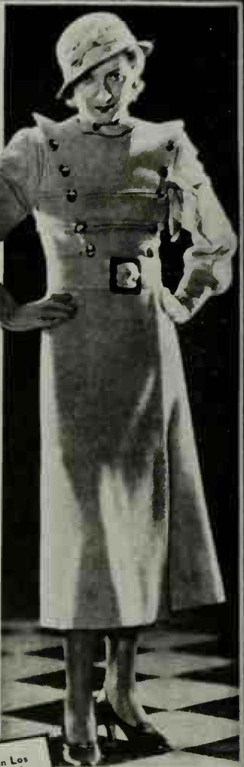
COLLEEN MOORE chooses for the formal Olympic festivities, this white lace evening gown with short ermine jackette, showing quaintly puffed sleeves which are appropriately set off by the round muff she carries.

STELLA WALSH, breaker of world's records, will participate in various Olympic events for women.

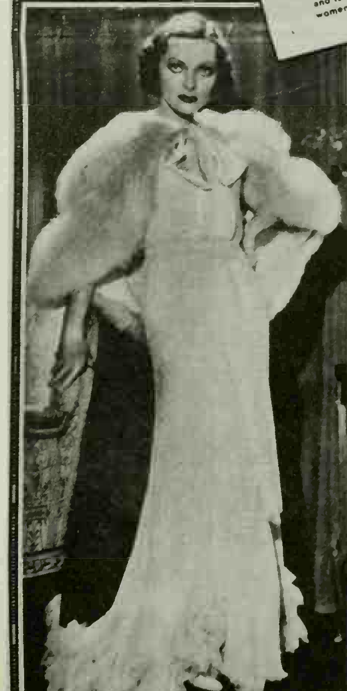
Assoc. Press Photo



CONSTANCE BENNETT suggests for beach parties and for members of the swimming team when resting, this stunning red, white and blue bathing robe. Miss Bennett has a flair for ultra clothes and is one of the smartest dressed women on the screen.



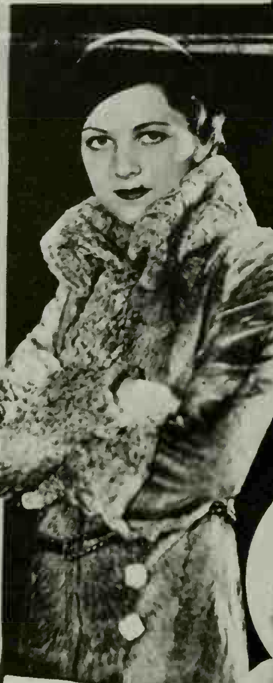
With visitors from all over the world in Los Angeles for the Olympic games, many striking and unusual costumes may be seen. **JILL ESMOND**, R-K-O-Radio Pictures Player, presents here a clever coat of soft herringbone weave, fashioned along rather military lines, with metal buttons and buckle. Miss [illegible] wears a little sailor banded with the same plaid used for the [illegible]



DORALDINA has perfected many shades of Allura, which is a perfect powder base in colors, especially to be worn with all types of sports costumes, hostess gowns and evening frocks, during the Olympic games. Every woman in Southern California will be vieing one with another for supremacy in beauty, costumes and hospitality for our Olympic guests. With this charming "five-way costume" Adrienne Ames, Paramount Star, chooses Doraldina Evenglow Allura and Powder Supreme.

HELENE MADISON, of Seattle, one of the charming women athletes who successfully qualified for the American Olympic Swimming team, photographed just previous to her entry into the Olympic Swimming Contest.

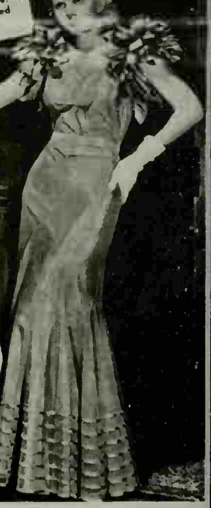
Wide World Photo



BECKMAN'S Exclusive Fur Shop of West Seventh Street, has imported many unusual and exquisite fur creations from Europe, with the very latest in early Fall fashions for the Olympic visitors. Betty Furness, R K O-Radio Pictures Player, chose this striking grey kid caracul with kimmer collar and cuffs from Beckman's extensive collection.

—Beckman Photo

"BABE" DIDRIKSON, world's greatest all-round athlete, who will represent America as a "Sprinter" on the Olympic Team.



JEAN HARLOW selects this powder blue taffeta frock, of slender body lines and full flounce, showing rows of taffeta bindings and bodice showing a sunburst of tuckings, for informal dinners, during the Olympic festivities. Her hat is made entirely of blue velvet flowers with a forehead band of matching velvet ending in a bow.

WEAVER JACKSON are featuring the Zotos permanent-wave in all their Beauty Salons throughout Southern California—a natural, loose wave, which requires no machinery and no electricity and through the artistry of their celebrated French hairdresser, individual headdresses are being featured especially for the Olympic festivities. Barbara Weeks, Columbia star, poses here just after her lovely hair had been waved by Weaver Jackson.

MADE IN CALIFORNIA

Where easy living and easy money have created fashion and its industry.

by Sue Fleishman

No heads turn on Rodeo Drive when a Rolls Royce pulls up to the curb and the owner, in a red and blue jogging suit, leaps out with his wife, who looks as if she's just come from a fast game of tennis. They're on their way to Gucci's.

In today's, come-as-you-are world, they are as appropriately dressed as shoppers in tailored suits and dresses, or as the hikers who have just run ten minutes from Franklin Canyon Ranch, Southern California's newest National Park. Others in leotards and sweatshirts have been pumping iron at health clubs which, as *Time* magazine recently pointed out, have become so popular that gyms are replacing singles bars as meeting places for men and women who share the determination to be physically fit.

Over the past fifty years we've become a sports-happy people. Seats sell out easily for football, basketball and baseball, and conversation becomes a lost art when the games are shown on television. By the very fact that the 1932 Olympics were held in Los Angeles, the games did more than create athletic history; they forever influenced the way people were to dress throughout the world.

It was the height of the Depression, and the current joke was that no one was born in Los Angeles, they had just moved there to escape expensive heating bills and the cost of heavy, cold weather clothes. Living was easy in this idyllic climate where a sweater or light jacket was warmth enough for chilly evenings. It was no wonder that braggarts wrote home about swimming on Christmas Day without feeling like polar bears and about festive but casual backyard parties.

By the time that friends and relatives arrived to see the Olympic Games, everyone considered themselves confirmed natives and enjoyed propagandizing the informal California way of life. It wasn't hard to win people over; some of the visitors never went home.

Marjorie Montgomery, a young Los Angeles designer of the period is credited with being the first to bring the cotton dress out of the kitchen by giving a new look to the cheapest fabrics. Using an innovative method of dyeing, she created an attractive crinkly effect in unbleached muslin and made ordinary burlap a popular dress material by renaming it hopsacking. When she did sailor dresses in faded blue denim, the fabric caught on in menswear as well and became a national style.

Nancy Dinsmore, West Coast editor of *Harper's Bazaar*, believes that Southern California living has been the major influence in sportswear ever since the Thirties. "Sporty clothes formerly used by professional athletes have become an integral part of every woman's wardrobe. This change evolved as new, young design-

ers created innovative styles . . . and helped move Los Angeles up to the second largest in the world in the manufacture of sportswear." The label became the message.

Bill Kissell of *Daily News Record* credits local designers Roger Forsythe, David Bober, Beck Thomassen, and Todd I with leadership in men's lifestyle sportswear.

Perhaps history is simply repeating itself since active sports have always influenced men's wear. Polo is a classic early example. When the society pages featured pictures of prominent polo players wearing polo shirts, manufacturers promptly created a demand for the shirts, promoting them for tennis and casual wear. Today, it's a traditional part of almost every man's wardrobe.

Knickers, originally designed for golfers, followed a similar trend, becoming an integral part of four-piece tweed and cheviot suits that became popular when they were introduced at $25, in the so-called ice-cream shades of the era. At the same time, side-vented shorts, worn on the track field and basketball court, were adapted to men's swimwear. Styles created for the 1932 Olympics are repeated today by Offshore, a firm that has dressed the old "P.E." (physical education) look with pockets and printed fabrics. Like their competitors Ocean Pacific, Arena USA and Speedo, they have vastly increased production, expecting that the '84 Olympics will be a bonanza for the sportswear industry.

Back in 1932 everyone laughed at the "little old lady in tennis shoes." Now women in their seventies are jogging in the hills and running in marathons. They still shop in Hollywood at Star Sporting Goods, where they bought their first white "tennies," but today they're paying $100 for top-of-the-line New Balance shoes to wear with the jogging suits they spent $260 for at Theodore. The budget-minded buy Converse Road Stars at Big 5 Sporting Goods for $22 and happily jog around in smartly colorful outfits that they paid just $26 for at Sears.

Eleanor Phillips, West Coast editor of *Vogue* magazine, recalls attending the 1932 Olympics wearing a straight white linen skirt, a double breasted white blazer and a cloche hat with a tiny brim. "Suits were the rage then," she says, "and cuban heeled shoes were either black-and-white or brown-and-white. Striped wool jersey T-shirts and loose slacks made their first appearance on the fashion scene in '31 and '32 but the women who had the courage to wear them were considered very daring."

Phillips says, "Women have gone all out for the young fashion look that Norma Kamali's marvelous designs are, to a great extent, responsible for. They feel appropriately clothed during the day in pants, skirts, jogging suits or shorts with a T-shirt or sweatshirt. Fashion is determined by how the separates . . . are coordinated and fit one's proportions. No one really cares if clothes are slim or baggy, ankle length or just below the knee, or if T-shirts are decorated with slogans or are sprinkled with sequins. Comfort is the byword."

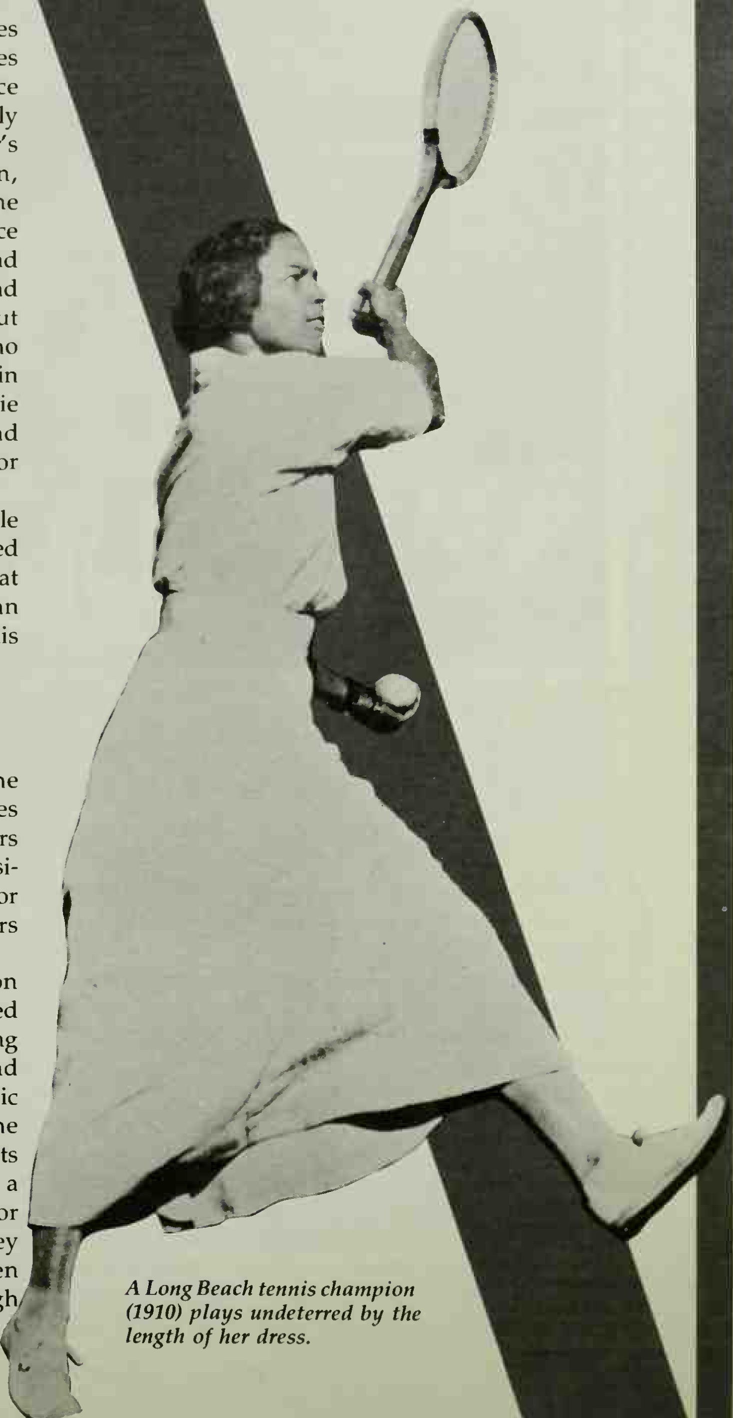
Peggy Hamilton was the official hostess for the 1932 Olympics and prefers the elegant look of the clothes that Jean Harlow, Kay Francis, Claudette Colbert, Frances Dee posed in for the *Los Angeles Times* fashion page that she edited. "In those days," Hamilton says, "fashion was created in Hollywood by designers Adrian and Howard Greer and copied in New York and Paris. Their concession to sports was the loafer suit, with its straight three-quarter length topper originated here in '32 and which swept the country like the Olympics' red, white and blue color theme."

In the 1930s people began body building exercises along the beach at Santa Monica to emulate the figures of the visiting sports idols. Men swam in one-piece jersey suits, but women's beach-wear was more highly styled with the introduction of Catalina Swimwear's California Hand-Printed Laxtex suits. Travis Banton, who designed clothes for films and dressed Marlene Dietrich, also created and popularized the one-piece wool knit or jersey bathing suits with tank tops and body-hugging shorts. The human figure that we had taken such pains to conceal was definitely coming out of the closet. Loretta Young was one of the few who had the courage to walk along the beach at Malibu in a bare-midriff bathing suit. Her neighbors in the movie colony couldn't have been more shocked if she had come out in the hip-high French bikini that we take for granted today.

Women's golf clothes have changed surprisingly little over the years. But when Gussie Moran's lace-trimmed panties peeked out from beneath her tennis dress at Wimbledon in 1940, she was the envy of every woman who remembered missing fast serves on the tennis courts as they tripped over ankle-length dresses.

Two years ago marketing research projected the Olympics would be the catalyst for $9 billion retail sales of made-in-California sportswear, and manufacturers quickly geared up to fulfill the needs of sports enthusiasts. Major companies are increasing production for the onslaught of the two million potential shoppers expected to arrive in Los Angeles for the games.

By the time that the Olympic torch flames out on August 12, 1984, Levi Strauss & Co. will have supplied over 600,000 items of clothing for the games, outfitting the athletes in all but their competition uniforms, and dressing committee executives, event judges, Olympic Village hosts, ushers, parking lot attendants and all the sellers right down to the men tossing bags of peanuts down the aisles to hungry spectators. They've come a long way since 1932 when their logo just stood for "Levi's" and work clothes. It makes one wonder if they will be creating space suits for everyone to wear when Los Angeles next hosts the Olympics. A float through the air with the greatest of ease?



A Long Beach tennis champion (1910) plays undeterred by the length of her dress.

A Memory

The pleasure of driving or trolleying around Southern California in the Thirties made even the Depression tolerable.

by Lawrence Clark Powell

Coming back to Southern California in 1933 after a three-year absence in Europe posed no geographical problems. The old neighborhoods, roads and byways were as I remembered them. I returned filled with nostalgia for the land and my orange grove boyhood in the San Gabriel Valley.

If Southern California showed no signs of change, my material prospects were not what they had been when I left the country. The family fortunes had gone down in the Crash. I was reduced to a trunkful of books, a French typewriter, and my old wind instruments of jazz band days.

My brother offered lodging in the Pasadena home owned by his wife's parents, and also the loan of his '29 Model A roadster. Instead of job hunting, as they probably expected me to do, I went on a leisurely jaunt to see the byways of years gone by. That I missed the Olympics by a year did not trouble me. I had traded the balls and bats of my boyhood for pencil, pad and typewriter.

With top down and a book and sandwich on the seat beside me, I wandered out Foothill Boulevard with a stop in Ontario to see the huge old camphor tree, then on to the Guasti vineyard, pausing to taste the zinfandel of a friendly vintner. In carefree mood I festooned the Ford with grape leaves and went merrily on my way, unmindful of what lay ahead.

I needed no map to find my way back to Poet MacIntyre's cabin on the La Crescenta slope where my gift of a jug of that same zinfandel made me doubly welcome. I still knew the shortcuts to avoid traffic. In that time before freeways my knowing the bygone backways meant slow

# of Byways

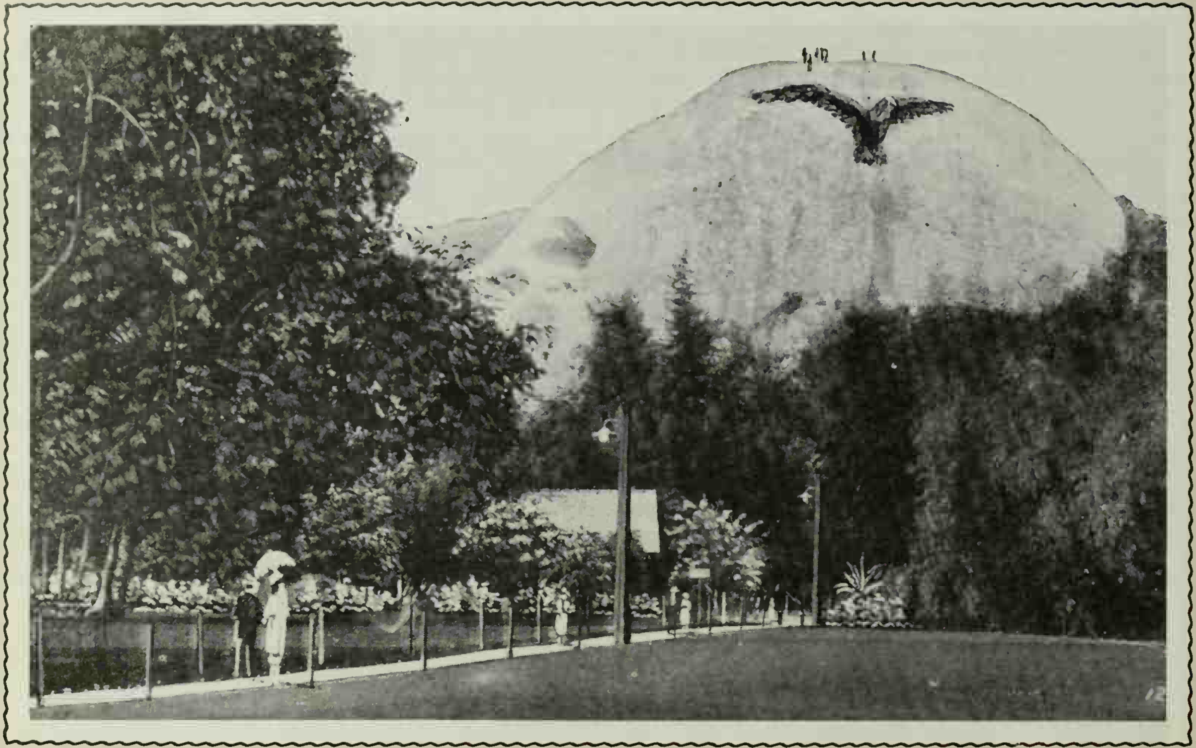
and easy routes between Pasadena and the downtown Los Angeles Public Library. I took roads back of the Monterey Hills that opened onto Huntington Drive, then cut through past Rose Hill and the old Seelig Zoo, grouped around a jungle *cienega*, to connect with North Broadway, past Ptomaine Tommy's all night beanery, over the river and down the Flower Street hill to sanctuary in a temple-like building.

Family and friends continued to prove indispensable. My uncle gave me a 1925 Star coupé. A dollar bought eight gallons of gas. Up Lake Avenue I drove to the foot of the Sierra Madre although the Star could barely make it. Across the Arroyo Seco I chugged on the Colorado Street bridge, past the conglomerate boulder whose weather-sculpted face gave Eagle Rock its name. I found my way back to boyhood haunts at East Newport by many a devious and cunning route that crossed the Rio San Gabriel near Whittier, zigged and zagged east and southeast through Buena Park and Westminster, making boulevard stops but seeing no traffic lights, to finally cross the Rio Santa Ana and come out on the ocean front below the Bolsa Chica, then rambling on into Newport with its unrailed long pier pointing to seagreen, mackerel-infested water at the end.

When my money was spent in such carefree cruising, I sold my saxophones: the gold and silver plated Buescher soprano and alto and the Conn tenor and baritone, all with silver-inlaid ebony mouthpieces. A euphoric feeling of prosperity led to marriage with my college sweetheart Fay Ellen. Because my brothers had both been married in the Ventura County Courthouse, we took the long drive across the Big Tujunga wash past San Fernando and over Newhall Pass to meet the Rio Santa Clara and follow it down to the sea, through Rancho Sespe's lemon groves in bloom.

We honeymooned at Three Arches south of Laguna in a furnished cottage leased for three months at fif-

Arroyo Seco, Colorado Street Bridge, Pasadena, California, at left.
Arch Beach, Laguna Beach, California.



teen dollars a month. My hope was to feed us by freelance writing. Not a lot of money was needed, then with milk a nickel a quart, bread as cheap, and eggs a penny apiece.

That was a halcyon coast, backed by wild country hardly changed since the days of the padres and vaqueros. The Irvine Ranch was undeveloped miles of fields and orchards and hills of grazing cattle. The Pacific was our frontyard, the beaches ours alone. I wrote but sold nothing.

And so when the lease was up and the groceries gone, we moved back to the city to house-sit a bank foreclosure for a rent of ten dollars a month. I became a bibliofactotum to bookseller Jake Zeitlin, and there ensued a two-and-a-half-year apprenticeship to that wise and kindly man that proved as valuable as the years of study abroad.

Sixth Street was the street of second-hand bookshops. Rents were low, the city content to build close to the ground. With carfare from home to town costing eight cents roundtrip on a commuter ticket, I rode the Edendale carline and did a lot of reading en route.

A year at the university in Berkeley gaining a library degree brought a job in the Los Angeles Public Library and finally took us to UCLA where we harbored for nearly thirty years. Our progress can be charted by the automobiles we owned. The Star was followed by a Willys-Knight sleeve valve and a Paige-Jewett which I wrapped around a Los Gatos telephone pole after over-celebrating John Steinbeck's finishing *The Grapes of Wrath*. A Rockne, a Chevy, an Olds 6 (our first hydramatic) through a pair of Hillmans, a Jaguar 3.4 litres, a VW Bug, a Kharmann Ghia and a Porsche S-75, to a brace of Citroens and finally to what appears to be the end of Auto Row with Fay's Scirocco and my 4-wheel drive International Scout.

Our Arizona residency the past dozen years has meant infrequent returns to Southern California. When we do, it's freeway all the way. Interstate 8 from Tucson via Gila Bend and Yuma and over the Lagunas to San Diego is 400 miles of fine road that takes only eight hours of easy driving. Would

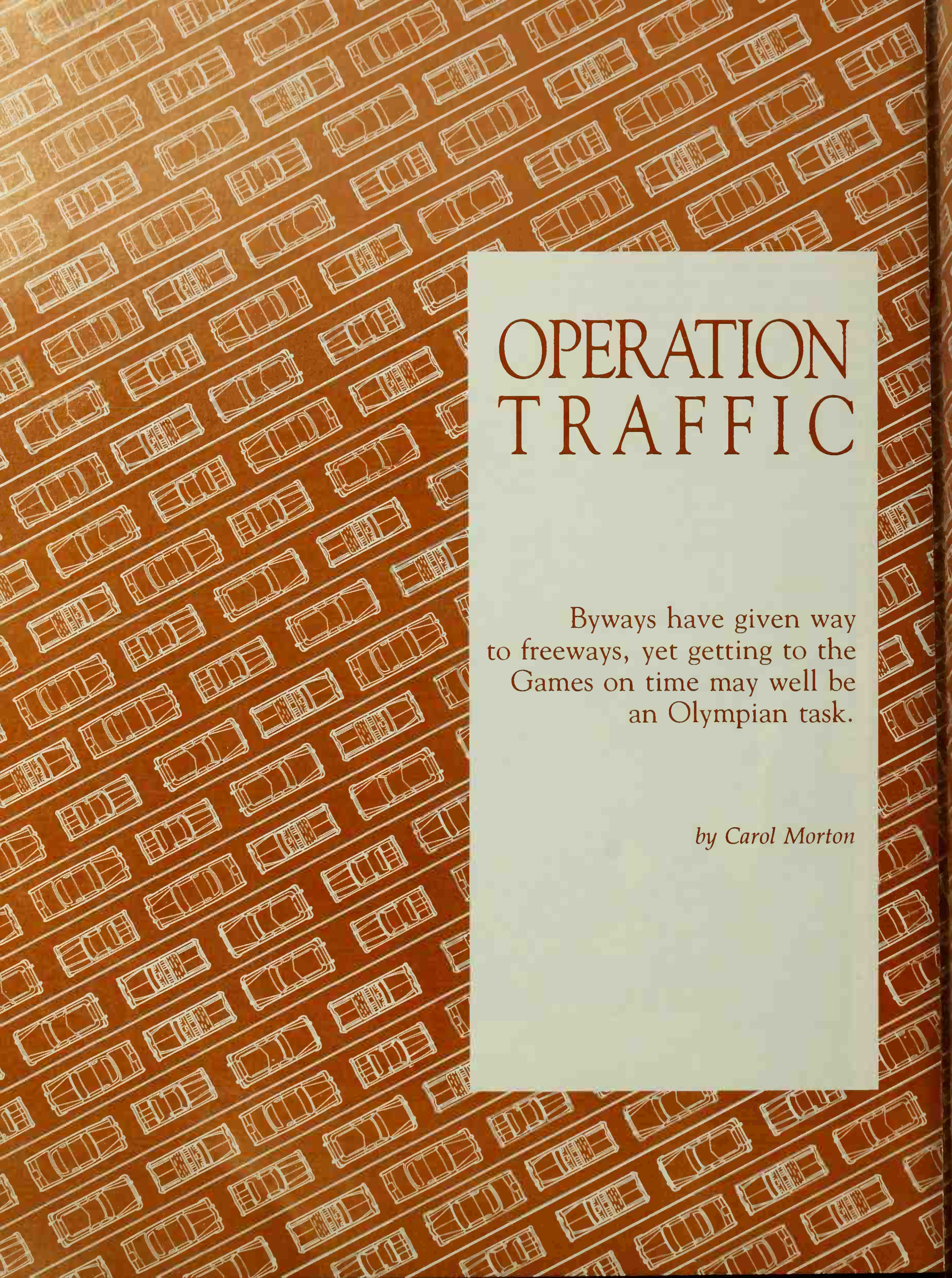
I trade it for old U.S. 80? Never!

As I cruise the sinuous freeways I get flashing glimpses of the lands I roamed on the byways. I cross the once wild rivers that blocked our route from Pasadena to Newport-Balboa when bridges were periodically swept out to sea. I spy the old Pacific Electric right-of-way that carried the Big Red Cars from the Sixth and Main depot to the beach via Santa Ana and the sandy shoreline.

And I conclude that all is not lost as long as the mind holds the old ways and the byways in memory. Pity today's benighted ones who travel only the freeways with eyes on the car ahead and who see nothing as they pass!

All is not lost as long as the mind holds the old ways and the byways in memory. Pity today's benighted ones who travel only the freeways with eyes on the car ahead and who see nothing as they pass.

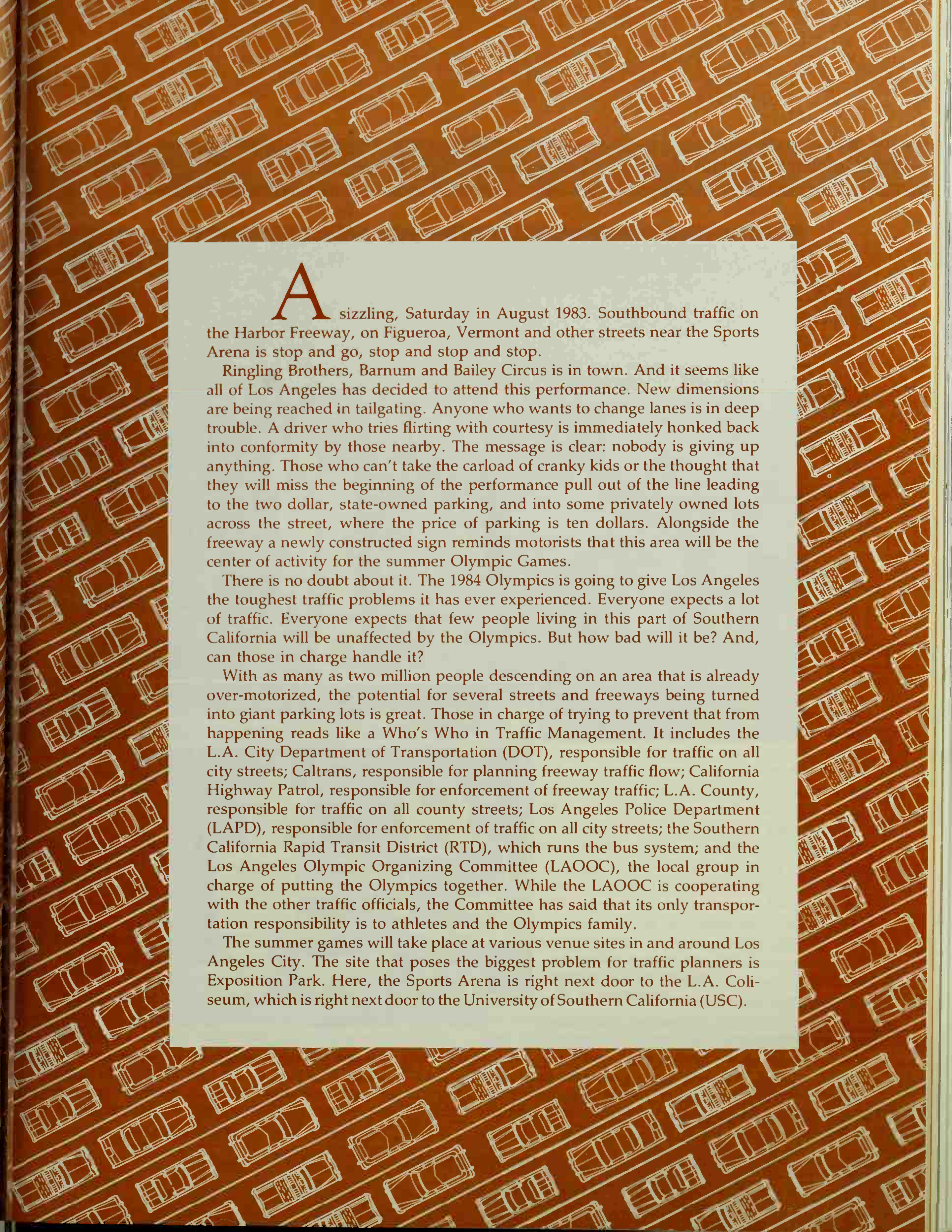
Eagle Rock, a natural landmark, visible from Glendale to Pasadena, at left. Marengo Avenue in Pasadena.



OPERATION TRAFFIC

Byways have given way to freeways, yet getting to the Games on time may well be an Olympian task.

by Carol Morton



A sizzling, Saturday in August 1983. Southbound traffic on the Harbor Freeway, on Figueroa, Vermont and other streets near the Sports Arena is stop and go, stop and stop and stop.

Ringling Brothers, Barnum and Bailey Circus is in town. And it seems like all of Los Angeles has decided to attend this performance. New dimensions are being reached in tailgating. Anyone who wants to change lanes is in deep trouble. A driver who tries flirting with courtesy is immediately honked back into conformity by those nearby. The message is clear: nobody is giving up anything. Those who can't take the carload of cranky kids or the thought that they will miss the beginning of the performance pull out of the line leading to the two dollar, state-owned parking, and into some privately owned lots across the street, where the price of parking is ten dollars. Alongside the freeway a newly constructed sign reminds motorists that this area will be the center of activity for the summer Olympic Games.

There is no doubt about it. The 1984 Olympics is going to give Los Angeles the toughest traffic problems it has ever experienced. Everyone expects a lot of traffic. Everyone expects that few people living in this part of Southern California will be unaffected by the Olympics. But how bad will it be? And, can those in charge handle it?

With as many as two million people descending on an area that is already over-motorized, the potential for several streets and freeways being turned into giant parking lots is great. Those in charge of trying to prevent that from happening reads like a Who's Who in Traffic Management. It includes the L.A. City Department of Transportation (DOT), responsible for traffic on all city streets; Caltrans, responsible for planning freeway traffic flow; California Highway Patrol, responsible for enforcement of freeway traffic; L.A. County, responsible for traffic on all county streets; Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), responsible for enforcement of traffic on all city streets; the Southern California Rapid Transit District (RTD), which runs the bus system; and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC), the local group in charge of putting the Olympics together. While the LAOOC is cooperating with the other traffic officials, the Committee has said that its only transportation responsibility is to athletes and the Olympics family.

The summer games will take place at various venue sites in and around Los Angeles City. The site that poses the biggest problem for traffic planners is Exposition Park. Here, the Sports Arena is right next door to the L.A. Coliseum, which is right next door to the University of Southern California (USC).

Bus transports keep the athletes moving to their destination in '32.

Waiting for a bus?

A normal day's traffic where Santa Monica and San Diego Freeways meet, heading south to the airport.

Officials feel that if they can lick this traffic problem, everything else will fall into place. One reason—this will be the most active of all Olympics sites. Here, the opening and closing ceremonies will be held, along with the swimming, track and field and boxing events.

Surrounding this site is a dense residential district. Over the years, several of the neighborhood associations have joined together to fight various expansion programs proposed by the university. And residents are acutely aware of the fact that when the city conducted a survey of available parking spaces in the area, the department counted spaces in front of every home nearby. What the survey found was alarming: this area is 16,500 parking spaces short of what is needed to handle Olympics traffic.

The Los Angeles city councilman who represents this district, Robert Farrell, has held a number of public meetings dealing with Olympics issues, and traffic often heads the list. Among the fears that area residents have expressed at these meetings is having their driveways blocked by the cars of Olympics visitors, with tow trucks unable to get through the traffic. Others are fearful that heavy traffic around this very active Olympics site will make going to work, even going to the grocery store, a monumental task during the Games.

A big problem that traffic planners are trying to overcome in this area is the scheduling of events. Swimming, boxing and track and field are all popular meets that will most probably be sold out. All are happening in Exposition Park. And the schedules of many events overlap. The result could be a traffic planner's nightmare: many, many people heading to the same area for different events at the same time. Or people from one event trying to leave the area at the same time other people are arriving for another event. The potential for this happening is built into the Olympics schedule on nearly half of its sixteen days. For example, on Monday, August 6, people going to the 9:30 a.m. track event will be on the streets and freeways at the same time as the rush hour of L.A. residents—especially those who work in the downtown area. Another event, synchronized swimming, starts at 10 a.m. It is likely that some track fans and some swimming fans will be on the same streets and freeways at the same time, headed to the same destination. The question is: Will the area be cleared of outgoing traffic before incoming traffic starts arriving for another track event and another swimming event?

Things were a lot different in 1932 when the Xth Olympiad was held in Los Angeles. Historians note that the more than 100,00 persons that filled the then-new Memorial Coliseum for the opening ceremony were asked to remain seated for ten minutes after the last athlete had left the field. They all complied. A band struck up a tune, and the audience joined in singing until the announcement came that all the athletes were safely out of traffic and well on their way to the Olympic Village. It is written that it was an astounding demonstration of the hold that the Olympics spirit had on the vast audience.

It is fifty-two years later, and circumstances may make cooperation like this hard to come by. For one thing, 20,000 athletes and officials are expected to take part in the opening ceremonies. And huge numbers of people who do not hold tickets are expected to congregate around the more popular sites. At the Coliseum alone the Department of Transportation expects 30,000 onlookers on opening day, enough to create their own traffic jam.

Westwood is problem area number two for traffic managers. Westwood is where L.A.'s two busiest intersections are located, along with the University of California at Los Angeles. UCLA is the site of two other very popular Olympics sports—gymnastics and tennis. The university will also house a number of athletes in another Olympic Village on campus. The nearest freeway, the San Diego Freeway, averages 205,000 cars daily in this vicinity. In fact, during morning and afternoon commuter hours, freeways throughout Los Angeles and nearby areas are used at 100 percent capacity, according to Caltrans officials. During non-peak hours, the times when planners hope Olympics traffic will fit in, freeways are being used at 85 percent capacity. But what if Olympics traffic and commuter traffic happen at the same time? What if there are fender benders that create such backlogs that even the tow trucks can't get in? The unpredictables are what we must be concerned about, says USC futures analyst Selwyn Enzer. "It's our ability to handle them that's going to determine whether we succeed or not." Enzer headed up a study of Los Angeles in the year 2001 for the university. That study said anyone who wants to know what L.A. traffic will be like in that year can get a good indication from the Olympics.

L.A. is the first Olympics host city in many years without a subway or a similar kind of transit system. What L.A. does have is buses, and the RTD plans a special Olympics bus service that would overlay the already existing service.

For awhile plans for the service were bogged down over money matters. RTD General Manager John Dyer estimates that while $10 million of the cost of the special buses will be covered by fares, there will still be a $1.7 million deficit. The RTD now hopes to take care of that through the sale of Olympics souvenir bus tokens. More than 7 million of these tokens (or 300,000 sets of 24 coins) must be sold to meet the deficit.

City officials say that 65 percent of the Olympics visitors in the Exposition Park area and nearly 50 percent at other sites must take the bus in order to keep traffic manageable. If it happens it will be the very first time that such a large percentage of people traveled to a Los Angeles event by bus. RTD and the LAOOC plan to do a lot of advertising to entice Olympics goers to the buses. But those Olympics visitors from California may be particularly hard to persuade, given that cars are such an integral part of the lifestyle there. And the LAOOC has estimated that the majority of Olympics visitors *will* be from California.

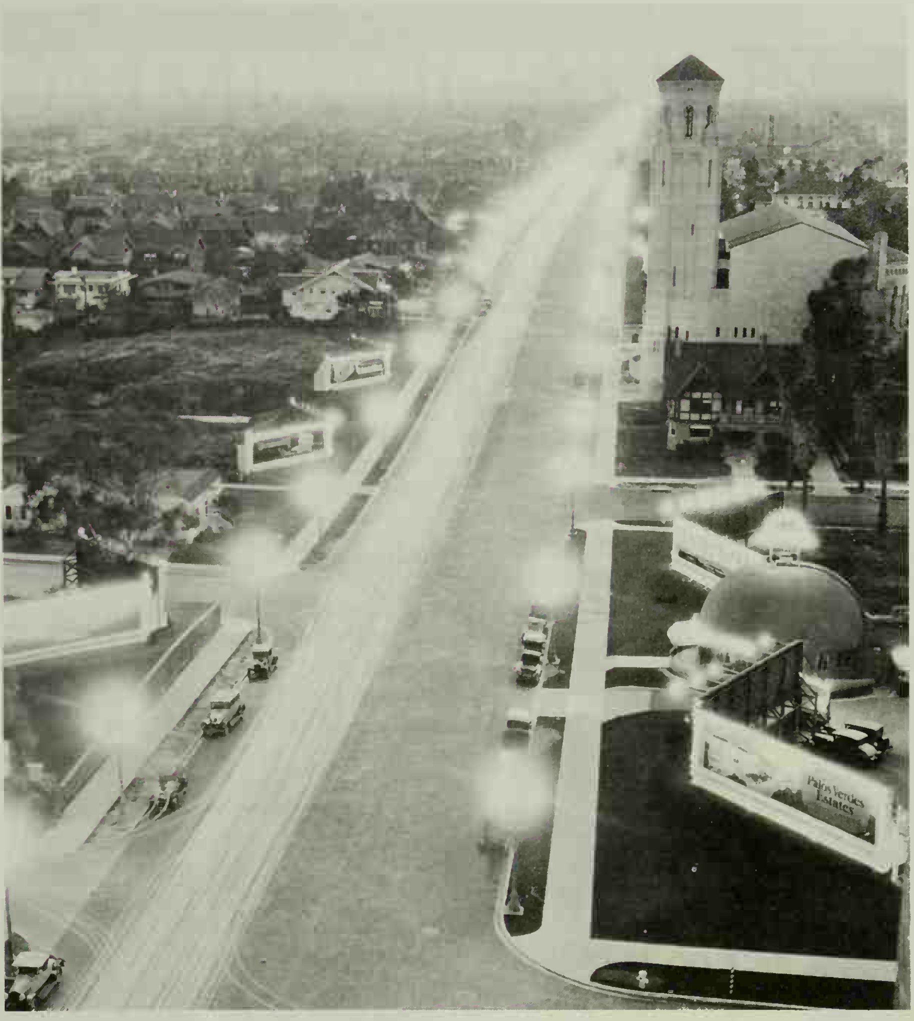
RTD is offering three types of bus service to Olympics spectators. A shuttle service will operate in areas five miles or less from venue sites and will make six or seven stops maximum.

RTD express buses will make no stops from the central pickup location (i.e., downtown Los Angeles) to the venue sites. They will use preferential traffic lanes along freeways and some city streets.

Park-and-ride service will be provided from major suburban areas (i.e., Orange County) to the venue sites. Parking will be provided in the fee.

Meanwhile, the city is trying to figure out what it can do to certain city streets to make them better able to handle the heavy Olympics traffic. Decisions have already been made to make some major streets one way and to close others. The city is also looking into putting up special Olympics signs along certain streets to help direct out-of-town visitors.

Large businesses in downtown, Westwood and other areas are being approached by Olympics officials to

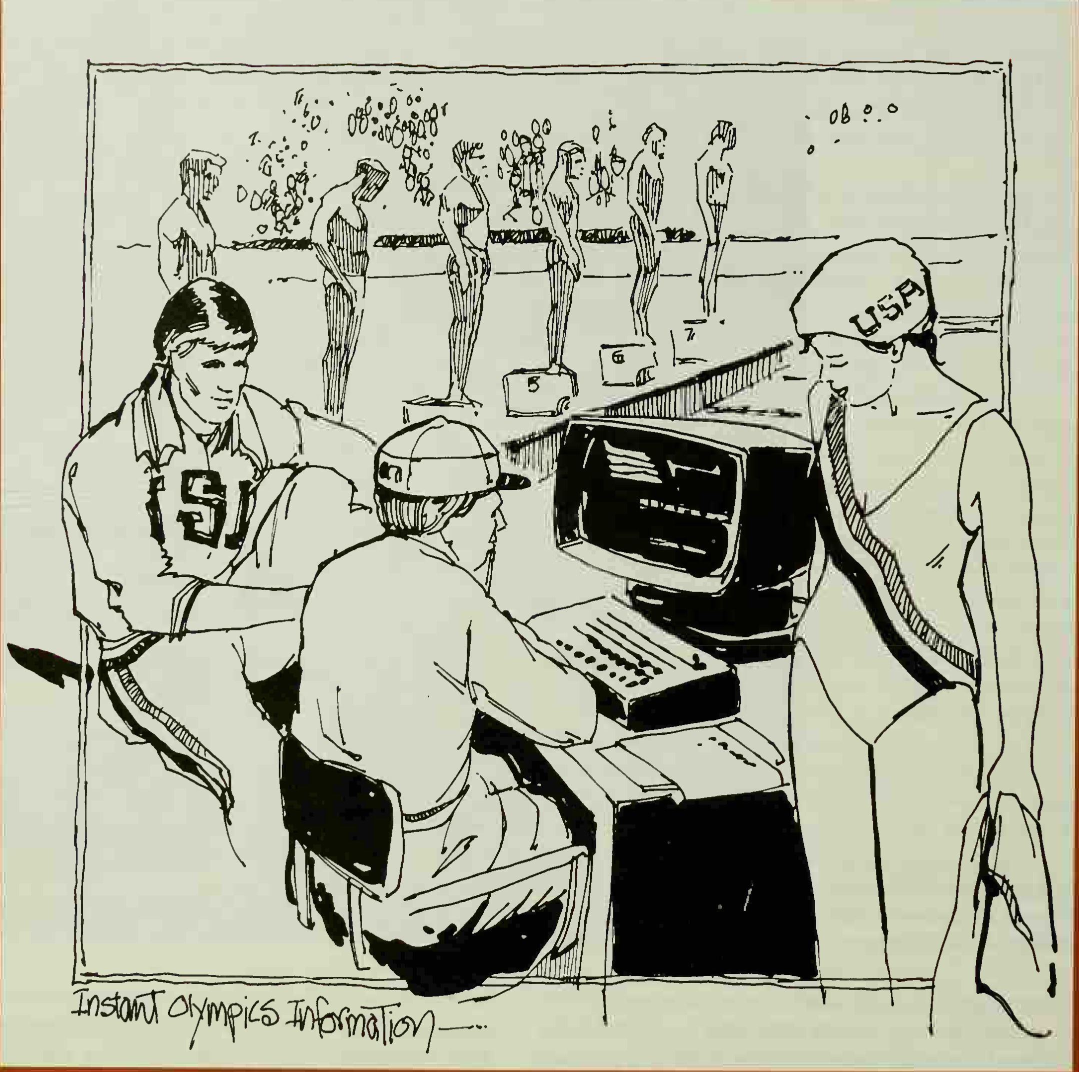


At twilight traffic slowed and disappeared along mid-Wilshire Boulevard a few years before the '32 Olympics.

consider staggering their work hours during the two weeks of the summer games. The idea is to dilute the concentrated hours of heavy traffic by giving employees alternate times when they must report to work. But not many businesses can do as USC has announced it will do—close down entirely during the Olympics.

Information about traffic conditions and the best methods of reaching venues will be passed on to Olympics ticket holders during the games via the media. Prior to the games, brochures will provide ticket holders with information on the transportation system. The brochures will be sent to ticket holders by the LAOOC, and they will encourage the use of public transportation.

Historians have written of the "miracles of management" performed in 1932 by that Olympics' traffic planning officials. Monumental problems were overcome, they say, that enabled the audiences to reach the scenes in a state of mind where they could enjoy the Games. That is, perhaps, the most difficult part of the legacy with which the 1984 Olympics must compete.



Instant Olympics Information—...

OLYMPICS TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Hello, hello. A 300-mile, pencil-thin fiberglass wire freeway will carry the '84 Olympics message to the world—instantly.

by Paul Ditzel

Communications—the system that ties together the operational warp-and-woof of the Olympics—seemed mighty impressive in 1932 when the Games were last held around Los Angeles.

Spindly black telephones and manually operated switchboards, in addition to clickety-clacking teletype machines, linked the Coliseum hub of the Games with radiating spokes of copper wire to eight other sites as near as several blocks and as far as Pasadena, Los Angeles Harbor and Long Beach.

Twenty-eight specially briefed telephone operators handled calls coming into the Olympics headquarters on two eighty-line switchboards, and eight unlisted lines allowed access for important executive calls. Olympic Village had its own thirty-nine line switchboard operating twenty-four hours a day, with 210 phone sets (4 per nation). All told, the Xth Olympiad phone system handled more than 500,000 calls with what the Olympics Committee later commended as "automatic smoothness." Impressive, yes. By the technology of 1932.

"It was one of the most cosmopolitan telephone systems ever established," says John Black, the man in charge of 1932 Olympics communications for the Pacific Telephone-owned Southern California Telephone Company. "If anything, we were over-telephoned. The circuitry was good—we had anticipated the needs."

But the 1932 Olympics happened before the world's insatiable appetite for instant news, instantly seen and instantly heard, sent traditional telecommunications technology the way of the four-minute mile.

Never in the history of the Games have so many communications problems required herculean solutions to ensure the successful operation of the Games scheduled for July 23 through August 12, 1984.

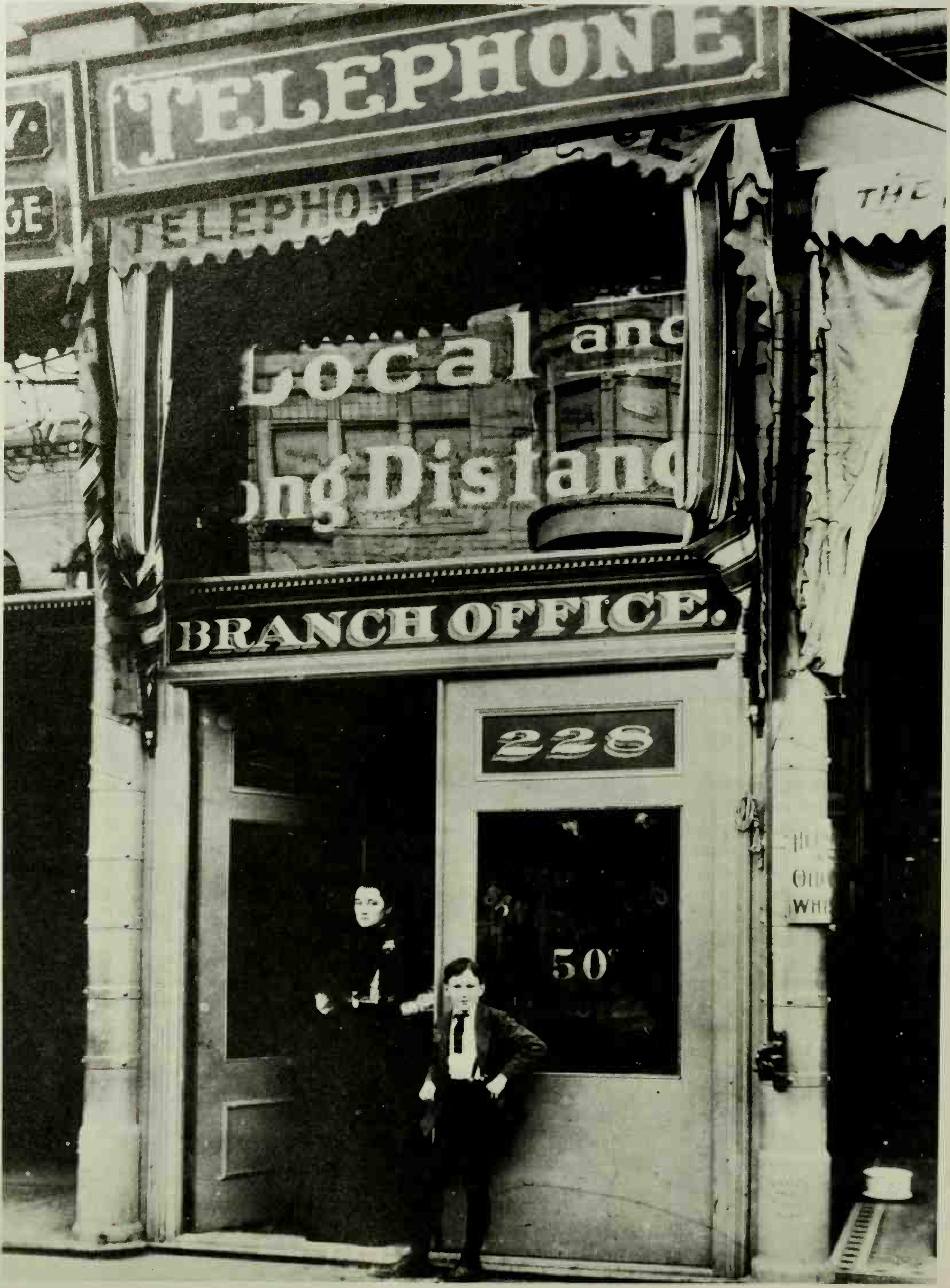
Consider the challenges confronting the Olympics' Project Team from Pacific Bell, official telecommunications sponsor of the XXIIIrd Olympiad:

Compared to the small geographical scope and size of the 1932 Games' nine venues and 135 programs, this year's Olympiad includes 323 events at forty-two Olympics-related sites and support sites spread over 4500 square miles from around Santa Barbara County to near San Diego County.

The resulting communications demand, as Olympian in size as the Games, will include usage by 100,000 athletes, coaches and entourages from a record 153 nations, 70,000 paid and volunteer people responsible for operating the Games, 10,000 media representatives and 700,000 visitors, not counting area residents, who will attend.

Add to these requirements the need to provide world-wide television capability, and overlay all this on the normal, heavy load of daily telecommunications traffic in the Los Angeles area, as well as the need to ensure that no one gets a busy signal when calling an emergency service for help, and one begins to get some idea of the system's complexities.

To those whose telecommunica-


TELEPHONE
TELEPHONE
Local and
ong Distanc
BRANCH OFFICE.
228
50

A passion for excellence.

The Olympic flame that burns over the Los Angeles Coliseum during the 1984 summer games is an enduring reminder that competition, carried out with integrity, has the power to ignite a passion for excellence, not only in those who compete, but in those who look on.

That probably explains the forecast that half the people on earth will set aside time to view at least a portion of the Olympiad on television.

Pacific Bell, a subsidiary of the Pacific Telesis Group, will be at the front end of the television coverage.

And like the athletes, we'll do it by matching the newest equipment and techniques with a drive for excellence as old as the human spirit.

Pacific Bell serves a lot of television sporting spectaculars. We worked the 1983 Super Bowl in Pasadena. And from our experience there we've calculated that covering the Los Angeles Olympics is going to be like working 23 Super Bowls each and every day for two weeks.

For print journalists and Olympic officials we've provided access to more than 2000 computer terminals that will give instant access to scores, schedules and athletes' profiles. The system will also carry electronic mail. For journalists the same terminals will be word processing stations where the writers will be able to compose their stories and file them electronically into newsrooms anywhere in the country.

But media traffic will be only part of our Olympics workload. We're also going to take care of the extraordinary telephone traffic that the athletes, organizers, officials and visitors will generate.

To handle it all at once—the media load and the person-to-person traffic—we've designed and installed a revolutionary arrangement. Its "central nervous system" is a 300-mile loop of lightguide cable, sometimes called fiber optics.

Beams of laser light, flashing coded signals through glass threads about the width of human hair, will be able to carry nearly a quarter million messages at once.

This will be the first time television has used lightguide technology, and because of it, viewers will notice a clearer picture.

The new system will remain after the games, a permanent improvement in the Los Angeles infrastructure.

Other Olympic telephone facilities will be temporary, installed especially for the games. Extra public phones, for example. Pacific Bell will install more than a thousand of them at the Olympic sites.

Roving Olympic officials will carry their telephones with them. And those telephones will be as loud and clear as your home phone no matter where in Los Angeles they go. The mobile phones will be furnished by another Pacific Telesis subsidiary, PacTel Mobile Access.

Pacific Bell and its parent organization, Pacific Telesis Group, are honored to be part of the 23rd Olympiad. We're eager to show what we can do with state-of-the-art technology.

But we'll need more than the newest features of modern electronics to reach the goal we've set for this summer. We'll need the oldest standards of our Bell telephone heritage—service and reliability.

Because, like the athletes themselves, we'll be striving to do it better than anyone has ever done it before.

Theodore J. Saenger
President and Chief Executive Officer
Pacific Bell

PACIFIC BELL SM

A Pacific Telesis Group Company

"Talk to San Francisco for 50¢ a minute," boasts a turn-of-the-century sign on Los Angeles' Spring Street station.

A modern telephone communications installation truck and crew c. 1911.

By 1911 phones with long distance capability like this one in Long Beach were common sights in Southern California.

The ½-inch fiber-optic cable carries as many messages as 100 3½-inch copper cables.

Revolving information racks were revised daily for twenty Olympics telephone operators answering incoming calls in 1932.

tions knowledge is limited to picking up a phone, hearing a dial tone and making a call, the answer to all these problems seems simple: String some more telephone lines, set up more switching stations and get more radio frequencies for microwave and other transmissions.

Simple to say. Impossible to do, however, considering the cost, time needed, and, not the least, radio frequency pollution.

You can't see this pollution when you look into the sky, but it's nevertheless there, as Pacific Bell's Project Team Member Steven R. Copoloff can attest. Copoloff was a design engineer for the 1976 Montreal Games.

Copoloff illustrates the problem by referring to a plastic cube filled with strings. Each string represents telecommunications traffic in the 4500-square-mile Olympic ring: television stations, police and fire departments, radio broadcasters, tow-truck services, trucking companies, railroads and even your neighborhood plumber using his mobile telephone to learn the address of his next service call.

There is so much string in the cube that you cannot see through to the other side, thus pointedly illustrating the radio frequency pollution that jam-packs even normal daily telecommunications to the point of saturation.

The answers to these problems? Advanced technology, which has spawned hair-thin wires made of fiberglass—144 of them encased in a sheath smaller than your finger.

Each of these pencil-thin cables can carry up to 550,000 calls. This means that one cable could handle the calls generated, for example, if everybody in Glendale simultaneously picks up a phone, dials a number, and begins talking.

Workhorse of the Olympics' telecommunications system will be a 300-mile "lightguide" freeway of this fiberglass cable.

Voice, television and radio broadcasting, and data transmission (such as contest results) will enter this lightguide freeway and instantaneously be converted into laser pulses flashing 274 million times a second as they streak across the system.

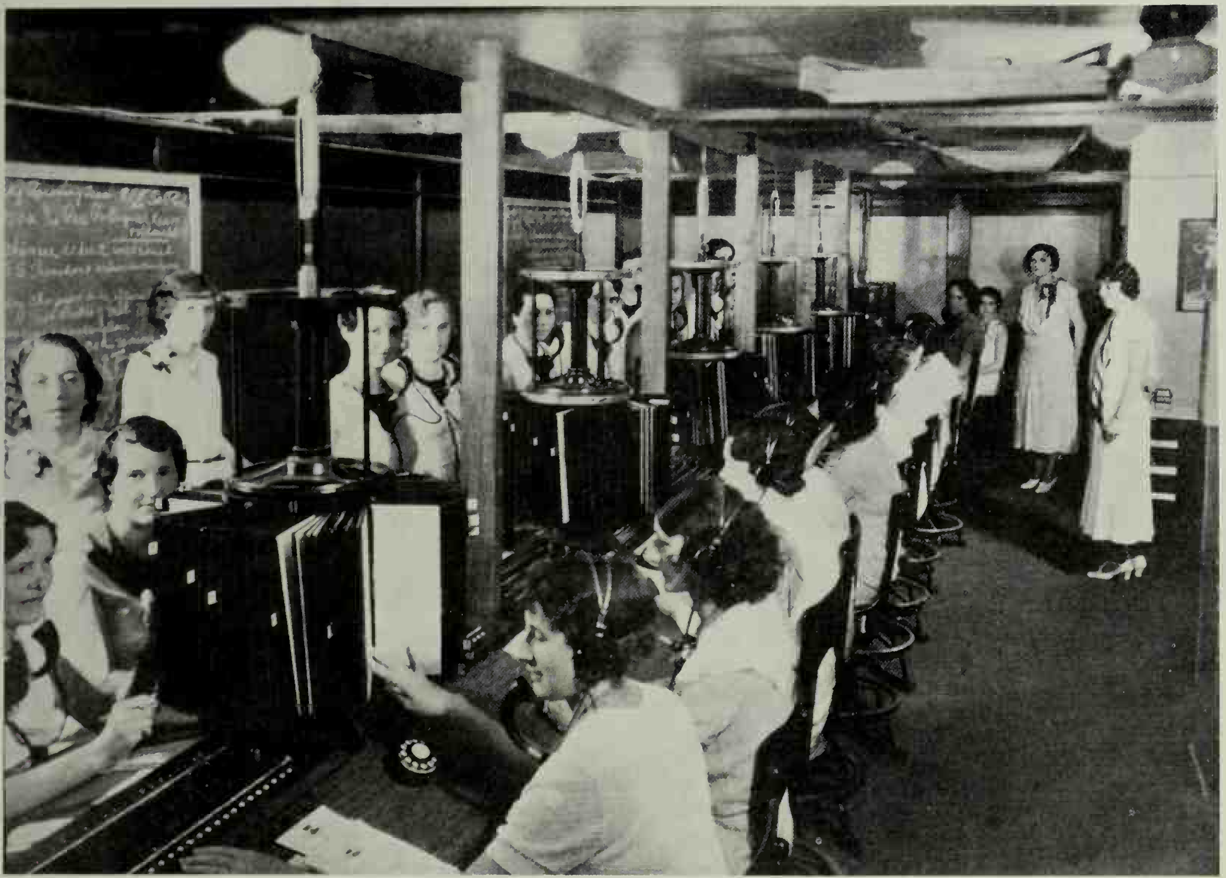
It's difficult to visualize such speed until you consider that the Bible—from beginning to end—could easily be transmitted across this fiber highway in less time than it takes to snap your fingers.

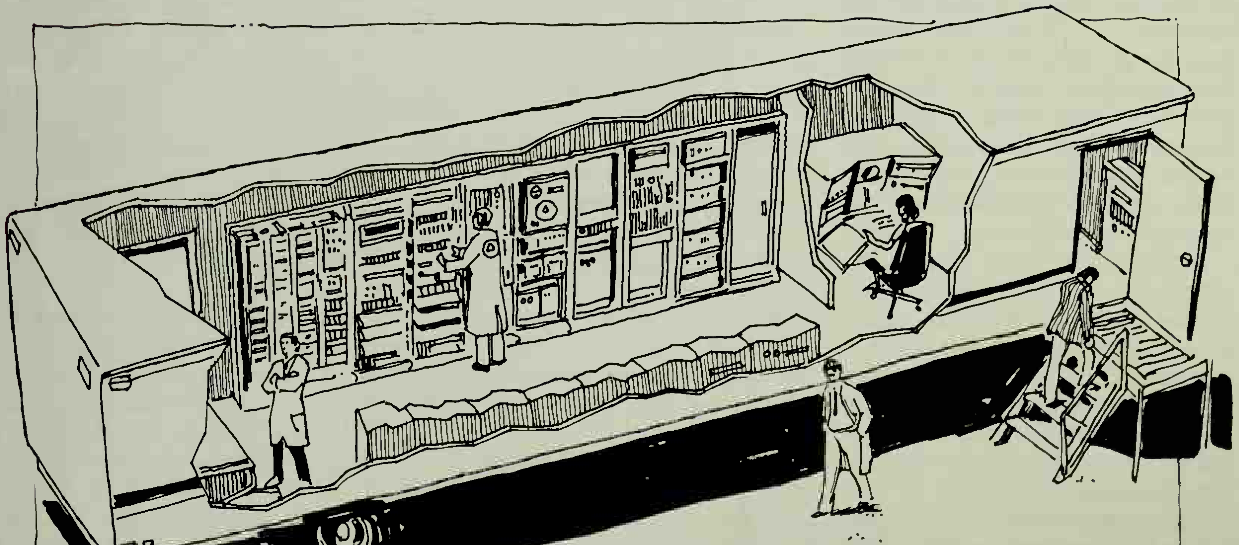
To approximate the same capability with conventional copper cable, which is about the diameter of a soup can, would require 100 large cables for every half-inch fiber-optic cable. That system could of course be used, but copper, silver, gold and other conventional components are expensive, and installation would entail tearing up streets. Even at that, the job might not be done before the Olympics' flame was lit.

At a time when it seems that everything keeps getting more costly, it is refreshing to learn that fiber-optic cable is made from silicon, the basic component of common sand. Installation of fiber-optic cable is far more simply and economically accomplished—at about half the cost of copper—by stringing the tiny lightguide cable through existing cable conduits.

Ironically, the most immediately noticeable benefits of the fiber-optic system will be among people living halfway around the globe from Los Angeles. Television history will be made during the XXIIIrd Games because, for the first time, TV signals will be transmitted over a fiber network utilizing satellites and trans-oceanic cabling.

That might be dismissed as merely an interesting bit of TV minutia but the result will be a clearer picture on





Pacific's Telecommunications Trailer..

Telecommunications planners check specifications in front of Memorial Coliseum.

TV sets being watched by some 2.5 billion people—half the world's population—who otherwise would not be able to see the Games at all. Not only that, they will see the results in the flicker of an eyelash after the athletes cross the finish line. In many ways, their view of the Games might be better than that of spectators who are actually there.

Telecommunications experience at previous games suggested the necessity of considerable contingency planning and built-in flexibility of the telecommunications system. As a result, "What if?" is a frequent question for the telecommunications Project Team, which proposes scenarios for a host of unforeseen circumstances.

Perhaps the most challenging "What if?" results from experience at past games where the site of an event was changed shortly before it was to occur. With such a complex telecommunications system, it could be a difficult, if not impossible, hurdle to re-establish service at some last-minute site.

Pacific Bell solved that contingency by designing modular telecommunications equipment that compactly fits inside a fleet of 45-foot-long trailers which are, essentially, mobile central offices. If needed, they can quickly be moved anywhere in the Olympic ring of sites, reconnected to the fiber-optic freeway, and begin transmitting to the world.

That same laser-power fiber-optic network will tie into an Electronic Mail system which includes over 2,000 visual display terminals strategically based at competition and support sites as well as at press headquarters at the Los Angeles Convention Center.

Athletes, coaches, games' officials and the media will have coded electronic keys which will enable them to obtain or leave messages. They can also gather information about changes in training times and locations, an athlete's past performance, and even his height and weight. Media coverage of the Olympiad will be expedited by journalists' access to terminals for obtaining the results of events miles away from press headquarters, for schedules of events, and for other needed information.

Many operators of these display-screen terminals will be bilingual volunteers from the Telephone Pioneers, an organization of veteran phone company employees.

The Electronic Mail system also can receive, send and store messages for Games' officials and administrative staff as well as the media who are equipped with high-technology pagers.

Another new Olympics' telecommunications wrinkle is cellular radio offered by mobile access. The system operates without use of a telephone company operator, thanks to a geographic grid of cells distributed about five miles apart.

Each cell scrambles the radio signal to enhance security. The system, moreover, automatically selects the cell offering the strongest and clearest two-way reception.

Considering the limited number of mobile phone frequencies and the new system's operator-free access, cellular radios vastly expand the number of phones which can be put into operation.

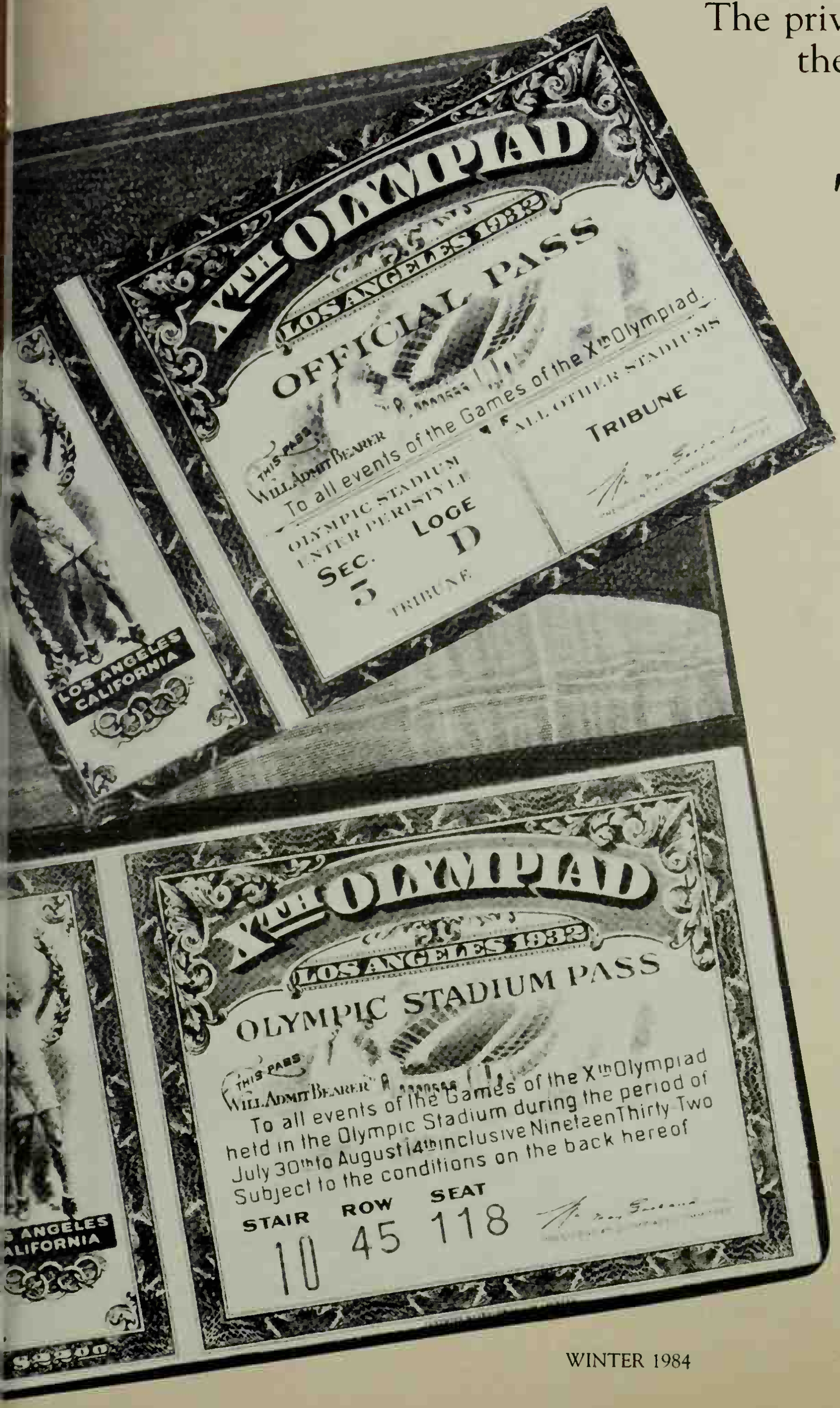
Contrasting the 1932 Olympics' telecommunications technology with that of the 1984 Olympiad, Copoloff likens it to "the difference between the Wright Brothers' first flight and the space shots and earth stations."

If there's the least bit of Walter Mitty in you, happily know that the same telecommunications systems being used by the Olympians will shortly be available to you, too, because the system will be expanded after the games for everyday customer use.

RETURN ENGAGEMENT

The private sector brings back the Games for a big win.

by Jeffrey Kaye



Xth OLYMPIAD
LOS ANGELES 1932
OFFICIAL PASS
THIS PASS WILL ADMIT BEARER
To all events of the Games of the Xth Olympiad
ALL OTHER STADIUMS
OLYMPIC STADIUM
ENTER PERISTYLE
LOGE D
SEC. 5
TRIBUNE
TRIBUNE
LOS ANGELES CALIFORNIA

Xth OLYMPIAD
LOS ANGELES 1932
OLYMPIC STADIUM PASS
THIS PASS WILL ADMIT BEARER
To all events of the Games of the Xth Olympiad held in the Olympic Stadium during the period of July 30th to August 14th inclusive Nineteen Thirty Two Subject to the conditions on the back hereof
STAIR 10 ROW 45 SEAT 118
LOS ANGELES CALIFORNIA

In 1932, a pass purchased for $22 admitted sports enthusiasts to all the events held in Memorial Coliseum.

"The spotlight will be on Los Angeles," enthuses Ted Bruinsma, former president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. "It's a big story for the world about America and the free enterprise system."

"What is all this coverage going to be worth in terms of name recognition? It's invaluable," marvels John C. Argue, the attorney who spearheaded the campaign to return the Olympics to Los Angeles. "I have a vision of Los Angeles becoming the most important city in the Pacific Rim. The Olympics will help accomplish that."

The drive earlier in the century to put Los Angeles on the map which resulted in the 1932 Games was quickly rekindled following the tournament's success. The city had barely recovered from the Xth Olympiad when a campaign for a return engagement got underway. The outbreak of World War II threatened the 1940 Games planned for Tokyo, so, in 1939, Los Angeles boosters formed the Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games in an unsuccessful effort to keep the Games alive during the hostilities.

For decades, the Committee was unable to secure the nod from the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) as the designated U.S. city to bid for the Games. Once chosen as the U.S. candidate, Los Angeles was passed over twice by International Olympic Committee (IOC) officials who preferred Montreal for the 1976 Games and Moscow for the 1980 tournament. By the time the 1984 bidding got underway, the Los Angeles contingent was ready and indefatigable.

The first hurdle cleared was at the national level. Los Angeles went to the United States Committee promising a privately funded, profitable Games, while New York City, L.A.'s closest competitor, projected a publicly financed Olympiad ending in a deficit.

Internationally, the tragedy of Munich and the fiscal disaster of Montreal were fresh on the global consciousness, so the world's cities were not exactly clamoring for the Games. In fact, by the bid deadline, Teheran which had earlier expressed interest, withdrew, and on October 31, 1977, International Committee President Lord Killanin announced Los Angeles was the only candidate for the 1984 summer games. The announcement prefaced nine months of negotiations between the International Committee, which was intent on holding the City of Los Angeles financially liable for the Games, and City representatives, who were keenly aware of the political unfeasibility of such a proposition. (The impossibility of any public financing of the Olympics was codified in 1978 by Los Angeles city voters who passed a law forbidding the expenditure of taxpayers' money to fund the Games.)

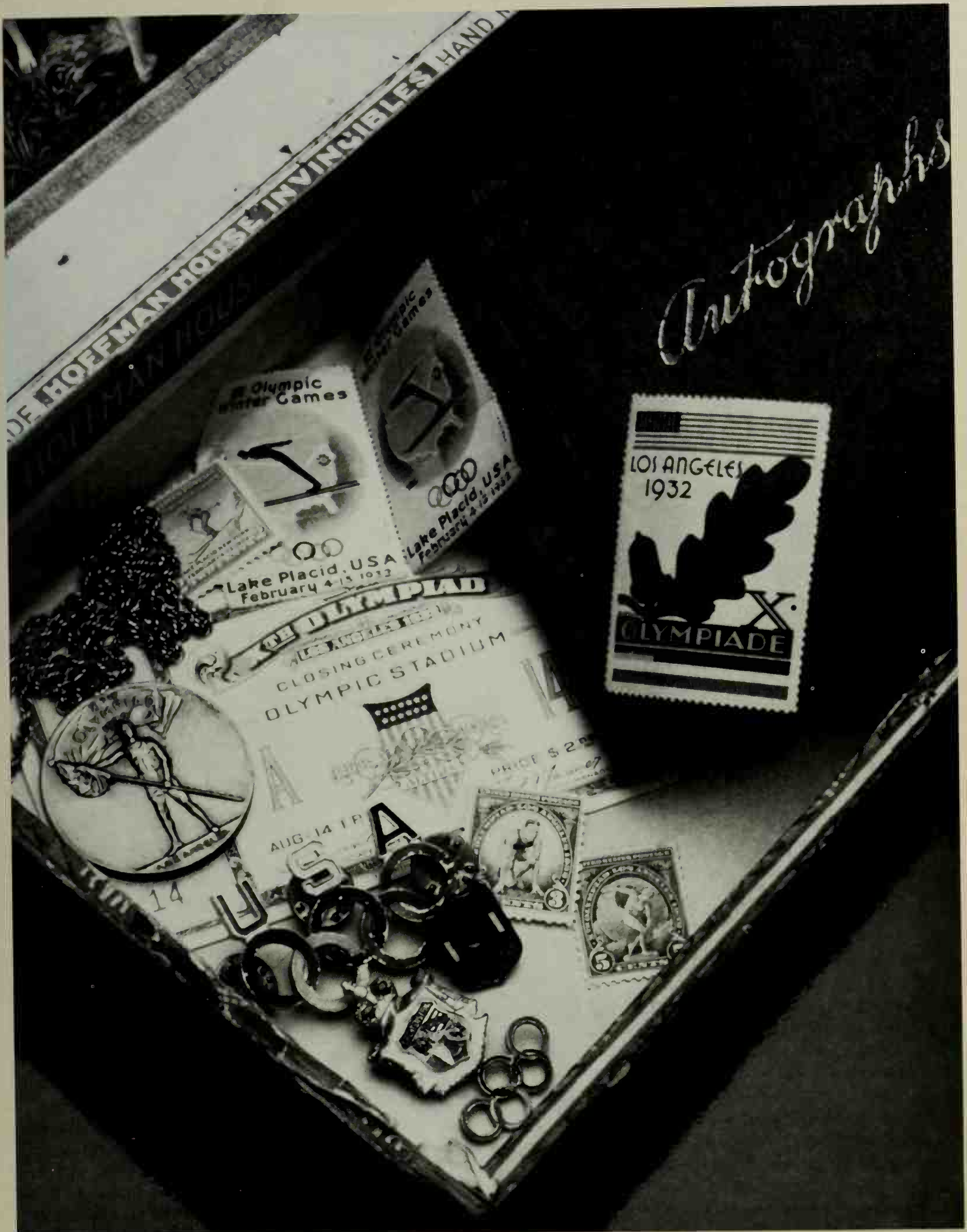
By the end of 1977, L.A. needed serious money to finance its international campaign. Rodney W. Rood, who held the title of vice-president at both the Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games and Atlantic Richfield Company, invited fifty-five Goliaths of local business to a fundraising luncheon hosted by Chauncey M. Medberry III, chairman of the board of Bank of America; E. Cardon Walker, chief executive officer of Walt Disney Productions; Thornton Bradshaw, president of Atlantic Richfield; Philip Hawley, president of Carter, Hawley, Hale; and Justin Dart, chairman of Dart Industries. The gathering at Perino's Restaurant was addressed by John Argue, president of SCOG since 1972, and Mayor Tom Bradley. The event netted $40,000; a follow-up letter brought in another $160,000, and the big push was on. The private funding was to set a tone for the effort as well as for the Games themselves. Moreover, Argue suggests, the Los Angeles experience might eventually change the Olympics forever.

Corporate sponsors and licensees have been a crucial part of the LAOOC's revenue raising organization. Broadcasting rights alone—including a record of $225 million from ABC—will secure almost half the committee's $472 million budget.

Following meetings in Lausanne, Switzerland, Mexico City, and Athens, Los Angeles was provisionally awarded the Games in May 1978. One "Blue Ribbon Committee," several meetings and trans-Atlantic phone calls later, the decision was finally made in fall 1978 that the Games would return to L.A. The Los Angeles delegation had succeeded in its drive to have the International Committee waive application of its Rule Four which requires host cities to bear financial responsibility for the Olympics. Instead, liability for the Los Angeles Games would be shared by the private Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee and by the United States Olympic Committee.

"It will be the largest private enterprise venture in the history of the world," enthused John Argue. "It will show that private enterprise can carry off something like this."

The propaganda value of the Games has been clear since Berlin's 1936 Nazi Olympics. The noble spirit of apolitical athletic competition notwithstanding, the Games have furnished the perfect battlefield for ideological and cold warriors. Just as the Soviets put their system on display in 1980 (much of



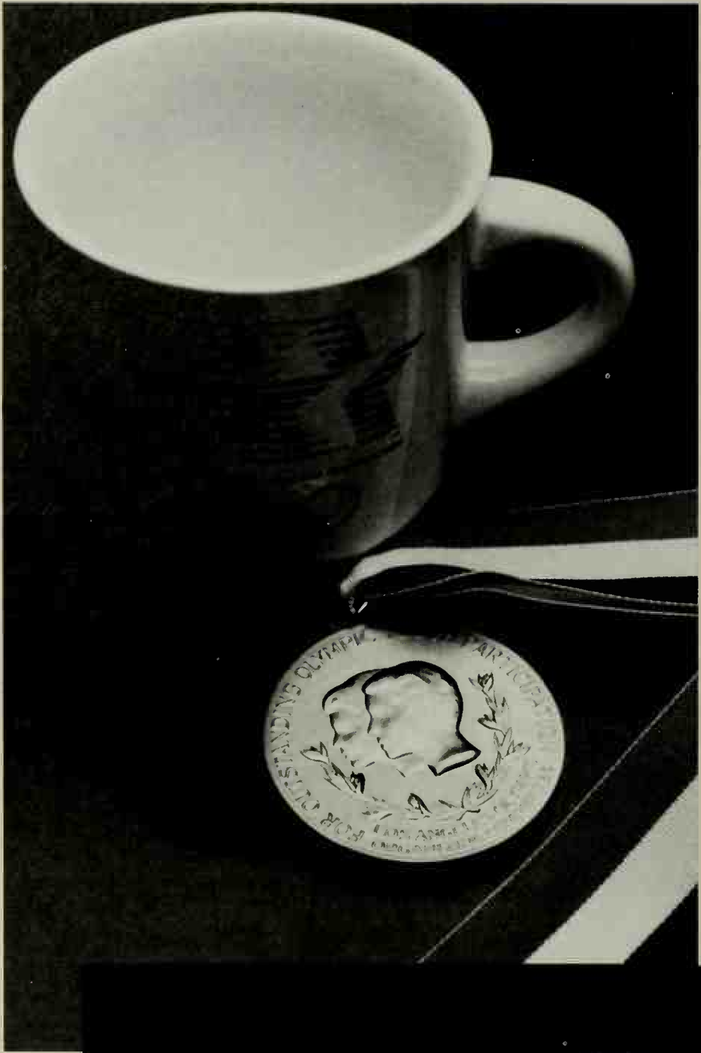
Commemorating the '32 Games are U.S. postage stamps in denominations of 2, 3, and 5 cents, a ticket to the closing ceremonies, a U.S.A. pin with Olympics rings, and other Olympics miscellany.

the message did not get through as a result of the U.S.-led boycott), the United States will seek to proclaim the triumphs of capitalism in 1984.

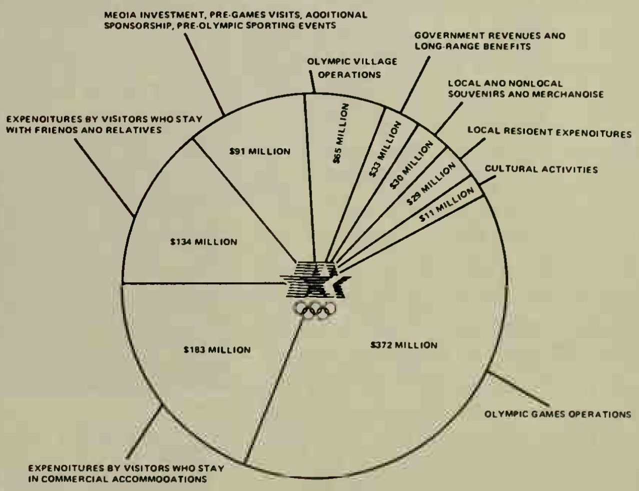
For this, the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee is the perfect vehicle, and Los Angeles, with its "anything's possible" frontier spirit, is the perfect city. For the first time ever, the Olympics are in private hands; and for the first time, the Games are expected to pay for themselves. The men in charge of the Los Angeles Committee constitute what the UCLA Graduate School of Management's quarterly magazine calls "Supermanagement." Headed by former travel-business executive Peter Ueberroth (the name means "over red" in German), since March 1979 the Committee has gone about its work in a diligent, no-nonsense manner, dedicating itself to keeping down the costs and bringing in the needed half-billion dollars in revenue.

Construction costs, which have proved financially disastrous to previous Olympics, have been kept to a minimum. The Los Angeles Committee plans to make wide use of existing facilities. For example, instead of living in a newly-constructed Olympic Village, athletes will be housed in dormitories at UCLA and the University of Southern California. Opening and closing ceremonies will take place in the stadium built for the 1932 Games. The costs of new Olympics facilities —the McDonald's swim stadium, the 7-11 Velodrome, and ARCO running tracks—will be underwritten by corporate sponsors who will have their names on the new facilities.

Corporate sponsors and licensees have been a crucial part of the Los Angeles Committee's revenue rais-



PRIMARY IMPACT BY COMPONENT



TOTAL VALUE ADDED IMPACT IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
$948 MILLION

A ceramic mug (above left), a tee-shirt, and a folding seat cushion (above) are among the sanctioned commemorative souvenirs with the Stars in Motion motif. Sam the Olympics Eagle, 1984 Games mascot (left), here plays water polo.

The purchase of souvenir merchandise is expected to add $30 million to Southern California's economy, a small piece of the predicted $948 million Olympics pie.

ing organization. Broadcasting rights alone—including a record $225 million from ABC—will secure almost half the Committee's $472 million budget. Official business supporters, which in past Olympics have numbered in the hundreds, have been limited by the Committees to about seventy in an attempt to foster the appearance of exclusivity. Olympics sponsors, the major financial contributors—such as ABC, Coca-Cola, Levi Strauss, and Buick—paid from $4 to $13 million in goods, services, or cash in exchange for promotional rights. Licensees, which market anything from "official" roses to pies, trashbag liners and key chains, made an up-front payment of $200,000 to $250,000 and pledged 10 percent of their sales for the privilege of using the Olympics emblem. "We set a goal at the beginning to have at least 30 percent of our licensees be minority (-owned) firms," said Daniel D. Greenwood, the Los Angeles Committee's vice-president in charge of sponsorships. "We have the games here to be good for Southern California and Southern Californians. We have to take care of the people here, and local minority businesses need to benefit."

If the projections of Los Angeles-based Economic Research Associates (ERA) are to be believed, just about everyone in the area stands to profit. According to ERA, $948 million will flow into the local economy during the Games, and 68,000 jobs will be created.

While some see Los Angeles and the Olympics as a focal point for peaceful demonstrations, police agencies are concerned that the city's ethnic diversity might breed terrorism. Commander William Rathburn, who heads up the Los Angeles Police Department's Olympics operations, noted, "Every side of every conflict in the world is represented in Southern California in one way or another." Rathburn has a self-assured, confident manner, and he seems to delight in sharing with his audiences what has become an oft-quoted intestinal sentiment: "My gut feeling is there won't be a terrorist incident in 1984."

The noble spirit of apolitical athletic competition notwithstanding, the Games have furnished the perfect battlefield for ideological and cold warriors.

The press will see a city far different from the Los Angeles of the 1932 Games, even though sharp parallels can be drawn between the two periods. In 1932, the Pacific Telephone Magazine touted the 270-phone switchboard that enabled "the whole world [to] listen in as the wires sped the news." Today, the same company is installing a laser-powered communications network that will carry up to 240,000 simultaneous conversations, traveling as bursts of light.

Visitors to the 1932 Olympics saw a Los Angeles in the throes of the Depression even though it had come through a giddy boom in the 1920s during which it became the fifth most populous city in the country. While spectators watched the Games in the city's new million-dollar Coliseum, the unemployed queued in food lines, took jobs harvesting crops, and set about a public works project: building the park at 25th Street and Wilshire Blvd. in Santa Monica. The first act of the new California Governor James (Sunny Jim) Rolph, Jr., after he was sworn in on the third day of the Olympics, was to turn back 15 percent of his salary to help out the state coffers. Visitors to the Games would have been hard pressed to find a drink as local police vigorously enforced Prohibition. They were also encouraged to stay away from leftist political gatherings as the Red Squad of the Los Angeles Police Department (a force with a notorious reputation for corruption and political spying) carried out its campaign of intimidation and terror.

Nor was it an easy time for racial minorities. Discrimination in housing and employment was officially condoned. Resident Mexicans were routinely rounded up and sent south of the border. Japanese visitors to the 1932 Games were turned away from a posh restaurant because the proprietor thought they were Mexicans.

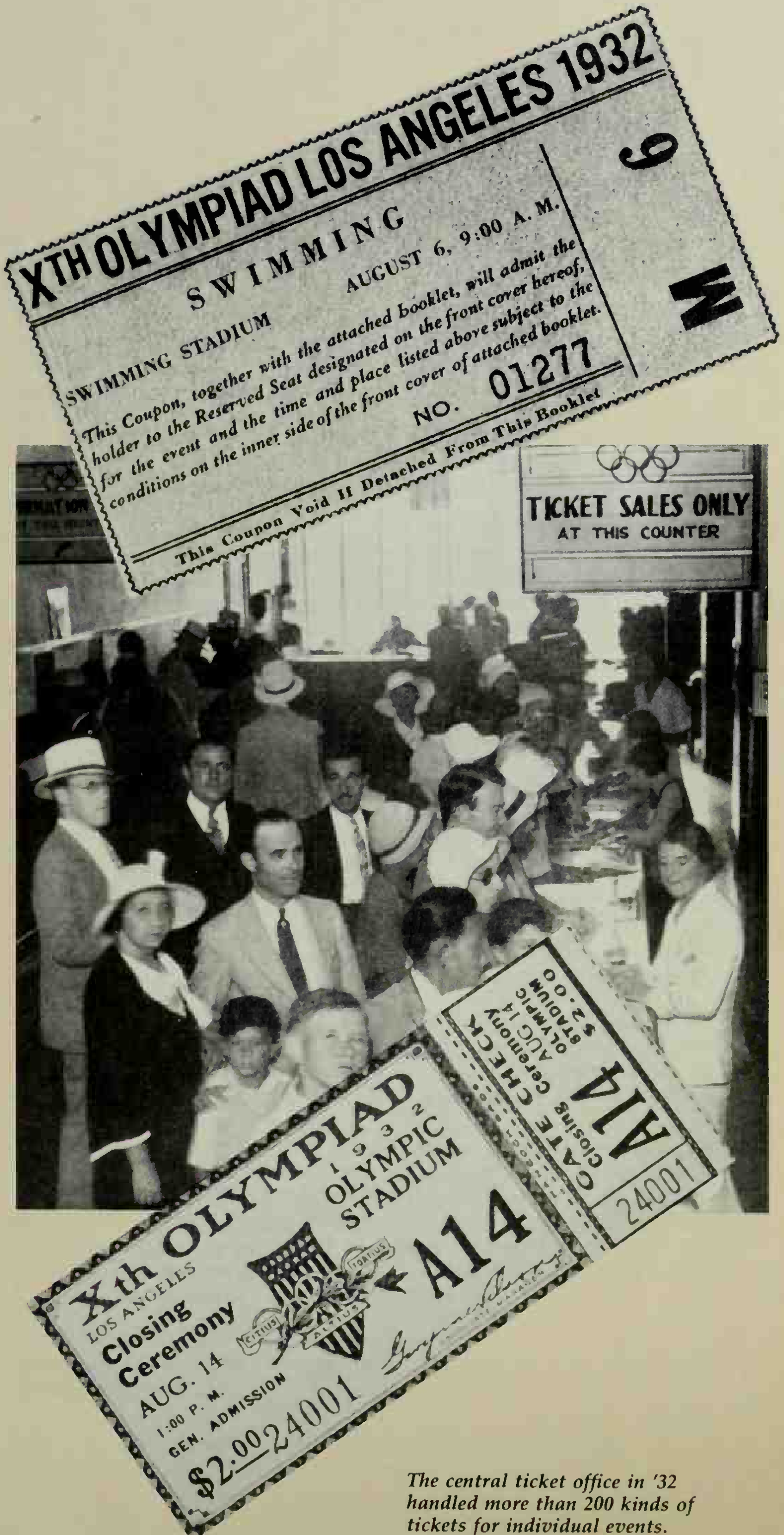
Today, one in ten Los Angeles residents is Asian. Nearly one-third of Los Angeles County is Latino.

Segregation does not bear the cruel stamp of official sanction, as it did in 1932. Visitors may seek out varied cultural offerings and ethnic restaurants, but the observant will notice gulfs as well as bridges—neighborhoods separated by freeways, color, language, national origin, even age.

The images of Los Angeles likely to be conveyed to the world, however, will be of the sort they've always been: Hollywood and the stars' homes, palm trees and cults, drive-in conveniences and freeways. Beyond the off-beat and the colorful, though, local boosters hope the Olympics will help imprint Los Angeles on the minds of those who matter.

Business leaders anticipate that the effect of the Olympics on Los Angeles will taper off following the Games, but they believe industry and tourism will profit from the wide exposure.

"I feel that even after the Olympics, this town will never be the same," said Rudy Cervantes, owner of Cervantes Neckwear, Inc., which is planning to sell at least one million official Olympics ties. "People will be coming here to see where the Olympics was. They'll be buying merchandise. There'll be souvenir items. This town's going to be unbelievable."



XTH OLYMPIAD LOS ANGELES 1932

SWIMMING

SWIMMING STADIUM AUGUST 6, 9:00 A.M.

This Coupon, together with the attached booklet, will admit the holder to the Reserved Seat designated on the front cover hereof, for the event and the time and place listed above subject to the conditions on the inner side of the front cover of attached booklet.

NO. 01277

This Coupon Void If Detached From This Booklet

6

M

Xth OLYMPIAD 1932 LOS ANGELES

OLYMPIC STADIUM

Closing Ceremony

AUG. 14

1:00 P.M.

GEN. ADMISSION

$2.00 24001

A14

GATE CHECK

Closing Ceremony

AUG 14

OLYMPIC STADIUM

$2.00

A14

24001

The central ticket office in '32 handled more than 200 kinds of tickets for individual events.

About the Authors

Frances Ring was editor-in-chief of *Westways* for eight years. She is currently a senior lecturer at the University of Southern California, where she edits *The Journalist*, a quarterly publication of the Department of Journalism.

Ray Bradbury, famed science-fiction author of *The Martian Chronicles* and *Fahrenheit 451*, has also written gentle stories, *Dandelion Wine* and many poems.

Paul B. Zimmerman reported the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics as a member of the Associated Press staff of five. During his thirty years as sports editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, he was assigned to cover six other Olympics.

Jack Smith, columnist of the *Los Angeles Times*, grew up in Southern California. He has published six books including *The Big Orange* and *Jack Smith's L.A.*

Kevin Starr, author and historian, has written several books including *Americans and the California Dream* and a primary school textbook on California.

Larry Meyer is the author of some 200 magazine articles and three books, including *Shadow of a Continent* (1975) and *California Quake* (1978). He teaches journalism at California State University Long Beach.

Sam Balter, member of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, is a radio and television sportscaster and commentator. He was there in 1932.

Ed Cray, over a thirty-two year career as a newsman and freelance writer, has moved laterally from taking high school sports scores over the telephone to teaching journalism at the University of Southern California. Between times, he has written seven books.

Ferol Egan *has written such books as* The Taste of Time, *a novel;* Fremont: Explorer for a Restless Nation. *He is currently completing a novel of the glory days of the fur trade and has written for many magazines*—The American West, Motorland, Westways.

Lisa Mitchell, a freelance writer, contributes regularly to the *Los Angeles Times* and is currently working on a novel.

is a freelance writer of magazine features, books and teleplays.

Richard C. Lillard, a native of Los Angeles, has taught English and American Studies at UCLA, California State University Los Angeles, and Indiana University. He has received fellowships or grants from the Guggenheim, Ford, Camargo, and Rockefeller foundations.

Walter Houk, a native of Los Angeles, is a writer who lives in the Woodland Hills section of the city. His articles on Los Angeles, its built environment and its past have appeared in twenty magazines over the past twenty years.

Steve Erickson is a novelist and writes a column on pop culture for the *Los Angeles Reader*.

Julia Braun Kessler has written extensively on a wide range of subjects. She is the author of *Getting Even with Getting Old*.

Elaine Attias has written extensively on the arts and is a frequent contributor to the *Los Angeles Times*.

Sue Fleishman is well known for her travel writing published in national U.S. publications and abroad. She has also been the writer-producer of a fashion program carried on ABC radio.

Lawrence Clark Powell, bookman, regional historian, novelist, essayist, wears as many hats as his head can balance. His books include *California Classics*, *Southwest Classics*, *The River Between* and too many others to enumerate.

Carol Morton, a freelance writer, has been assistant editor at *Ebony* magazine and was most recently a producer-reporter at KCET, the Los Angeles public television station.

Paul Ditzel is a freelance writer whose articles have appeared in a wide range of publications including *Fortune Magazine*.

Jeffrey Kaye has been a writer for National Public Radio, *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* and a reporter/producer for award-winning documentary shows. He is currently a reporter/producer on KCET-TV (PBS) Los Angeles.

Credits

California Historical Society/Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce Collection (courtesy Tom Zimmerman): 8 (top), 26 (top, center, bottom), 29 (top, center, bottom), 37, 60 (left), 61 (left), 62-63 (top, bottom), 66, 71, 73, 74, 75, 93
California Historical Society/TICOR Title Insurance Collection: 30 (top, bottom), 65 (right), 83
1st Interstate Athletic Foundation: 8 (bottom), 13, 15 (top), 16 (top, left, center), 17 (top), 18 (top), 19 (top, bottom left), 20 (top)
The Watson Family Archives: 8 (center), 14 (top, bottom), 15 (bottom), 16 (bottom), 17 (bottom), 49, 57
Official Report of the Xth Olympiad, Los Angeles, 1932: 17 (insert), 20 (bottom), 66 (inserts), 77, 90 (top), 99, 101, 107
UCLA Special Collections: 84, 85, 86, 87
Pacific Bell: 98, 100
Telephone Museum: 96, 97
Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection/Los Angeles Public Library: 77
Wide World Photos: 18 (bottom)
Aerograph Inc., Vallejo: 52-53
Economics Research Associated, Los Angeles: 105
Los Angeles County Museum of Art: 59
Los Angeles Sunday Times, August 7, 1932, p. 6: 80
Westways, May 1931 and April 1933 © Automobile Club of Southern California: 82
Jack Riley: 19 (bottom right)
Jean Shiley Newhouse: 49

Front Cover by Don Weller
Illustrations by Neil Boyle: 22-23, 47
Illustration by Victor Bickmore: 32
Photographs by Tom Engler: 103, 104 (top, bottom), 105 (top)
Photographs by Tom Zimmerman: 52 (inserts), 57, 69, 90 (bottom), 91
Photographs by Walter Houk: 58, 58-59, 60 (right), 61 (right), 62 (left), 63 (right), 64 (left, right), 65 (left)

Typography by Archetype, Berkeley CA
Production by Bob Crow and Tanya Ducek-Gellen, Oakland CA
Printing by Mariposa Press, Concord CA

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1871, is a statewide, non-profit educational institution designated by the Legislature as the state historical society. With regional centers in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Marino, the Society encourages the collection, preservation, and interpretation of information about the history of California. The Society's resources are made available for the education, research, and enjoyment of the state.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present.

OFFICERS

Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
President
Mrs. Norman B. Terry, Los Angeles
Vice-President
George N. Hale, Jr.,
Treasurer
Mrs. James K. McWilliams, San Francisco
Vice-Treasurer
J. S. Holliday, San Francisco
Secretary

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

North Baker, San Francisco
Robert J. Banning, Pasadena
Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
Mrs. Ernest Bryant, Laguna Beach
Mrs. Robert B. Carter, Colusa
Thomas W. Chinn, San Francisco
J. Hewes Crispin, Santa Barbara
James K. Edmund, San Francisco
Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Dr. Iris H. W. Engstrand, San Diego
Mrs. William Fielder, Atherton
James R. Galbraith, Encino
James C. Greene, Pasadena
Donald T. Hata, Jr., Sacramento
Clarence Heller, Atherton
Mrs. Bernard L. Maushardt, San Francisco
Robert P. Miller, Pasadena
Richard Otter, Belvedere
Dr. Edith L. Piness, Claremont
Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Mrs. J. D. Relfe, San Francisco
Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles
Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mrs. Frank Simpson III, Pasadena
Dr. Carey Stanton, Santa Cruz Island
Hart Tantau, San Francisco
R. Lockwood Tower, San Francisco
Dr. Charles Wollenberg, Berkeley

EMERITI

Mrs. Francis D. Frost, Jr., Pasadena
Trustee Emeritus
Dr. Albert Shumate, San Francisco
President Emeritus

STAFF

J. S. Holliday, *Executive Director*,
Pamela L. Seager, *Associate Director*

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—WHITTIER MANSION: Cynthia Vincent, *Administrative Assistant;* George Johnson, *Staff Assistant*; Kay Sprinkel Grace, *Development Director;* Sandra McPartlon, *Development Coordinator;* Lorin Starr, *Membership Development Assistant;* Robin Endsley-Fenn, *Historic Business Register;* Howard Maull, *Accounting Manager;* Beverly Denenberg, *Curator;* June Whitesides, *Curatorial Assistant*; Kathryn Orrell, *Weekend Receptionist*; Renee Eaton, *Regional Program Development;* Nancy Jones, *Program Director;* Gerri Ginsburg, *Program Coordinator;* Jean Tozer, *Program Assistant;* Colin Oakey, *Buildings and Properties Manager;* Robert Silvestri, *Maintenance;* Valerie Simonetti, *Buildings Assistant;* Heidi Swarts, *Courier Editor;* Marilyn Ziebarth, *Director of Publications/ Education Coordinator.*

LIBRARY: Bruce Johnson, *Library Director;* Joy Berry, Jocelyn Moss, Judith Sheldon, *Reference Librarians;* Douglas Haller, *Curator of Photographs;* Stephen J. Fletcher, *Assistant Curator of Photographs;* Glenn E. Humphreys, *Reference Librarian and Curator of the Kemble Collections;* Waverly Lowell, *Curator of Manuscripts;* Sandy Larson, *Archivist;* Gerald D. Wright, *Reference Librarian and Curator of the* Chronicle *Archives.*

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—Louise Braunschweiger, *Southern California Director.*

EL MOLINO VIEJO: Margaret O. Eley, *Director;* Daniel Hoye, *Staff Assistant;* John E. Anderson, *Caretaker.*

HISTORY CENTER: Tom Zimmerman, *Curator of Photographs;* William Wurtz, *Assistant Curator.*

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Richard W. Reinhardt, *Chairman;* Frank G. Goodall, Donald Hata, Bruce L. Johnson, William L. Kahrl, Gary Kurutz, W. Michael Mathes, Henry Mayer, Knox Mellon, Jr., Luther Nichols, Robert H. Power, James J. Rawls, Charles Wollenberg

CALIFORNIA HISTORY
Individual copies $4.00
Published quarterly ©1984 by CHS

Annual membership $25.00
Teacher membership $20.00
Student membership $15.00

$10.00 of each membership is designated for subscription to *California History*

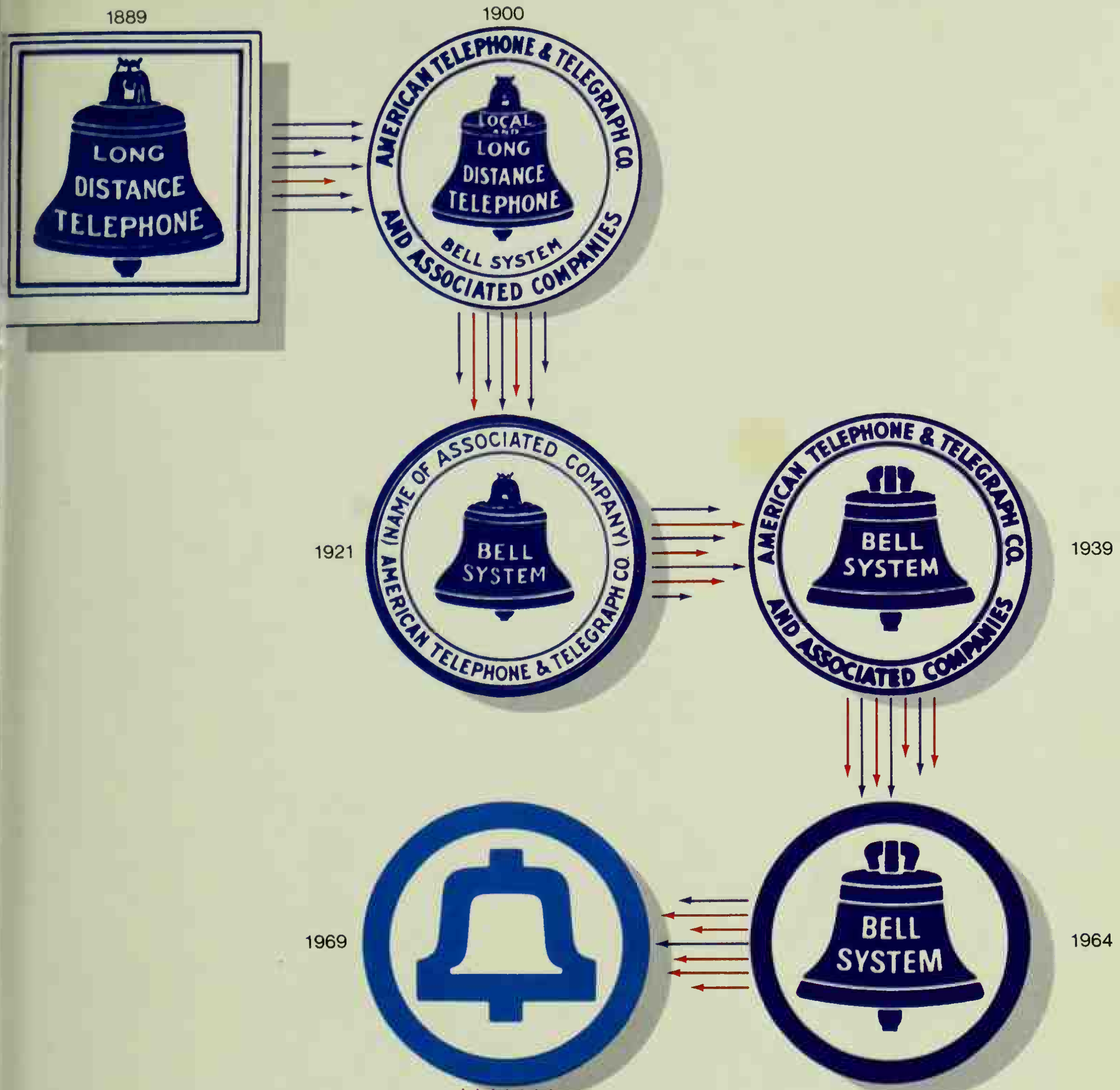
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS—
WHITTIER MANSION
2090 Jackson Street
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

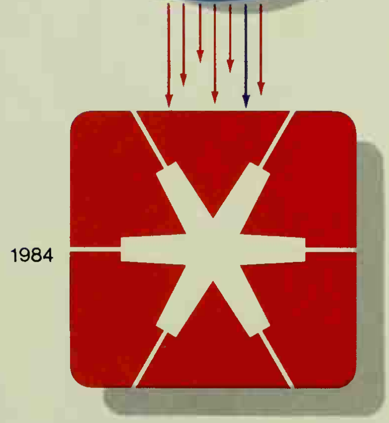
LIBRARY
2099 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS—
HISTORY CENTER
6300 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90048
(213) 651-5655

EL MOLINO VIEJO
1120 Old Mill Road
San Marino, California 91108
(818) 449-5450

Articles for publication, books for review and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Editor, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 94109. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors.

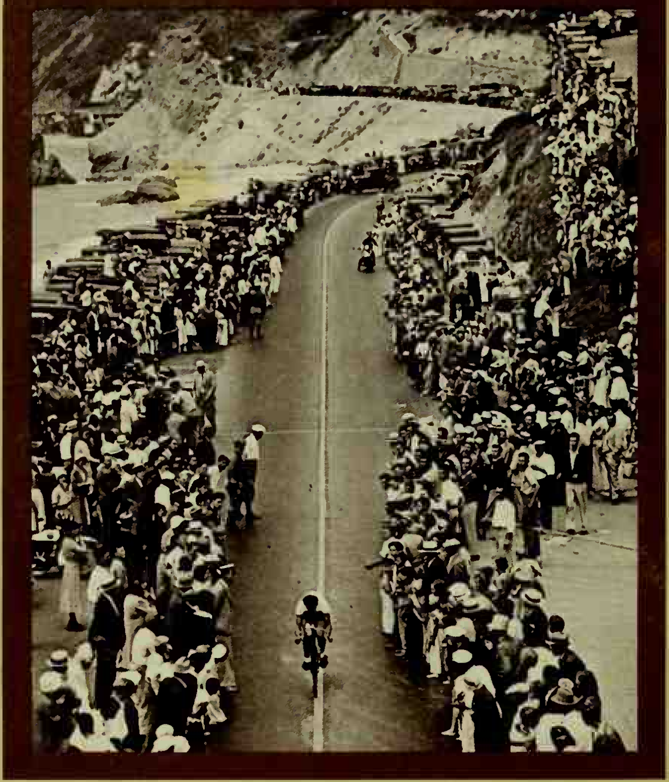




A lot of years have come and gone since Alexander Graham Bell patented the first telephone in 1876. And over these years, your telephone company has gone through a lot of changes. Changes in technology. Changes in equipment. Changes in service. Naturally, over time, our corporate symbol has evolved to reflect these changes. This year, Pacific Bell has made the greatest change in its history. A change that goes far beyond a new name and a new symbol. But one thing will never change: our commitment to provide you, our customer, with the finest telecommunication service available anywhere in the world.

PACIFIC BELL SM

A Pacific Telesis Group Company



The California Historical Society is a statewide, nonprofit educational institution. Its activities include research collections, publications, exhibitions, public programs, and historical sites. Membership is open to all sharing an interest in California history.

Administrative Headquarters
2090 Jackson Street
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

Library
2099 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

El Molino Viejo
1120 Old Mill Road
San Marino, California 91108
(818) 449-5450

History Center
6300 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90048
(213) 651-5655

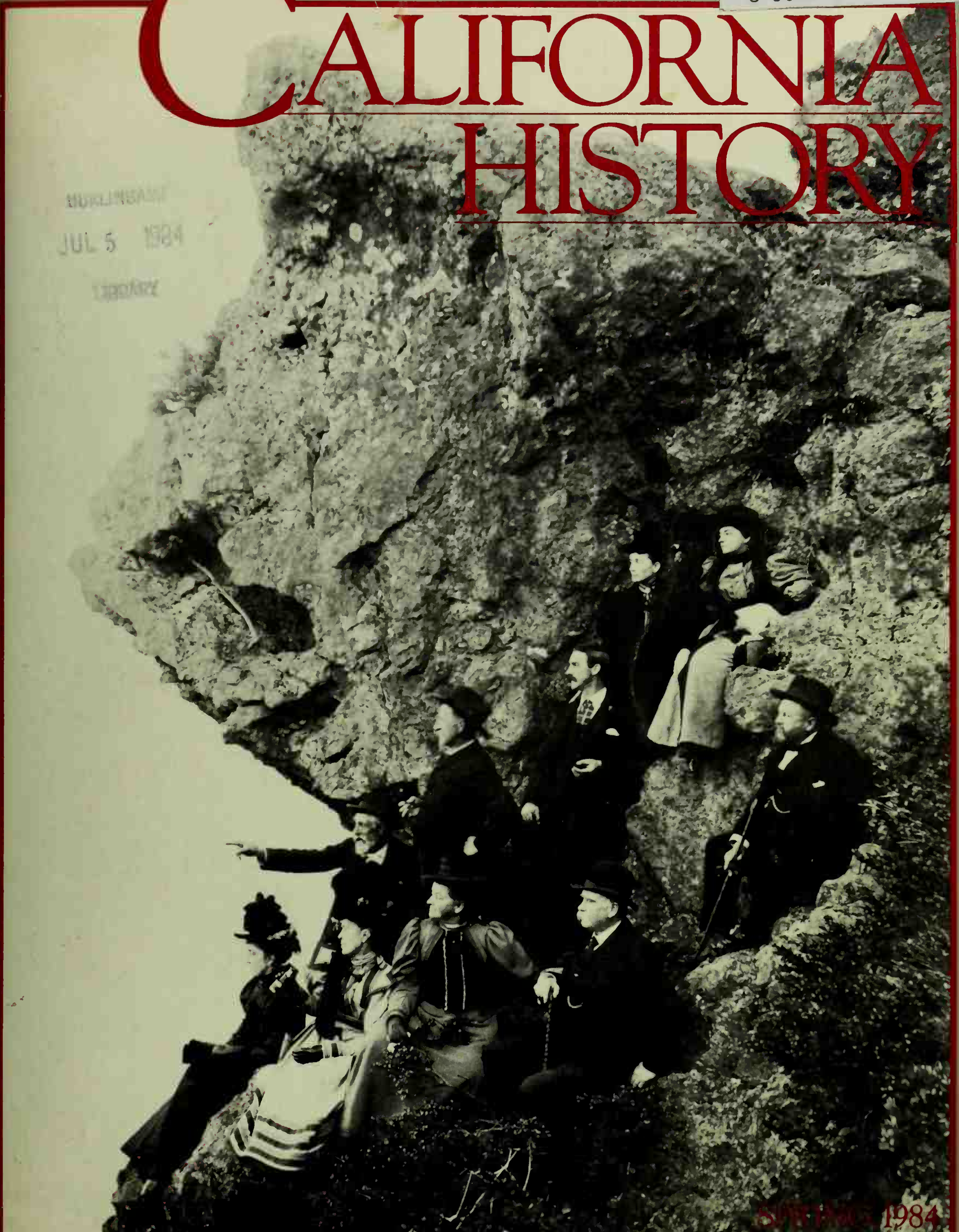
ALIFORNIA HISTORY
84 Spring

BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9042 01792467 8

MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA H

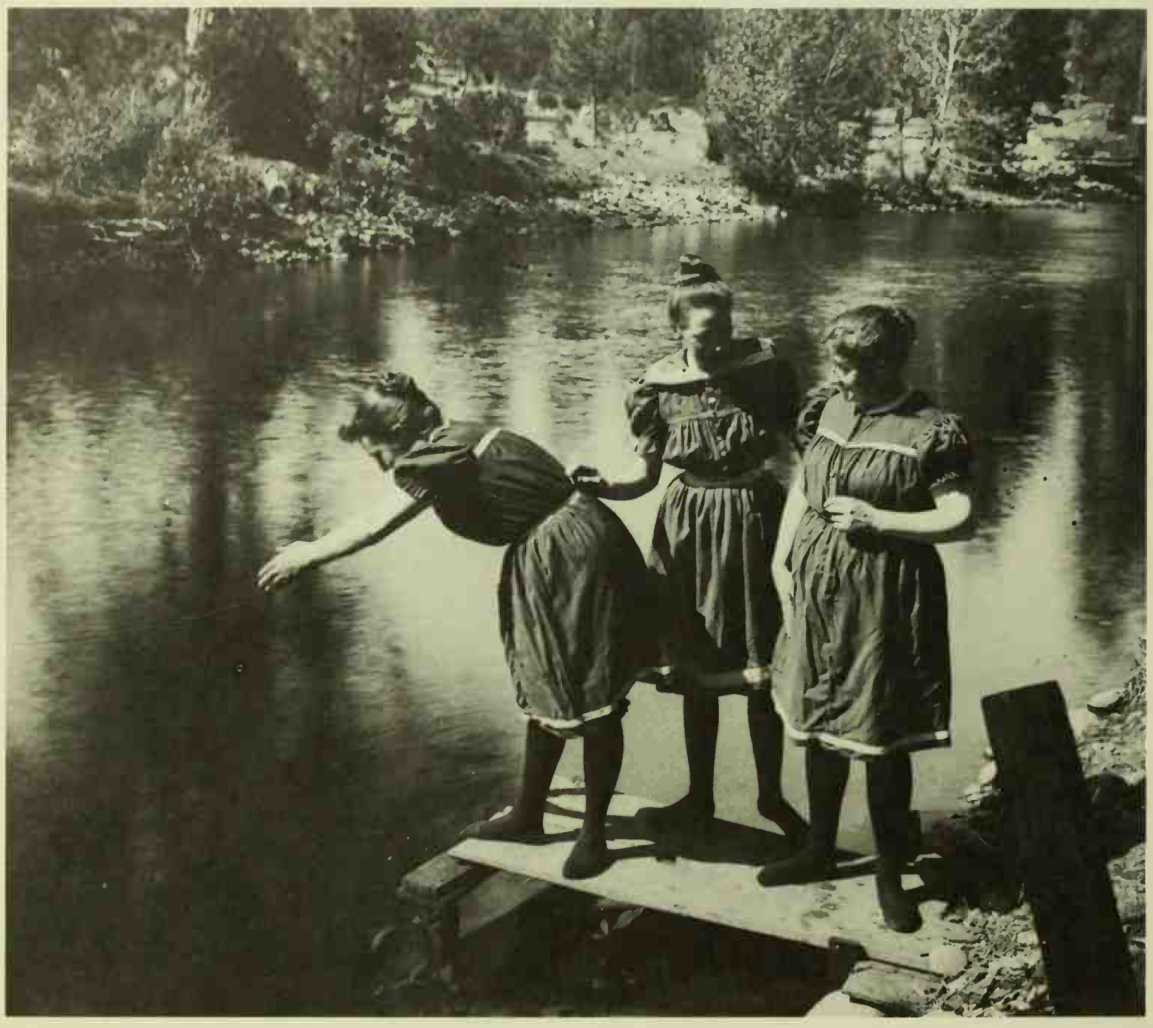
CALIFORNIA HISTORY

BURLINGAME
JUL 5 1984
LIBRARY



SPRING 1984

California Snapshots



ABOVE: Vacationing ladies in full and approved swimming costume cavort for the camera on the Tuolumne River in July 1896. Were vacations ever complete without a camera?

COVER: After-church adventurers steady themselves on the craggy summit of Mt. Tamalpais while picking out landmarks in the hazy panorama below. Carrying the turn-of-the-century sightseers to the 2592-foot elevation was the Mill Valley and Mt. Tamalpais Scenic Railway. A moving picture made on its winding course through the redwoods fascinated spectators and offered them the new and thrilling sensation of speed. **California Historical Society, San Francisco**

JAN 1 9
FEB 20

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXIII NO. 2 SPRING 1984

J.S. HOLLIDAY
Executive Director

PAMELA L. SEAGER
Associate Director

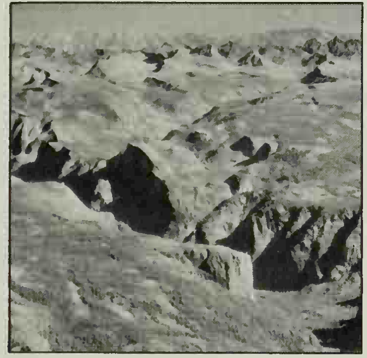
MARILYN ZIEBARTH
Editor

JAMES J. RAWLS
Reviews Editor

ANDREA DuFLON
Designer

Editorial Consultants
FRANK L. BEACH
LOWELL JOHN BEAN
ROBERT BECKER
IRIS W. ENGSTRAND
JANET R. FIREMAN
FRANCIS F. GUEST, O.F.M.
WILLIAM O. HENDRICKS
NORRIS HUNDLEY
W. TURRENTINE JACKSON
GARY F. KURUTZ
MIGUEL LEÓN-PORTILLA
W. MICHAEL MATHES
DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.
RODMAN W. PAUL
DAVID PIÑIERA RAMÍREZ
ANDREW F. ROLLE
DAVID J. WEBER
FRANCIS J. WEBER
DAVID A. WILLIAMS

California History is published quarterly by the California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco. Postmaster: send address changes to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897



136

143

162

114
South San Francisco—the Making of an Industrial City
by Joseph A. Blum

135
The Politics of John Muir
by J. S. Holliday

140
Resist! Survival Tactics of Indian Women
by Victoria Brady, Sarah Crome & Lyn Reese

152
Arnold Genthe's California Portraits

154
The Golden Gate and the Silver Screen
by Geoffrey Bell

164
Flying—Some Practical Experiences

172
Uncovering *The Snow Storm*
by James A. Silverman

177
An Editor's Confession

179
Books

185
California Check List

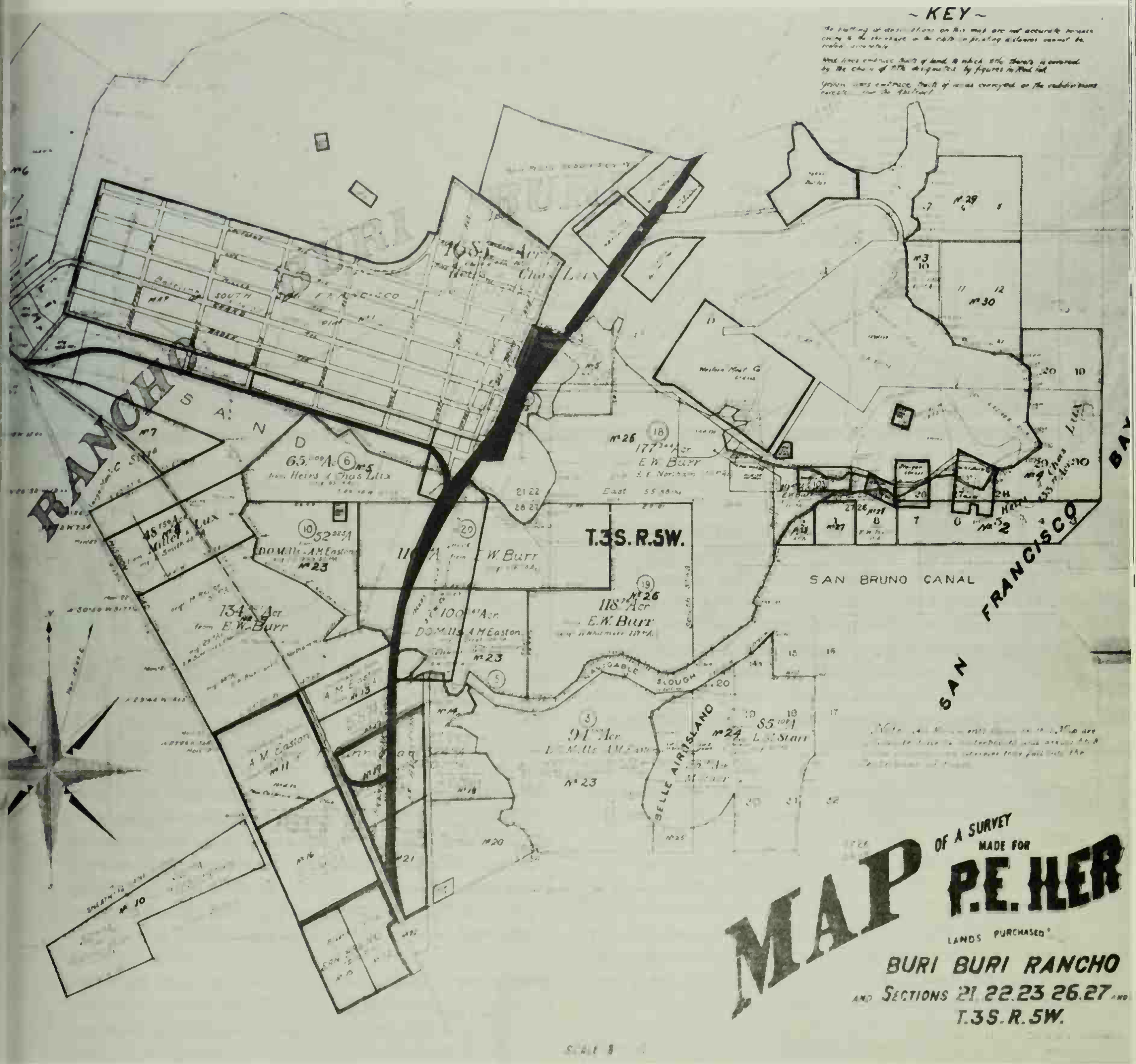
The new design and enlarged format of California History *which begins with Volume LXIII has been made possible in part by a generous grant from Mrs. LeRoy F. Krusi in memory of her husband, a former CHS Trustee.*

SOUTH SAN FRANCISCO: THE MAKING OF AN INDUSTRIAL CITY

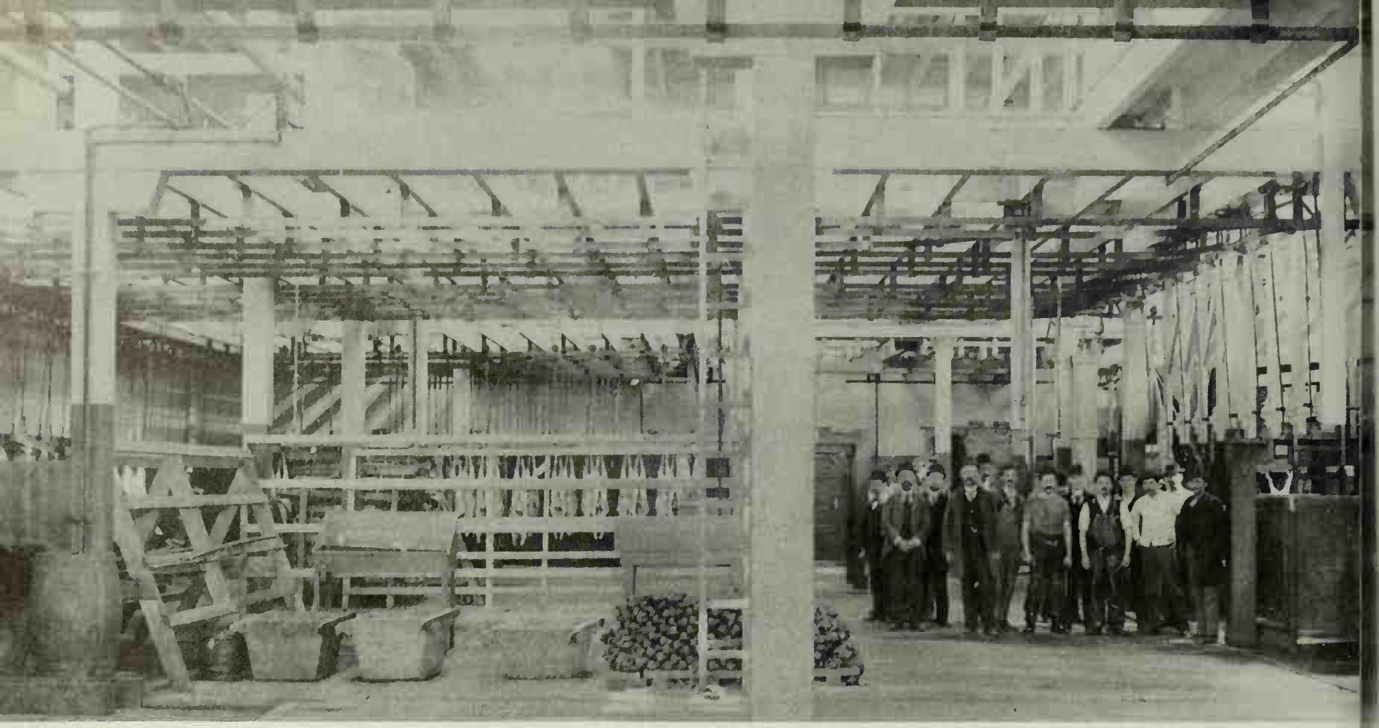
During the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, enterprising and aggressive companies applying the latest in manufacturing technology established "made to order" industrial communities on the outskirts of many important American cities. Large factory complexes employing thousands of workers were the cores of these bustling new towns. Among the most important early examples were Homestead, Pennsylvania, and Pullman and East St. Louis, Illinois.

The great established cities provided the new industrial towns with vast markets and large supplies of cheap labor. By locating the towns on the urban periphery, businessmen took advantage of cheap land, low taxes, and a virtual monopoly on local politics

by Joseph A. Blum



The land chosen for the Beef Trust's new abattoir and packing plant town sat at the northeast corner of Rancho Buri Buri on San Francisco Bay, a natural sink for effluents and wastes. Map prepared for P. E. Iler in 1890. South San Francisco History Room



which often provided a nurturing climate for their business enterprises.

The newly emerging monopoly combinations were in the forefront of these developments. The "Beef Trust," an unofficial organization of the country's half-dozen largest meat packers, was among the pioneers when in 1883 it transformed the stockyards and railroad junction outside of Omaha into the city of South Omaha so rapidly that everybody called the place "Magic City."[1]

The city of South San Francisco, California, represented an attempt by members of the same Trust to reproduce the Omaha miracle on the southern periphery of the premier city of the West Coast. The prize was not merely the local market, nor even the entire western part of the country, but the establishment of a beachhead for the Pacific trade which was destined to expand greatly in the twentieth century.

The midwestern entrepreneurs found conditions far less favorable along San Francisco Bay in the early 1890s then they had been in Nebraska ten years earlier. South Omaha was located in the midst of the expanding industrial heartland and only a few hundred miles from the Trust's headquarters in Chicago. Communications were easy, connections by rail numerous and swift.

The author is a freelance writer who often earns his livelihood as a welder in the shipyards of San Francisco. His interest in South San Francisco developed while working for almost a decade at the U.S. Steel fabricating plant. In the 1960s he was the editor of the *Movement* newspaper. Today he is an associate editor at Pacific News Service, San Francisco.

A sanitized view of a modern mechanized South San Francisco slaughterhouse killing room c. 1893. "We use all of the hog except his grunt," said Swift.
California Historical Society, San Francisco

Some 2000 miles away, San Francisco was only forty years removed from Spanish and Mexican rule. Nationwide, the Eighties had been a period of economic expansion; the early Nineties were years of deep depression. Because new industry provided employment for the idle and generally contributed to the prestige and prosperity of the host city, most businessmen welcomed the coming of the new towns. But this was decidedly not the case in San Francisco.

The proposed new town and its only industry—an abattoir or slaughterhouse and packing plant—marked the first attempt by the Beef Trust to penetrate west of the Rocky Mountains. Both the wholesale and retail sectors of the local meat industry and the businesses associated with it vigorously opposed the move.

The land chosen for the new town lay at the northeastern corner of the Rancho Buri Buri, a Mexican land grant awarded to Don Jose Antonio Sanchez in November 1835 for a lifetime of military service to the Spanish crown. It was a magnificent piece of property covering four square leagues, more than 15,000 acres. Its eastern boundary followed the contours of San Francisco Bay's shores and marsh lands south from the San Bruno mountains to the present-day city of Burlingame. Included was all the land jutting into the bay at San Bruno Point. The western border began in the north, at a no

South San Francisco represented an attempt by the Beef Trust to reproduce the Omaha miracle on the southern periphery of the West Coast's premier city.

longer existing lake located on the hilly spine of the peninsula overlooking the Pacific at the present junction of Skyline Boulevard and Highway 1. From there the border ran due south down the San Andreas Valley to a point just north of the Spring Valley lakes.[2]

Almost all of the lands on the northern tip of the San Francisco peninsula were unsuitable for cultivation or stock grazing. An early visitor to Yerba Buena Cove (now San Francisco Bay) described the landscape thus: "Beyond, to the westward of the landing place were dreary sandhills with little grass to be seen, a few trees, steep and barren, their sides gullied by the rain."[3]

In contrast, the lands south of the San Bruno mountains were rich and fertile. They provided the soldiers of the Presidio and the settlers at Mission Dolores with crops and animal products.

> *Here were grain and grass lands in proper proportion. Here were high verdant hills where cattle love to roam and breathe the pure fresh air from the salty sea while they feed upon succulent grasses. Here were innumerable living springs of fresh water supplemented by the fogs which roll inland from the briny waters of the ocean to furnish life-giving moisture to field, pasture and grove.*[4]

Rancho Buri Buri had been used for cattle grazing since the beginning of Spanish colonial times, and Sanchez continued the tradition with more than 2000 head of half-wild Spanish bullocks. These helped supply not only local needs for meat, but more importantly the increasing demands of mother Spain for leather and tallow for the European markets and for use in the Mexican mines. Sanchez also raised wheat, corn and vegetables in the sheltered valleys scattered across his land. Until his death in 1843 he traded with local merchants and landholders, men who were increasingly foreigners: Americans.[5]

During the United States' war with Mexico, American military authorities under Captain John C. Frémont began seizing cattle from the ranchos of the peninsula to feed their troops and the growing community of civilians. Not satisfied with the "payment" given in "informal promissory notes which depended for their real value on a future act of Congress," some of Sanchez's heirs, including his son Francisco, the local commander of the Mexican Militia, attempted to stop these confiscatory raids. Their most successful effort was the ambush and capture at San Bruno of Washington A. Bartlett, the first American *alcalde* of San Francisco, who was down the peninsula in search of more cattle. With Frémont off fighting in the south, the Californians were able to hold Bartlett for three weeks until an informal agreement "supposedly having to do with the matter of seizing cattle" was worked out between Sanchez and Frémont through the good offices of the British consul. These valiant efforts, however, were unable to stem the tide of land transfer taking place.[6]

After the United States established political control over the peninsula, all Mexican titles were considered suspect until proven otherwise: first before a United States Land Commission and again in United States courts. In virtually all cases the California rancheros, land rich and cash poor, fared badly. The experiences of the Sanchez heirs were not atypical.

Within twenty-five years of Don Jose's death, title to all of the Buri Buri land had transferred to American citizens. His son, Ysidero, sold his inheritance, 10 percent of the original grant, to Charles Lux and Alfred Edmondson for $10,000 in 1853, less than a year after the Land Commission verified his claim and five years before a final court decision was rendered in the case.[7]

At the time of his purchase, Lux was already a successful wholesale butcher in San Francisco. He used the ranch to rest and fatten his cattle after their long weight-reducing journeys from the San Joaquin Valley to the slaughterhouses of San Francisco. He also made the place his home, constructing a splendid mansion on the north bank of Colma Creek (then known as San Bruno Slough). Hay and other provisions shipped from Sacramento and the East Bay were taken on barges upstream from San Francisco Bay to his barns.[8]

With the establishment of the Lux ranch, a village began to take shape. Its center was Twelve Mile House, one of many irregularly spaced combination tavern-hotel-watering places that dotted Old Mission Road, the main north-south route to San Francisco. In the immediate area were several farms and dairies including Twelve Mile Farm, established around 1850, and I. G. Knowles Farm, following in 1853. The village was given the name Baden, probably in memory of Lux's native region in Germany.[9]

In 1857 Charles Lux entered into a business partnership with Henry Miller. Miller, who later became known as California's "Cattle King," was also a successful San Francisco wholesale butcher with great ambition. Eager to devote his time to "country business," the acquisition of land and cattle, he needed a partner

By successfully monopolizing the refrigerated railroad car, Swift and other members of the Trust gained control over the nation's supply of perishable food products.

to attend to "city business"—butchering, sales, and high finance. Miller found the perfect mate in Lux who "was preeminently a city man, tall, dignified, impressive, and stood well with the leading financiers of the city, and the Bank of California seemed to be willing to open its doors to him at any time."[10]

Once the partnership was consummated at the Lux Mansion in Baden, there began what one historian has called a "veritable orgy of land and cattle buying which continued without abatement for thirty years."[11] Soon their competitors awoke to find that the two Germans had virtually cornered the livestock market. Cattle and other stock by the thousands from ranches in Gilroy and the San Joaquin Valley were driven along the El Camino Real through Baden to San Francisco. In 1881 alone Miller and Lux supplied that market with more than 82,000 head of stock.

When meat packer magnate Gustavus Swift visited San Francisco in 1887, he had already demonstrated his leadership among the aggressive group of Chicago-based businessmen rapidly becoming known as the Beef Trust. P. D. Armour was perhaps a shrewder merchant and trader, having gained his initial fortune profiteering during the Civil War by "backing battle lines with bacon and barrelled beef." Nelson Morris was certainly the most innovative, being the first to build a packing plant in Chicago, the first to crossbreed cattle hoping to improve the quality of the meat, the first to employ a chemist to the same end, the first to ship live cattle to Europe, and among the first to experiment with refrigerated railroad cars.[12]

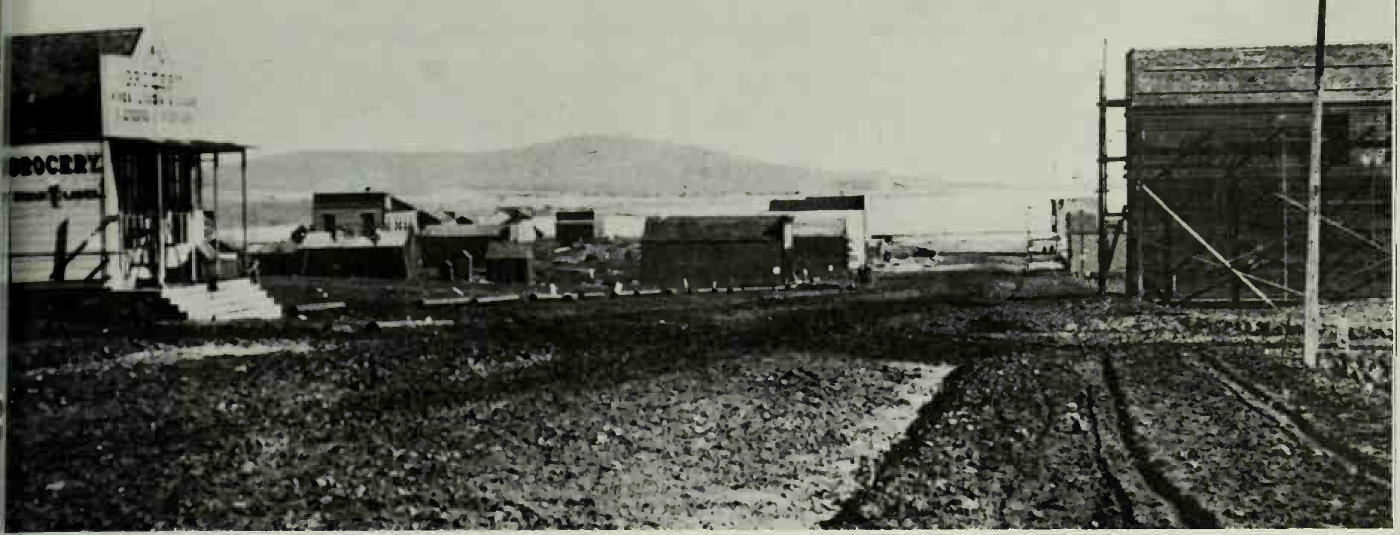
But it was Swift who, despite limited resources, developed and constructed the first efficient refrigerated freight car. He was the first to achieve major commercial success by using the cars to transport dressed beef from Chicago to the cities of the eastern seaboard, an achievement which revolutionized the entire meat industry. Central stockyards were no longer restricted to operating on a seasonal basis. The markets for dressed beef, rather than cattle on the hoof, were no longer measured in local or regional terms, but had suddenly become national, even international. In a short time the methods first applied to meat were extended to fruits and vegetables. By successfully monopolizing the refrigerated railroad car, often through their positions as directors of railroads, Swift and other members of the Trust gained control over the nation's supply of perishable food products. When Swift "demonstrated the feasibility of transporting dressed beef, he thrust a lever under, and overturned the whole country's methods of food-supply."[13]

Swift was amply rewarded for his achievements. When he arrived in Chicago from Boston in 1875, he had barely the capital to start a modest packing plant. Even as late as April 1885, his business was incorporated at only $30,000. Less than eighteen months later, capital stock increased to $3,000,000, but this was merely the beginning. In 1886 Swift and Company still consisted of a single plant and 1600 workers; by 1903 it employed more than 23,000 at seven huge plants.[14]

Swift's visit to the West Coast in 1887 convinced him that the Bay Area offered ideal conditions not merely for the establishment of a modern meat packing plant but for the development of an industrial suburb. San Francisco was the eighth largest city in the nation, with a population just under 300,000. Second only to New York in the value of her foreign and domestic trade, San Francisco was the financial and banking center of the coast as well as the premier seaport. It was also the leading manufacturing center, its factories accounting for more than three-quarters of the products of the state. Even so, major industries such as shipbuilding, machinery, and foundries were only beginning to develop; steel production was almost non-existent; and the output of the city's rolling mills declined in the decade 1880–1890.[15] The potential for industrial initiative seemed unlimited to Swift.

It was the state of the meat industry, however, that Swift subjected to closest scrutiny. San Francisco was perhaps the only, and surely the largest, major city in the country in which the old methods of meat supply still operated unchallenged. The wholesale and slaughtering operations of the business were carried out at Butchertown, a district of at least twenty-three separate slaughterhouses, their associated industries, and other "dirty" businesses that had been banished from other areas and pushed into the southeastern corner of the city along Islais Creek. Even the Butcher's organization had to admit that the area had a reputation for being a "blot on the fair name" of the city. A local paper reported that, "on bad days you could sometimes smell Butchertown on Nob Hill."[16]

Many of the firms that located in Butchertown had



South San Francisco's rutted and unpaved Grand Avenue in 1892, looking toward the marshes of San Francisco Bay. The industrial town's first grocery store (at left) advertises steam lager. **South San Francisco History Room**

been in business for many years in other areas but had been forced to relocate their operations as the city's residential and commercial districts grew and changed. Charles Lux himself had once raised hogs adjacent to the site of the Palace Hotel. In 1851, Henry Miller, by far the largest and richest of the wholesale butchers, began his first slaughterhouse, a modest operation on Jackson Street. Miller would slaughter and dress calves and then transport them on his back to customers in nearby North Beach and around the city. But as Chinatown expanded as a residential area, Miller was forced to relocate. In moving to Fifth and Howard streets, Miller was confident that he had found a spot "far enough out to be suitable for the butchering business." Before long, however, this area became part of the growing downtown commercial area, necessitating another move.

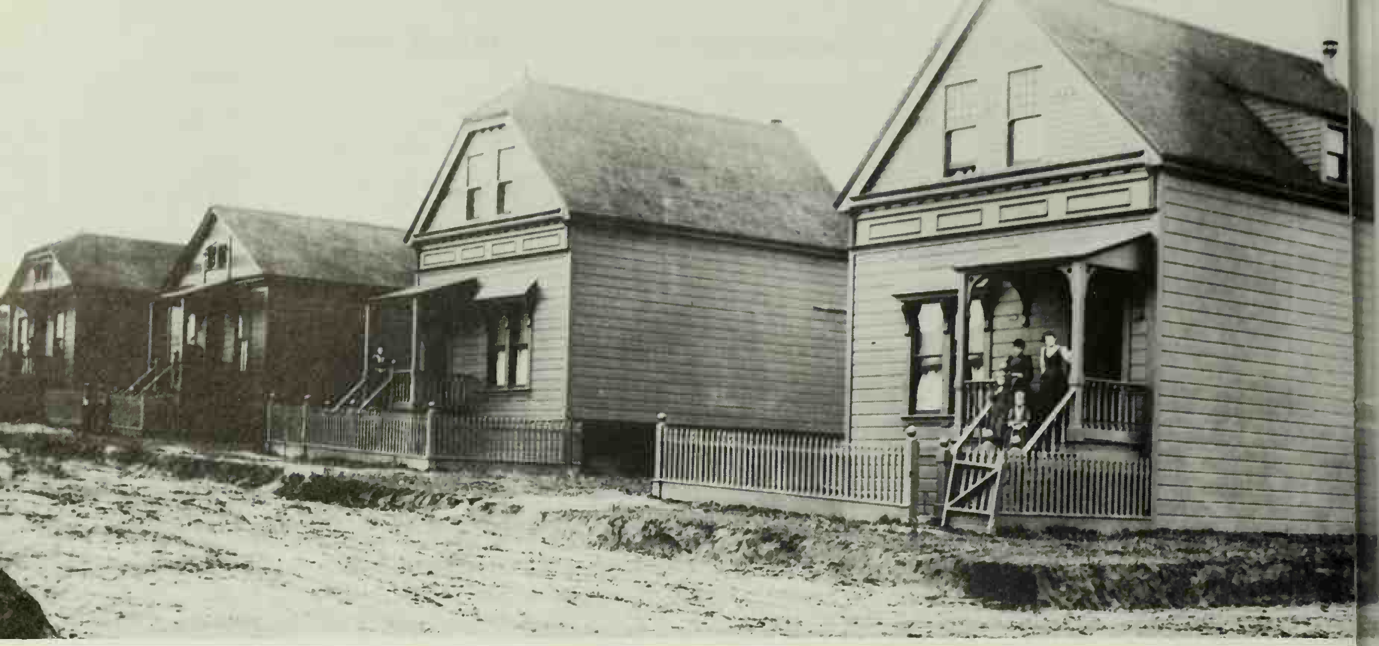
At this point Miller was instrumental in organizing a majority of the city's wholesale butchers to select a central and permanent location for their trade. They decided the site should be on the shoreline to provide a handy way to dispose of offal and other wastes. The tidelands in the southeastern corner of the city seemed ideal. Although these were state-owned lands, the influential group of businessmen had little difficulty in obtaining from the legislature "a permanent Butchers' Reservation with the guaranty that butchering might be carried on for a period of 99 years."[17]

With the grant secured, Miller wasted little time in constructing a wharf of sufficient size to accommodate the needs of all the wholesale butchers of San Francisco. Each butcher built his own individual plant, and although the meat industry was now centralized, its production methods remained primitive. Every wholesaler of any size maintained his own slaughterhouse. Some dealt exclusively in cattle, whereas others handled only hogs, sheep, or lambs. Only the largest establishments handled three or four kinds of stock, and they often maintained two separate slaughterhouses. Moreover, none of the butchers made extensive use of the animal by-products. Offal, for example, was either pushed through trap doors onto the tidelands or directly into the bay, or it was slopped to the hogs, many of whom were kept immediately underneath the killing rooms. By-products with known economic value were sold to businesses such as James Beatty's Hide House, Tallow, Fertilizer and Neats Foot Oil Works which salted up to 6000 steer and cow hides each month. Other associated by-products industries included two large fertilizer plants, four or five of the largest tanneries on the coast, and several wool pulleries. Also located there were the "two largest packing houses and tallow manufactories this side of the mountains" which supplied a large proportion of the hams, bacon, and other processed pork products consumed on the coast.[18]

Swift was familiar with these kinds of operations. They were not very different from those of Anthony, Swift and Company, a large slaughterhouse in Fall River, Massachusetts, in which he had been a partner twenty-five years earlier. In the ensuing years, however, he believed he had acquired the knowledge, methods, and technology to undersell the local butchers and capture a significant portion of the domestic market of the West Coast. He also saw the opportunity to be in a position to fight for a share of the trans-Pacific trade.

Swift's choice of Baden as the site for his industrial experiment was perfectly logical. Ten miles from the center of San Francisco, it was far enough away from the city, and in a separate county as well, to ensure both commercial and political independence, yet within easy reach of that city's markets and labor supply.

The largely flat land on San Bruno Point was ideally suited for industry, and with the prevailing winds from



With apparently interchangeable architectural details, these homes for company employees line South San Francisco's unpaved, uncurbed streets in 1893.
California Historical Society, San Francisco

the west, the bay to the east served as the perfect natural sink for any noxious fumes or effluents generated by the meat complex. The proposed residential area to be associated with the entirely planned city would be built to the west on "high rolling ground, easily drained, [and] therefore entirely free from malarial influences."[19]

If the town site had any drawback, it was transportation. While miles of frontage on the Bay provided access to ocean freight as well as commodities from the deepwater ports of Stockton, Sacramento, and the East Bay, the shallowness of the Bay would necessitate extensive dredging and the construction of ship channels and canals to obtain maximum advantage or to use the waterfront at all during low tide.

Access to railroad lines was worse. Although the main line of the Southern Pacific passed through the new town, it did so in the foothills considerably west of the proposed factory district. Charles Lux had demanded a flag stop known as Baden in exchange for granting the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad a right-of-way through his property. The line, the first projected in the state but not the first constructed, was completed in 1863. Seven years later the Southern Pacific took it over. The line departed from the shores of the Bay at San Bruno and ascended to serve a race course, several amusement and resort areas, and the cemeteries located along the hilly spine of the northern peninsula. This was a less direct route to San Francisco than one following the shore of the bay would have been. For the new industrial district to be served, an extensive network of belt railways would have to be constructed and supplemental freight and passenger service provided.[20]

Despite these drawbacks the Lux land was deemed ideally suited for the "creation and promotion of a successful manufacturing suburban city." In March 1887, when Charles Lux died from typhoid pneumonia, the land became available. Although Lux left a sizeable estate, well over 90 percent of his property was tied up in the partnership with Henry Miller, and according to the terms of that union, the surviving partner was entitled to "carry on the business for at least seven years." Henry Miller's methods had always been to accumulate more and more land and livestock. (In this way the assets of the partnership grew from an initial purchase in 1858 of 1000 head of cattle in Milpitas to holdings in 1895 of more than 14.5 million acres in three states—more than twice the area of Belgium.) After Lux died, Miller continued to run the business in the same fashion. A bitter legal battle over the partnership's assets followed. Meanwhile Lux's heirs, in need of immediate liquid assets, put the Baden land, which belonged individually to Lux, up for sale. Swift's trip to the coast in 1887 was primarily to evaluate this land and to assess the general business climate of the Bay Area.[21]

Convinced that a factory and town at Baden was the best way to break into the West Coast market, Swift turned to practical organizational tasks. For all his wealth, he could not act independently; a consensus had to be reached among the members of the Beef Trust on both a general plan and the role—financial and otherwise—each individual member was to play. Simultaneously it was necessary to forge contacts and make arrangements with local San Francisco entrepreneurs. This process took more

Peter Iler, who had served the Trust earlier in South Omaha, was dispatched to the coast where in the spring of 1890 he went on a land-buying spree around Baden.

than two years. Once agreement was reached, events moved rapidly.

Peter Iler, who had served the Trust earlier in South Omaha, was dispatched to the coast where in the spring of 1890 he went on a land-buying spree around Baden. By October he had acquired 3400 acres centering on, and including, the Lux ranch. On February 21, 1891, in consideration of $10 gold, Iler and his wife transferred all of their recently acquired property to the new South San Francisco Land and Improvement Company.[22]

Incorporated as the instrument to build the new town—which Swift wanted to name South San Francisco—and capitalized at $2,000,000, the company stated its purposes:

> *to purchase, subdivide, cultivate or sell farming lands, town lots and colony tracts; to construct, maintain or dispose of dwellings, stores, warehouses, hotels, manufacturing buildings; to connect these by railroad tracks; to construct canals, slips and docks and to carry on a general hotel, warehouse and merchandise business; to deal in mortgages, bonds, stocks and notes, to loan money; to furnish fresh water for domestic, manufacturing, mechanical and irrigating purposes; to construct, operate or sell canals, pipes, ditches, reservoirs and all other improvements accessory for the perfection of a water system and to manufacture and furnish gas and electricity for lighting and other purposes; and for other incidental or auxiliary business.*[23]

The big money to finance this grand scheme came from connections in Chicago: $600,000 from the Morris family (Nelson and his son Edward); $400,000 from Peter Iler; $100,000 from Swift; and $95,000 from Armour and Company.[24]

The most important local investment came from Ernest Reuben Lilienthal and his family, who were traders in barley, corn, salmon, oats, wool, beans and peas, flour, malt, seeds, rye, wheat, and borax. They also sold spirits. Before his fortieth birthday, Lilienthal had made Crown Distilleries the largest liquor wholesale business on the West Coast. His brothers Jesse W., an attorney, and Philip N., aside from being partners in the merchandising business, also played active roles in promoting the new enterprise. Both were prominent financiers who sat on the boards of several industrial concerns as well as banks, the most important of which, the Anglo-California Trust Company, was founded by Philip in 1873. The Lilienthals served the new land company, as well as other corporate entities created by the Baden interests, as both bankers and legal counsel. Although the original capital investment by the Lilienthals was not large, their legal, financial, and trade connections proved vital to the success of the new venture.[25]

Henry Miller's investment in the new corporation was paradoxical. As a local butcher, he might have been expected to try to fight off the invasion of the Trust, yet he was among the first to sell land to Iler. Miller in fact invested $40,000 in the land company and was elected as director at the first stockholders' meeting.[26] Miller had decided to play on both sides of the fence. He was far too powerful to be punished by local interests who desperately needed his support, and he was anxious not to antagonize the powerful interests from the East. He undoubtedly believed that with his wealth concentrated in land and animal herds, the promise of the newcomers to maintain the first permanent live stock market on the West Coast, as well as the increased demand that would be generated by their operations, could surely be turned to his profit. Sitting on the board of the new company would provide him inside information and leverage to enhance these possibilities.

Joseph L. Blum's article on the history of South San Francisco is the annual winner of the California Historical Society's Alice J. Clark Essay Contest. Established in 1982 by friends of Ms. Clark, the contest awards an annual prize of $200 for the best original essay on the history of the San Francisco Bay Area and its people in the twentieth century. Authors must be age forty-five or younger.

Ms. Clark took a lifelong interest in young people and financially assisted their educational and cultural enrichment. A native San Franciscan, she was fascinated by the city's history, particularly its ferry boats and cable cars.

Friends of Ms. Clark who contributed to this year's prize are: Mrs. Robert K. Blair, Ms. Maridell Bonner, Ms. Marie Conroy, Mr. Brian McGrath, Mr. and Mrs. John M. Murphy, Mrs. Mary Niland, Ms. Elizabeth Owen, Ms. Mary J. Rowan, and Dr. Thomas Wolff.

The annual deadline for submission of manuscript entries to the contest is December 31.

The development of new uses for parts of the animals previously considered "waste" was a major innovation. Swift proudly proclaimed, "Now we use all of the hog except his grunt."

At their first meeting in February 1891, the land company's directors took formal possession of the properties acquired by Iler, elected officers, and authorized initial expenditures of $275,000 towards the dredging of a shipping channel and the construction of stockyards, an abattoir, and a water works. By summer, the brick buildings of the packing house were beginning to take shape. Simultaneously a civil engineer, J. A. Worthen, proceeded to lay out, survey, sub-divide, and grade streets and alleys not only in the industrial section of the new town, but in the planned residential and commercial areas as well.[27]

Because there could be no town without the industrial heart, the factory consisting of eighty-two acres including stockyards and related facilities received top priority. The slaughterhouse and packing plant alone—"three large brick buildings separated from one another and yet connected in a way no stranger can begin to understand on account of the large number of doors and alley-ways"—stood seven stories high and occupied eight acres.[28] Built at a cost of more than $2.5 million, it was the first plant on the West Coast to duplicate the by-product utilization and labor-saving methodologies so successfully applied by the Beef Trust in its midwestern facilities. According to one historian:

> *Machinery took over much of the by-product, sausage, and canning operations. Friction hoists, overhead conveyors, endless chains, chutes, and moving benches eliminated the manual handling of materials . . . Assembly—or rather disassembly—line operation was the basic achievement here . . . [and] it was carried forward to the most minute degree. The packers . . . surveyed and laid off the animal like a map, apportioning to each workman a tiny part of the total operation . . . The division of labor had the advantages, first of putting two-thirds of the work into the hands of common labor and, second, of greatly improving the quality of the delicate splitting and skinning tasks. Output per man was also enormously increased.*[29]

The elimination of separate rendering, glue, and fertilizer works, their incorporation into a single plant, and the development of new uses for parts of the animals previously considered "waste" was another major innovation. Swift proudly proclaimed, "Now we use all of the hog except his grunt."[30] The use of ice and refrigeration to prevent spoilage of the freshly dressed meat was also innovative on the West Coast and the subject of bitter controversy.

This combination of by-product utilization, economies of scale, increased output per worker, and lowering of wages (common laborers replaced most of the skilled butchers) allowed the plant at Baden to produce dressed beef and other products at a lower cost than was possible under conditions prevailing at San Francisco's Butchertown. The opening of the new facility in December 1892 on the eve of a great nationwide depression marked the beginning of a lengthy "meat war" in the San Francisco Bay Area.

If Henry Miller did not feel threatened by the Trust's new operation at Baden, the same could not be said for his fellow Bay Area butchers who lacked his vast holdings in livestock and land and whose livelihood derived solely from their butchering. They were well aware of the way in which their trade had been devastated in the eastern cities once refrigerated meats began to be shipped in commercial quantities from Chicago in 1875.[31] They knew of the Trust's capacity to capture local markets by ruthless price-cutting that forced all but the largest wholesalers or small specialty shops into self-effacing "partnerships" or utter ruin.

The tactics emanating from Baden proved predictable. While the Trust offered the local butchers meat goods at attractive prices, the merchants were warned that if they refused to trade exclusively with Baden, they would be disqualified from receiving any meat later on after the Trust gained complete control of the meat market.[32]

The San Francisco butchers refused to be intimidated. On March 29, 1893, at their second meeting in less than a week, more than 500 retailers as well as wholesalers met at Verein Eintrat Hall and organized themselves into the Butchers' Board of Trade of San Francisco and Alameda Counties. The organization set itself two goals: to ensure that its members refused to trade in goods produced at Baden and to mount a public campaign against these products which they claimed were not only goods of a predatory "foreign" monopoly, but harmful to health as well.[33]

Attempting to shed the foreign label, in March 1894 the Baden meat plant, stockyards and related facilities were incorporated as the Western Meat Company. Swift was chosen president of the new company (although Morris held more of the stock). Henry Miller participated as a modest investor but held no office.[34]

Eschewing modern techniques and refrigeration, San Francisco slaughterhouses organized a boycott of South San Francisco beef by butchershops like this one on Castro Street (which is decorated for Christmas).
California Historical Society, San Francisco

To combat the butchers' boycott of Baden meat, the company opened a large wholesale market as well as seven retail outlets in San Francisco. Other wholesale markets were established in Oakland and San Jose with plans for additional facilities in every large city in the state. Then, after repeated negotiations and discussions with Miller failed to get the Butchers' Board of Trade to modify their stand, Western Meat directors ordered their prices slashed.[35] Even with low prices and retail outlets featuring modern refrigeration and glass showcases, however, Western Meat Company had difficulty marketing its products. The boycott and propaganda disseminated by the local butchers were extremely effective.

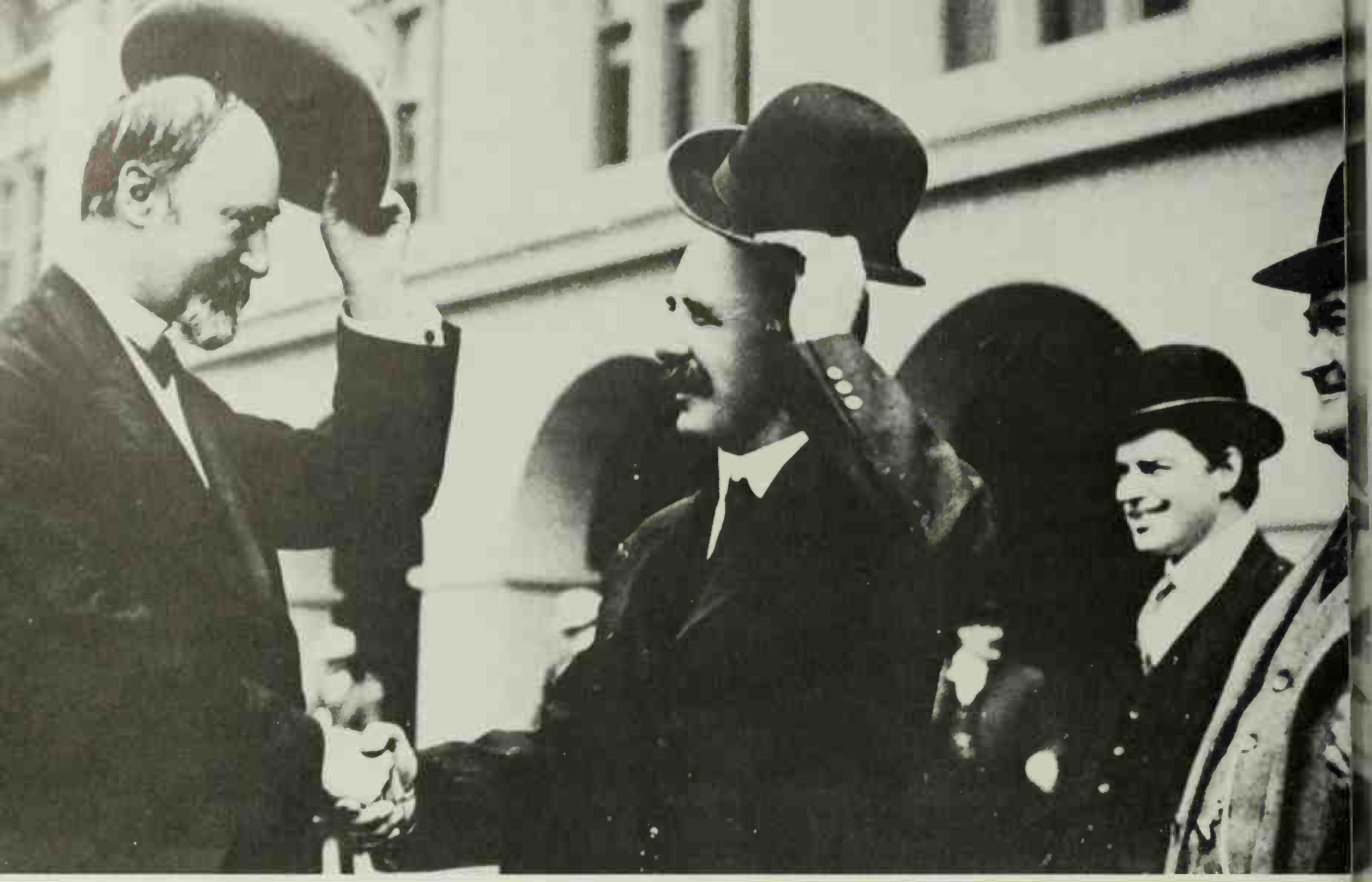
Western Meat was hurt most by claims that its products were unhealthy and unfit for human consumption. Because of the climate in the San Francisco Bay Area, butchers argued,

> *it was possible as in few other places in the world . . . to let the beef hang in the open air after it had been cleaned and the hide removed. Under normal conditions this dried the meat out slightly and thereby prevented much of the spoilage which would have otherwise occurred; this process imparted a bright red color to the exposed surfaces of the meat and the fat kept a yellowish tinge.*[36]

Local butchers insisted that this was how good meat should look, and most of the consuming public, having no other experience, was inclined to agree.

In contrast, Western Meat, using the most modern technology and refrigeration, washed its meat after removing the hide and entrails. After coming out of the refrigerator, this beef had "a very light colored fat and pinkish meat as we see over the counter today," which the Board of Trade ridiculed unmercifully. The board claimed that Western Meat Company cattle were slaughtered while in a "feverish state" and would cause indigestion and other sicknesses if eaten. It even went so far as to warn that "as a safeguard against *tuberculosis* and other dangers which lurk in embalmed, refrigerated and canned meats," consumers should "have no dealings with Baden butchers."[37]

Local butchers did not criticize Western Meat for unsanitary, unhealthy, or dangerous working conditions within their plant as did Upton Sinclair and other muckrakers in the following decade.[38] Rather the butchers denounced the use of modern technology and refrigeration which they claimed was inherently unhealthy. Ironically, however, while the San Francisco butchers



Charles Warren Fairbanks, vice-president of the United States (1905–09), shakes hands with W. J. Martin, who lobbied and cajoled diverse industries to locate in South San Francisco. **South San Francisco History Room**

were frantically warning the consuming public about the health hazards emanating from Baden, they were simultaneously engaged in a bitter dispute with the San Francisco Board of Health which proclaimed conditions throughout Butchertown to be a deplorable menace to the public health.

In October 1895, Health Inspector A.B. Kinne reported that all over Butchertown "many of the sanitary laws are openly and continually violated. Beneath the flooring of many of the large slaughter-houses may be seen great piles of butchers' offal, garbage and vegetable matter from which arises the most revolting and noisome of effluvia." Efforts by the Board of Health to correct these conditions were met with "bitter and determined antagonism." As a result, the board had two bills introduced in the state legislature, one of which would have given them subpoena powers in inquiries relating to public health and sanitation. An attorney representing a powerful lobby from the Butchers' Board of Trade was thence dispatched to Sacramento where he testified that the "San Francisco Board of Health had originated and engineered these bills for the sole purpose of levying financial tribute upon his clients, and of further increasing the patronage of the Health Department." One bill was ruled unconstitutional and the other was defeated in the senate after passing in the assembly.[39]

Wielding considerable clout in Sacramento, the butchers were virtually invincible in their home town. Ben Davis, the chief market inspector, reported that it was "a physical impossibility" for his department to inspect the more than 2000 head of stock killed daily at thirty-one different slaughterhouses in Butchertown with just two inspectors! When violations were uncovered and prosecuted, the penalties were insignificant.[40]

By the spring of 1895, many observers believed that the local butchers had defeated the Trust. The *San Francisco Call* reported that the talk on the street was that Swift and Morris "had become heartily sick of the venture" and had come to town for the annual stockholder's meeting to close the business. The *Call* pointed out that the struggle for the market had cost the Baden interests and the local butchers considerably, while "the citizens of San Francisco paid from five to ten cents a pound less for his porterhouse than the same could be purchased for in the East."

Swift, when queried about the rumors, replied: "If we are going out of business, this is the first I have known of it." A more enlightening comment that also pointed to problems of industrial development in San Francisco was offered by James McCullough, a stockholder in Western Meat:

When queried about the rumors, Swift replied: "If we are going out of business, this is the first I have known of it."

> *There is no disposition among the stockholders to abandon the fight. This city is at least fifty years behind the age in the matter of handling its fresh meats, and the enterprise will succeed. The fight against us made by the local wholesale butchers is directly in line with the unfortunate disposition manifested by San Franciscans towards newcomers in other lines, which is in my opinion a chief reason why the growth and development of the city has been so retarded.*[41]

Of course, Western Meat did not abandon its venture. Rather, the company expanded its trade with Chinese merchants and established a huge smokehouse complex capable of supplying 25,000-30,000 pounds of cured goods daily adjacent to its City Market at Sixth and Townsend streets in San Francisco.

More significantly Western Meat increased its efforts to remove the stigma of being an outsider and began to portray itself as a local industry, joining and becoming a prominent member of the Manufacturers' and Producers' Association of California.[42] In the fall of 1896 Western Meat issued an appeal to the Live Stock Men of California, urging them to support its business and patronize its products and explaining how that would be to their mutual benefit:

> *You are aware of course that the Western Meat Company is a liberal buyer and a prompt payer. . . . We are killing over 700 head of cattle per week, over 40,000 sheep and lambs per week, and over 3,000 hogs per week, and are paying nearly three million dollars per annum to the cattle and sheep-growers and hog raisers of this state.*[43]

Despite these appeals, the local butchers continued to retain the lion's share of the domestic trade in the Bay Area.[44] It was only Western Meat's ability to underbid its rivals for government contracts that allowed the business to prosper. In the summer of 1898 the company secured two significant contracts: one from the state to supply the penitentiary at San Quentin with 450,000 pounds of beef per year, the other from the federal government to supply 10,000-20,000 pounds of beef daily to feed U.S. soldiers stationed in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War.[45]

In San Francisco the debate over the health hazards of refrigerated meat raged on until mother nature intervened. In April 1906, the earthquake and fire destroyed much of Butchertown and demolished Western Meat's San Francisco operations. The Baden plant was unscathed. In the following months the company supplied the United States government and the San Francisco Relief Committee with hundreds of thousands of pounds of fresh, cured, and canned meats. When Butchertown was rebuilt, the packers "established refrigeration systems and loudly heralded the new innovation as a great boon." According to one Peninsula historian, the earthquake thereby "not only opened up the markets of San Francisco to the Western Meat Company, but it also brought its competitors up to date."[46]

The great meat war ended in a draw. The battle with the butchers had defined the new town and limited it. In 1891 the *San Mateo Times-Gazette*, referring to Baden as the "new Chicago," had predicted: "With an unsurpassed climate, rail and water connections with every part of the world, and a magnificent topographical location, it cannot but be one of the commercial and business centers of the world."[47] By the turn of the century, all but the most optimistic booster would have offered a far more modest assessment. Yet the new town had been put on the map. It had survived the depression of the mid-1890s and the hostility of powerful San Francisco interests, and it had attracted some energetic and devoted backers who worked earnestly to achieve the original dream. If it was not to be the new Chicago, it would at least become South San Francisco, the first industrial suburb on the West Coast.

All major decisions regarding the development of the town remained in the hands of the Beef Trust by virtue of their majority holdings in both the land and meat companies and their close alliance with the local capitalists who served as directors. But mundane local decisions and problems could not be handled on a daily basis from Chicago. At the request of Swift and the others in 1888, Peter Iler had come from South Omaha to live on the Lux Ranch and tend the town, but in 1894 he returned to Nebraska. For the undertaking to succeed, local men—or men willing to sink new roots—had to be found.

On November 9, 1895, a weekly newspaper entered the town life. "*The Enterprise*, in this its initial issues, extends greeting to the citizens of South San Francisco and of San Mateo County. Like most new arrivals in this world it makes no apology for its appearance. It has simply come and come to stay," wrote Ebenezer E. Cunningham, editor and proprietor.[48]

Cunningham was already a familiar figure in the area.

Had the "Bayshore Cutoff" been constructed at an earlier date, South San Francisco might well have become a far more important industrial center.

At Iler's request he and his wife had left Omaha in 1890 to sell California real estate and promote the town. Quickly convinced to enter politics, he was sworn in as a notary public in 1892. In the following year he was appointed to complete the term of justice of the peace for the First Township, the most powerful pre-incorporation local political office. He was retained in the elections of 1894 and every four years thereafter until his retirement in 1906. Cunningham conducted all of his business from his office in the post office, for in addition to his other jobs, he was the town's first and only postmaster for twenty-four years.

In Cunningham's first editorial, he insisted that the new town had "no rival in San Mateo County" and advised the other towns to go on with what they had been doing: raising garden produce in Colma, providing beautiful homesites in San Mateo, running the government from Redwood City, and housing the great Stanford University behind Menlo Park. South San Francisco would be the center of "factories and industrial enterprise."

Proclaiming himself a Republican yet independent in local affairs, Cunningham promised to "urge low taxation, an item always closely scrutinized by great capital in seeking a site for an industry," and to work untiringly for "first class highways . . . particularly those leading towards San Francisco."[49]

While E. E. Cunningham proselytized for industry in print, his silent partner W. J. Martin spent most of his waking hours trying to convince Bay Area entrepreneurs to locate their industries and businesses in the new town. Another of Iler's Omaha connections, he was appointed agent for the Land Company in April 1892. An energetic booster, he was the town's leading promoter for the next thirty years. But even his hard work, "high good humor, and genial personality" were unable to prevent the town from remaining a one-factory operation for more than three years.[50]

After a fire destroyed the Steiger Brothers Pottery Works in San Jose in 1893, the town gained its first independent industry. W. J. Martin convinced the brothers to invest the insurance money at San Bruno Point, and in August 1894 they purchased eight acres and sank more than $100,000 into a modern plant. Utilizing clay found on the hills adjacent to the factory as raw material and oil from Los Angeles as fuel, they fashioned brick, terra cotta, pipe, and other products. At first business thrived, but affairs suddenly took a turn for the worse, and in March 1896 the company closed its doors, throwing more than seventy-five men out of work. "Promises to pay off the former employees in coin were not held by management, and the men concluded to attach the property in order to protect themselves." This was the first of constant, and sometimes violent, struggles that occurred between labor and capital at the works over the next twenty years.[51]

Two years later an expanded Steiger Terra Cotta and Pottery Works was incorporated under new management. Employing 100 men operating ten kilns, the new enterprise's scope of products included:

> *basic acid fire brick and tiles, hollow tile fireproofing, salt glazed sewer pipe, pressed brick, architectural terra cotta, hollow brick, paving brick, drain tile, chimney pipe and tops, acid jars and pipes for chemical manufacturers, flower pots, ornamental vases, etc., which are distributed to all parts of the Coast and foreign countries.*[52]

In 1905 Steiger was still the only business of its kind in the state, and "some of its specialties, such as 3,000 pound acid tower plates and three-inch diameter glazed pipes twelve feet in length, have never before been attempted on the Pacific Coast."

The works supplied structural and decorative brick and terra cotta for buildings as far away as Arcata and Eureka as well as for the state armory in Sacramento. Most of the products went into famous and not so famous San Francisco buildings and homes including the Monadnock and Levi Strauss buildings, the Olympic Club, and Ghirardelli Chocolate Factory.[53]

This first independent industry captured the essence of what the new city was coming to be—a city of blue-collar workers, some craftsmen, most "common" laborers, overwhelming male and white, nameless and faceless to the outside world. South San Francisco would be a city of workers earning their wages by turning out the everyday necessities of life and, like those necessities, largely taken for granted. Only an occasional observer saw the beauty in this mundane work and even found its art:

> *Very few of us [in 1916] think of anything soulful or inspiring in a piece of clay. It is but a bit of inferior earth, an unfit companion for soil. True it may be used to make common bricks and common pipes, but what sort of beings would ever think of pursuing Art in clay? If you would have an answer to this question, turn from your usual course in motoring through South San Francisco and take an hour with*

the silent workers in clay. Heed not the dust from the ponderous grinding mills, nor the roar of red hot kilns, but seek the easel of the strange man there who can hold fast in clay your most elusive fancies. Or stand by others who are fashioning beautiful building blocks with which to enrich the structures of man in our great cities.[54]

Watch, the writer concluded, the "rescue of a piece of clay from the oblivion of the earth and its glorification in shafts and architrave."

When a fire of unknown origins destroyed the W. P. Fuller and Company's lead and color works at Folsom and Beale streets in San Francisco in May 1896, South San Francisco promoter W. J. Martin contacted his second prospective customer. Negotiations lasted for more than a year, as it was understood that the company was seriously considering locating in Oakland. But early in 1898 the company's directors chose a twenty-one acre tidewater site at San Bruno Point and invested $300,000 in a new plant. Because the pottery works had yet to be reopened when Fuller bought the land, making Western Meat the only factory around, Fuller and Company's large investment in such a property was "regarded somewhat dubiously . . . . The lasting good fortune of having located in South San Francisco was not fully appreciated until years later when the crowded conditions of American cities in general moved economists and sociologists to start a campaign of decentralization."[55] Opening the first week of January 1899, the plant grew to be the largest paint and varnish works on the West Coast. Even when it first opened, it employed more than 100 men (and is still in business at the original location).

While the industrial suburb was taking shape, ties to ranching remained. In the fall of 1900, a horsebreaking business was established at the old Lux Corrals. Under the supervision of W. R. Grace and Company, more than 7,000 horses and mules were broken and shipped to China for use by Germans occupying the country during the years of the "open door" policy.[56]

By the turn of the century, the little town of South San Francisco provided fairly steady industrial employment for more than 500 men and shipped more goods by rail than all the other cities between San Francisco and San Jose combined. Western Meat—and especially Fuller—also shipped large quantities of goods by water. But despite this prosperity, the population of the city remained small. A few unmarried male workers lived in tiny hotel rooms in the Exchange Building near the meat packing plant. The majority, however, commuted from San Francisco via special railroad cars which were detached at Baden Station and switched east to the factory section on the belt railway. Despite a vigorous campaign by the *Enterprise*, only a few bought lots and built homes in the town.

In 1903 the Pacific Jupiter Steel Company established the first steel casting plant in the United States west of St. Louis on San Bruno Point. Prior to its opening, the West Coast had been totally dependent upon the East not only for every pound of steel casting, but for tools as well. This new factory, which employed more than 100 men by 1907, was equipped with several open hearth acid furnaces and produced "gears and pinions, bucket backs for gold dredgers, clam-shell dredge buckets, anchors, rock-crusher shoes and dies, cams and tappets—in fact every requirement for steel castings for the general machinery trade."[59] Like all West Coast steel plants, it had to grapple with the lack of coking coal to run the furnaces, and its ability to manufacture steel goods at competitive prices was due to the abundance of scrap metal, the low cost of California crude petroleum, and high railroad tariffs for similiar goods shipped from the East.

In July 1905, citing the "remarkedly rapid growth of population . . . and the increase of new industries," P. N. Lilienthal announced the establishment of the Bank of South San Francisco under his presidency. Morris and Swift provided the major backing along with the now familiar local partners who served as directors.[58]

The opening of the Bank of South San Francisco heralded the city's coming of age, which was symbolized as well by measures to improve rail connections with the new industrial town. Talk of making better, more direct rail linkups had dated back to April 1896 when the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that construction by the Southern Pacific Company of a new main line down the peninsula was imminent. These plans had called for the construction of double track from the depot at Third and Townsend in San Francisco, through the Potrero district and along the Bay to Baden. Just south of Baden, this new line would join the old and continue on to San Jose. The idea for this more direct route in fact had been discussed since at least 1890 when Collis P. Huntington suggested that such a

Nearly 100 employees of Steiger Brothers Terra Cotta and Pottery Works c. 1900 operated ten industrial kilns which supplied structural and decorative terra cotta and brick for buildings throughout California.
South San Francisco History Room

change was necessary to avoid the difficult grades and numerous curves of the original line. Considerable smoke and noise, to say nothing of expense, were generated by the need to station helper engines at San Francisco's Eleventh and Bryant Street roundhouse to haul both freight and passenger trains over the hills, through the Bernal Cut and over Ocean View, at an elevation of 293 feet.[59]

Had this "Bayshore Cutoff" been constructed at either of those earlier dates, South San Francisco might well have become a far more important industrial center than it did. Several electric and industrial belt railways were constructed over the years to improve the movement of goods and people from the Baden crossing to the town's business and manufacturing districts, but they could not substitute for main line tracks through the center of town.[60]

Actual construction of the 9.8-mile cutoff did not commence until October 1904. The line tunneled through five ranges of hills, contained more than a mile of trestles, went "over or under a dozen city streets," and was the most expensive section of track in the state at the time it was completed. The earthquake of April 1906 destroyed both bores of Tunnel No. 2, but this halted work only temporarily.

On December 8, 1907, the new line was put into operation—South San Francisco was finally on the main line. The long-heralded cutoff saved four miles and seventeen minutes over the original route, and the tracks ran directly past the western edge of the factory district. This brought the suburb's manufacturing district closer to downtown San Francisco than many areas within the city limits.[61]

This momentous development coupled with generally prosperous times and the belief that construction of a huge copper smelter and refinery was imminent rekindled visions of grandeur. As *Sunset Magazine* suggested, "That this district stretching southward from San Francisco . . . will become one of the great factory districts of the country is indubitable."[62]

The euphoria generated by completion of the direct rail route to San Francisco so intoxicated the local citizens that on the last day of February 1907 after an enthusiastic mass meeting, the following telegram was sent to the local Assemblyman R. H. Jury, in Sacramento: "Defer action on removal of State Capital until the claims of South San Francisco have been considered. One Hundred Thousand Dollars subscribed and forty acres high ground."[63]

A resolution was then adopted pledging to double the subscription and proclaiming that the town is "not only the center of industry, but the logical geographical center of the state . . . the most accessible point by rail or water, of any city on the coast." One week later the *Enterprise* was obliged to report that although the "claim

The town's disappointment was tempered by the knowledge that it had always staked its future not on government but on industry.

of South City" had been recognized, "it was too late to suggest any other locality." The town's disappointment was most likely tempered by the knowledge that the city had always staked its future not on government but on industry, and upon that front things seemed very positive indeed.[64]

On February 15, 1906, the Land Company reached an agreement with San Francisco's Selby Smelting and Lead Company of California in which the latter purchased a parcel of land at San Bruno Point upon which to construct a copper smelter and refinery. In consideration of the establishment of the industrial plant, the land was sold for less than one-quarter of its market value. Selby was affiliated with the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO)—a syndicate of the nation's eighteen largest smelters, known as the Copper Trust—which had recently been acquired by the Guggenheim family, then the most powerful mining dynasty in the world.[65]

The Copper Trust planned to invest $5 million in a huge plant designed to reduce up to 5000 tons of copper ore per day and to provide employment for 3000 men. With the town's half-dozen established industries already operating at near capacity, South San Francisco finally seemed on the verge of becoming a major industrial center. By September, contracts had been let and construction of the facility commenced.[66]

These developments, however, prompted the beginning of the first major environmental battle in the San Francisco Bay Area. Before the year was out, powerful interests to the north and south began organizing against the Trust and its proposed smelter, claiming that the sulphur fumes would be a menace to both vegetation and animal life.

The smelter's backers had a simple reply: the San Francisco Bay Area was the natural center for the refining of all the ores on the Pacific Coast from the Bering Sea to the Straits of Magellan. Continuing, one account concluded, the "millionaire capitalists who [would] build, maintain and operate the prospective smelters and who . . . would be called upon to foot the bills and pay all damages" had chosen San Bruno Point, with the Bay to the east and prevailing winds from the west, with safety and protection of the environment foremost in their minds.[67]

By December 1906 the *San Francisco Call*, the *San Francisco Argonaut*, the *Burlingame Advance*, and other local papers were strongly agitating against the South San Francisco smelter. In February 1907 the Trust responded to the opposition by announcing that it would construct a huge sulphuric acid plant adjoining the refinery to handle the waste sulphur dioxide produced in the smelting and thus "do away with any possible annoyance to the farming and residential community."[68] The opponents were unconvinced.

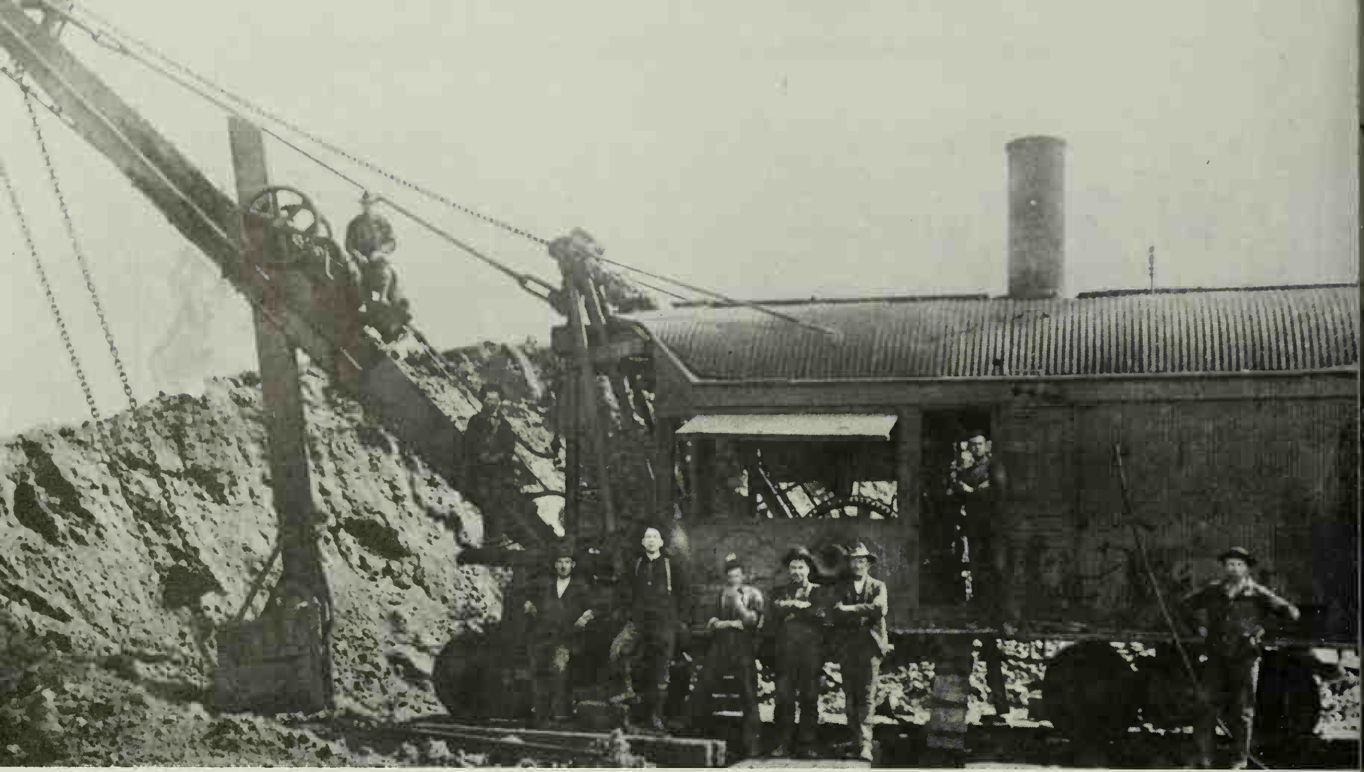
In San Francisco great concern was voiced for the future of the city's parks which might be rendered unusable by sulphur dioxide fumes.

The park commissioners of San Francisco then made it clear they intended to protect their public spaces. They threatened to take legal action if any "noxious or deleterious fumes or gases" should "reach or envelope any of the vegetation growing in any public park or square" in the city.[69] The proposed smelter, however, was located in San Mateo County and not subject to the city's direct control.

The most powerful opposition to the smelter developed south of the city. At the turn of the century, the San Francisco Peninsula was inhabited by millionaire owners of palatial mansions and estates in Millbrae, Burlingame, and Woodside-Searsville-Portola Valley. When news of the industrial project broke, these men organized themselves, along with the county's farmers and small landholders, into the San Mateo County Home Protective Association. Two Stanford professors, Swain, a chemist, and Pierce, a biologist, along with a handful of attorneys were retained to represent the group's interests.[70]

The professors determined that the discharge from the proposed smelter would "destroy the county" by blanketing it with as much as 1500 tons of sulphur dioxide and twenty tons of arsenic per day. They further asserted that the wind patterns at San Bruno Point would offer protection only during certain periods of the year and that the rain and fog common to the area would compound the problems.[71]

By May, opposition to the project became so strong that work at the site was "temporarily" halted. Reports then began to circulate that electrical engines and other machinery originally ordered for the Bay Area smelter were being diverted to the Trust's facilities in Ely, Nevada. In October, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that despite a $1,000,000 investment in 500 acres of land and many improvements, including "at least eight



miles" of railroad tracks and "several large and imposing structures," the Guggenheim interests planned to "abandon the proposition" unless the objections of the Home Protective Association were relaxed. At the same time, the paper reported that "the people of South San Francisco are eager for the smelter and confidently expect that the big plant will soon be in active operation here."[72]

In January 1908 the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors, under intense pressure from the Home Protective Association, attempted to dispose of the question when they passed an ordinance prohibiting the operation of any smelter in the county which would allow more than "two grains of poisonous substances per 1000 cubic feet of gaseous products."[73] This degree of pollution control, while technologically feasible, was rejected as economically unreasonable by the Guggenheims and the Copper Trust.

Despite this setback, local pro-smelter interests were not ready to abandon the fight. On the last Saturday night in March, a mass meeting held at Metropolitan Hall voted unanimously to petition the county supervisors for permission to incorporate South San Francisco and thereby remove it from the San Mateo County jurisdiction. The draft position was proposed by the South San Francisco Improvement Club, which was dominated by W. J. Martin, E. E. Cunningham, and others loyal to the Beef Trust and their allies. The area of the new city was to include all land currently held by the Land Company, the proposed smelter site, the Bay Shore and manufacturing districts, and T. H. Williams' Tanforan Park race track as well as a district known as the Fifth Addition near San Bruno.[74]

Poor railway service hampered South San Francisco's growth until the Bayshore Cutoff, completed in 1907, trimmed four miles and 17 minutes off the original route. The new tracks ran past the western edge of the factory district.
South San Francisco History Room

Despite claims that the issue of incorporation had been "under consideration for more than three years" and that "the needs of the community require better roads, sewers and other sanitary facilities" which could only be obtained by incorporating, everyone understood that this was a move to circumvent the county's smelter ordinance and to give the local representatives of the Trusts greater latitude in pursuing their plans for industrial growth.[75]

In June, the battle over the incorporation petition reached feverish heights at special supervisors' meetings in Redwood City. "Impassioned oratory, thinly veiled sarcasm and even personal threats" marked the arguments between the Home Protective Association and the representatives of the proposed city. The latter's task was further complicated when Steigner Pottery, Pacific Jupiter Steel, and Fuller Paint Company, fearing that municipalization would result in higher taxes, joined the opponents of incorporation. The Home Association further objected that the new town would "take in all of the deepwater frontage on the bay in the county" and thereby control use of that valuable land. In addition, the association claimed to be fighting "a movement that will mean the total abrogation of the present ordinance on smelters." In reaction, Supervisor McBain, who championed the Home As-

> South San Francisco had consciously adopted a deindustrialization strategy twenty-five years before most of the country had heard of the term.

sociation's interests during the ordinance fight, proposed to remove not only the smelter site but the entire manufacturing district from the proposed incorporated city.[76]

By August a compromise was finally reached. The San Mateo County Supervisors, voting four to one, granted the incorporation petition and ended what the *San Francisco Call* acknowledged as one of the most bitter struggles in the history of the county. The originally proposed boundary lines for South San Francisco were retained, with the exception of Tanforan Park, the Fifth Addition, and the 800-acre smelter site. The remainder of the manufacturing district was included in the new incorporated city.[77]

To no one's surprise, on September 3, 1908, the local citizens voted overwhelmingly (218 to 36) for the incorporation petition and elected five city trustees. The industrial suburb South San Francisco, deformed and maligned, had finally been officially established.[78]

Although the smelter was never built, the new town flourished. The meat industry continued to play a vital role in the city's economy. In 1917 the Moran Packing Company (later taken over by Armour) constructed a large plant on the point after protests by local citizens forced it to abandon a site in Oakland. In 1927 the South San Francisco Union Stockyards opened on a seventy-six-acre site. For the next thirty-two years the stockyards maintained a daily livestock auction and served several local packing plants including Swift, Armour, and Dubuque. An average of 100,000 cattle, 250,000 sheep, and 250,000 hogs were slaughtered annually until the yards closed in 1959.[79]

Following the town's incorporation, however, it was steel which came to dominate the city, define its character, and give it major industrial importance. On the day the city was incorporated, officials broke ground for the Doak Sheet Metal Company. Opened in 1909 as Pacific Coast Steel and taken over by Bethlehem Steel in 1929, the mill expanded steadily until the early 1950s when its five open-hearth furnaces were producing 240,000 tons of steel a year. Bethlehem's rolling mills turned out millions of tons of reinforcing steel for dams, highway and railroad bridges, power plants, buildings, and BART's transbay tube. Its structural steel was first used in rebuilding San Francisco after the earthquake and later in building thousands of electrical transmission towers for use all over the West. Millions of nuts, bolts, rivets, and fasteners produced in the plant have been used to hold together western railroads, construction projects, and shipyards.[80]

By the mid-1920s South San Francisco had seven ferrous metal plants. Western Pipe and Steel, which opened in 1913 as the Schaw Batcher Pipe Works and was taken over by United States Steel Corporation in 1949, was twice converted into a wartime shipbuilding facility (constructing more than fifty ships). At the height of the cold war, it manufactured Nike Hercules missile components. But the plant, which was originally constructed to supply heavy riveted penstock for Pacific Gas and Electric's Lake Spaulding power project, should best be remembered for its civilian contributions. Its workers fabricated thousands of miles of pipe and penstock, as well as steel locks, dam gates, huge pressure vessels, and other components for the infrastructure of California's water and hydroelectric developments. It also fabricated key parts for most of the Bay Area's oil refineries and many of its power plants, as well as saddles for the Alaska pipeline and structural members for the Moscone and Oakland Convention centers, San Francisco's Hyatt Regency Hotel, and the San Mateo Bridge.[81]

It is no exaggeration to say that anywhere in Northern California when one draws water from their tap, turns on their stove or furnace, flicks on a light or television, or goes for a Sunday drive, the water, gas, electricity, or car they are using will travel on or through bridges, pipes, and towers fabricated in the steel mills and shops of South San Francisco.

In the mid-1950s, however, the city began an irreversible formation. In the middle of South San Francisco's industrial area stood a 150-foot solid rock hill occupying eighty acres. On the fringe of the area, no more than a mile to the south, were several hundred acres of unused marshlands. Utah Construction Company, with the blessing and support of the city government, developed both areas into an "industrial park" by blasting away the entire rock and hauling it as fill to the marshland. The real significance of this impressive example of land reclamation lay in the fact that South San Francisco had consciously begun to adopt a deindustrialization strategy twenty-five years before most of the country ever heard of the term.[82]

The new development barred smokestack industries or those whose operations were "characterized by obnoxious odors, smoke, dust or noise." Building dimensions, landscaping, and even exterior color schemes were to be subject to the prior approval of the developer. A new era had begun as an old one began to fade.[83]

In 1957 Bethlehem Steel, forsaking its South City plant for facilities in Los Angeles and Seattle, did not fund a modernization and expansion program, although its open hearth furnaces had become technologically obsolete, environmentally unacceptable, and economically unprofitable. By 1962 steel-making in South San Francisco ceased.

The metamorphosis continued. Attracted by the Utah development, the Boston-based developer Cabot, Cabot and Forbes built a light industrial park on the point in the mid-1960s. Sales and office administration operations, along with warehouses and light manufacturing, poured in, and traditional industry took flight. By the end of the decade the city's pioneer industry, Swift and Company (Western Meat), closed down its packing operations and moved them to the Central Valley.[84]

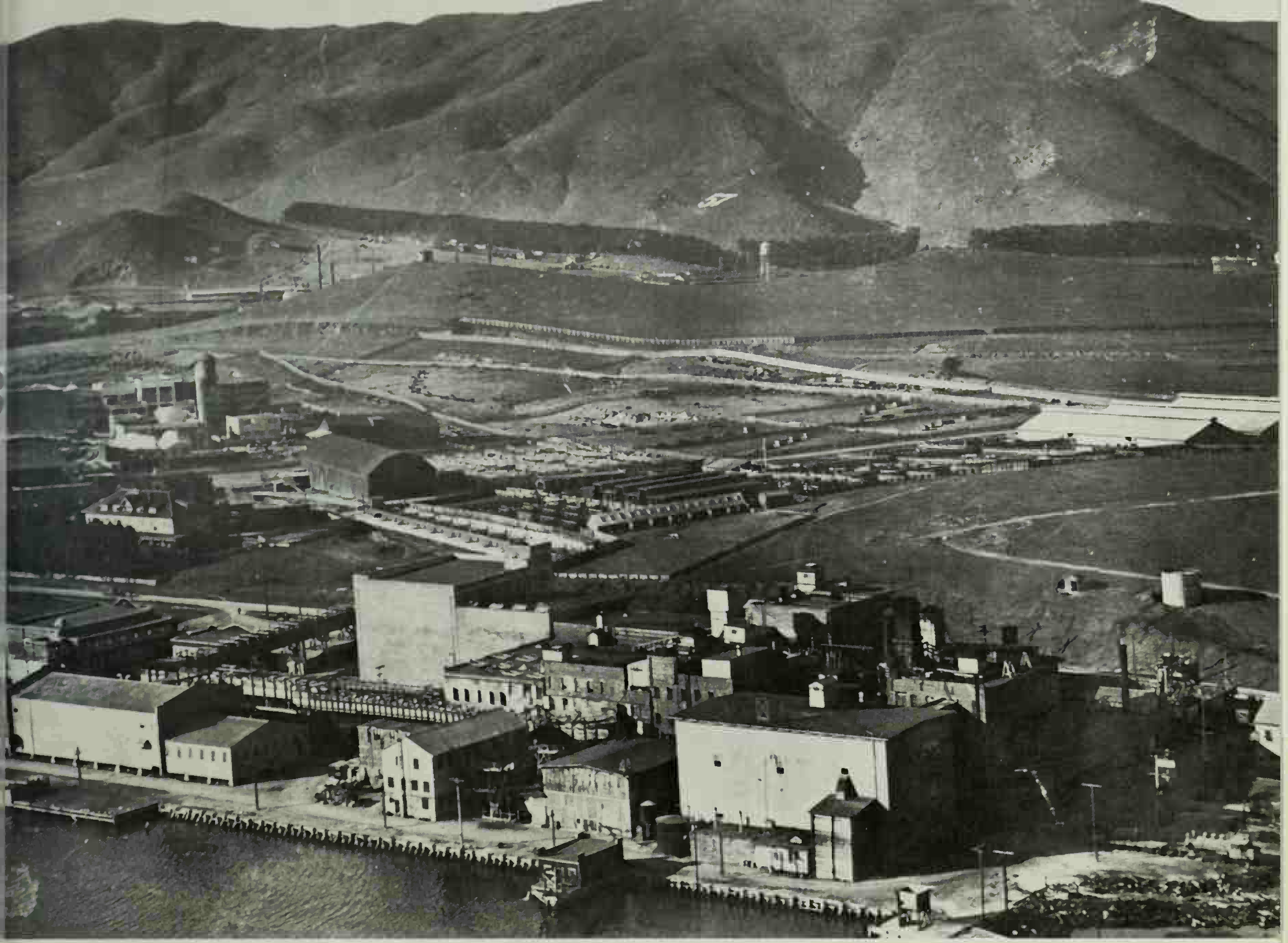
Today the transformation is virtually complete. Of the original industries only Fuller Paint remains. Bethlehem closed down the last of its operations in 1977, United States Steel in 1983.

In their place have come a modern set of Chicago-based entrepreneurs with new dreams and new schemes. Today in South San Francisco, Homart Development, a subsidiary of Sears, Roebuck and Company, is building a high-rise office, research, and development complex. On the site where Bethlehem was fabricating steel only ten years ago, the Genentech Corporation, established in 1976, is about to become the first company to develop and market a pharmaceutical product using biotechnology.[85]

Times are rapidly changing, and the "industrial city" of South San Francisco is doing its best to adjust.☐

Notes

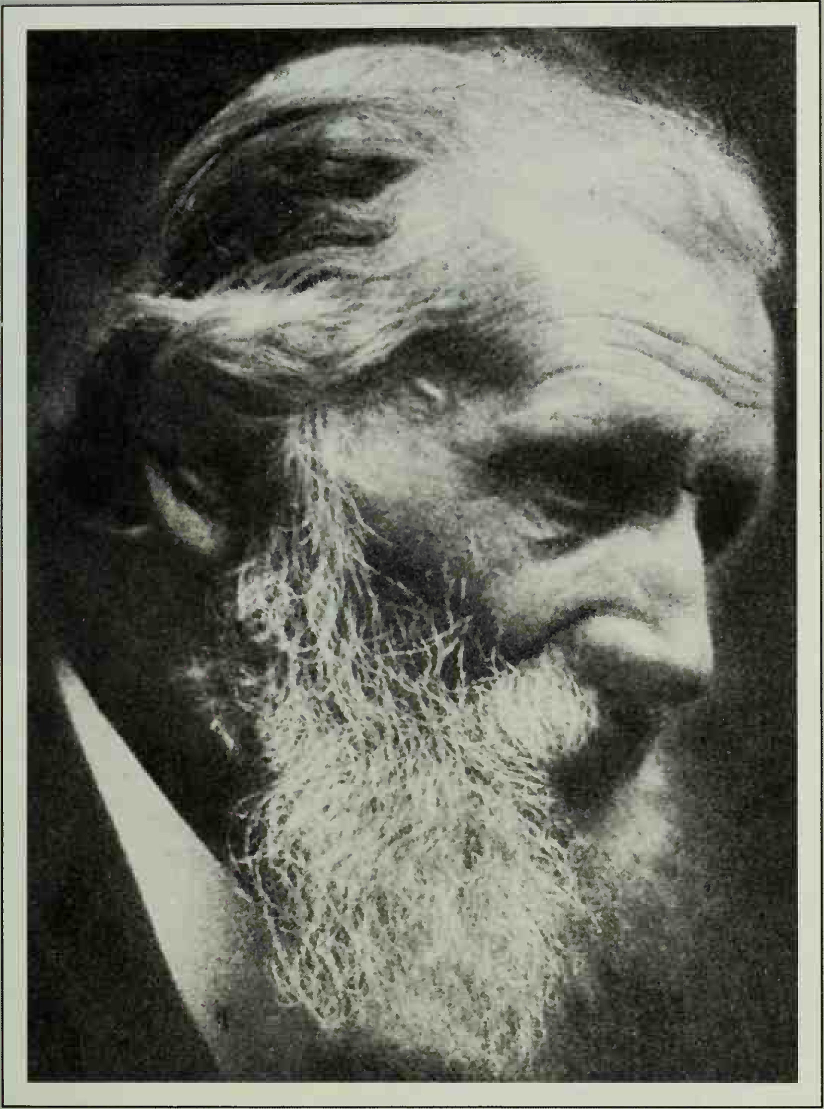
1. The group popularly known as the Beef Trust included Swift and Co., Armour and Co., Morris and Co., Hammond and Co., Cudahy Packing, and Schwarzschild and Sulzberger (later Wilson and Co.). Taylor, Graham Romeyn, *Satellite Cities, A Study of Industrial Suburbs* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1915), p. 7.
2. Stanger, Frank M., *South From San Francisco* (San Mateo, San Mateo County Historical Association, 1963), p. 37.
3. Lewis, Oscar, *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis* (Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1966), p. 22.
4. *South San Francisco Enterprise*, March 14, 1896.
5. Stanger, p. 45; Schmidt, Earl F., Jr., "History of the Meat Industry in San Mateo County," *La Peninsula* (A Journal of the San Mateo County Historical Association), 18 (Spring 1976): p. 1.
6. Stanger, pp. 126-7.
7. Anonymous, "Beginnings of the City of South San Francisco," unpublished paper in South San Francisco Public Library History Room; Deeds found in Recorders' Office in the County Court House, Redwood City; Stanger, pp. 45-51; Laurence, William D., *Henry Miller and San Joaquin Valley*, unpublished Master's Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, December, 1933, p. 44.
8. Kauffman, Linda, "It Was Not By Chance," and Stanger, Frank M., "The Beginnings of South San Francisco," *La Peninsula*, 16 (May 1971), both reprinted as a pamphlet by South San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.
9. Kauffman, Linda, *South San Francisco, A History* (project of the South San Francisco Bicentennial Committee, 1976), p. 2.
10. Treadwell, Edward F., *The Cattle King* (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1931), p. 148.
11. Ibid., 57-8.
12. "The Significant Sixty," Special Issue of *The National Provisioner*, 126, (January 26, 1952): p. 293; Josephson, Matthew, *The Robber Barons*, (New York and London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1934, 1962), pp. 284–287. *The National Provisioner*, pp. 298–299.
13. Russell, Charles Edward, *The Greatest Trust in the World* (New York: The Ridgeway–Thayer Company, 1905), p. 91; Swift, Louis, in collaboration with Arthur Van Vlissingen Jr., *The Yankee of the Yards, The Biography of Gustavus Franklin Swift* (Chicago and New York: A. W. Shaw Company, 1927).
14. Brody, David, *The Butcher Workmen, A Study of Unionization* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 7.
15. *The Bay of San Francisco, the Metropolis of the Pacific Coast and its Suburban Cities, A History* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1892), pp. 300–320.
16. "The Butchers' Board of Trade of San Francisco and Alameda Counties—History of the Organization—Review of the Trade," supplement to the *Butchers and Stock Raiser's Review*, May 22, 1895 (hereinafter known as Butchers' Board of Trade); *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 9, 1971.
17. Treadwell, p. 285.
18. Butchers' Board of Trade.
19. "Price List #1, September, 1891, South San Francisco Land and Improvement Company, San Mateo, California, pp. 10–11. Original in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
20. Stindt, Fred A., "Pensinsula Service, A Story of Southern Pacific Commuter Trains," *The Western Railroader*, Vol. 20, No. 9, Issue 213 (June 1957).



By 1923, South San Francisco's flat plane at the base of San Bruno Mountain held Virden Meat (later Armour), the city's stockyards, a wool pullery, and Western Meat (later Swift). **South San Francisco History Room**

21. "Price List #1"; Treadwell, p. 150; *San Francisco Examiner,* September 26, 1895.
22. Kauffman, "Not by Chance," Deed, Recorders' Office, Redwood City, February 21, 1891.
23. *San Mateo County Times-Gazette,* February 21, 1981.
24. Ibid. Other Chicago investors included A. H. Veeder; Michael Cudahy, another member of the Trust; Charles W. Smith, former vice-president of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, and E. J. Martyn.
25. O'Niell, F. Gordon, *Ernest Reuben Lilenthal and His Family* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1949), pp. 52–55; Millard Bixby, *History of San Francisco Bay Region* (Chicago, San Francisco, New York: American Historical Society Inc., 1924), pp. 46–8; Byington, Lewis Francis and Lewis, Oscar, *The History of San Francisco,* Vol. 11 (Chicago and San Francisco: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1893), pp. 312–313. Other local investors included the Crocker Brothers (H.J. and H.S.), J.H. and G.M. Bosler; and A. Bocquercas.
26. *Times-Gazette,* February 28, 1891; Deeds, Recorders' Office, Redwood City; "Price List #1".
27. *Times-Gazette,* February 28, 1891; *Enterprise,* February 27, 1920.
28. *The San Francisco Grocer and County Merchant,* reprinted in *Enterprise,* May 15, 1897.
29. Brody, p.4.
30. Swift, p. 12.
31. The number of cattle killed in Chicago increased from 224,309 in 1875 to 2,223,971 in 1890. Brody, p. 2.
32. Butchers' Board of Trade.
33. Ibid.
34. Minutes of the Annual Stockholders Meeting of the Western Meat Company, March 18, 1895.
35. Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting of the Western Meat Company, May 24, 1894.
36. Schmidt, p. 5.
37. Ibid; Butchers' Board of Trade, Butchers' Day Bulletin, May 22, 1901.
38. Sinclair, Upton, *The Jungle* (New York, 1905).
39. *San Francisco Call,* March 14, 1895. Board of Health Report, *San Francisco Municipal Reports,* 1896–1897, pp. 882–3.
40. Report of the Chief Market Inspector, July 1, 1898, *San Francisco Municipal Reports,* 1898, pp. 199–200.
41. *Call,* March 14, 1895.
42. Other members of the Association included Risdon Iron Works, Occidental Foundry, Carlson Currier Silk Company, Bowers Rubber Company, National Brewery, and Italian Swiss Colony Company.
43. *The Enterprise,* December 26, 1896.

44. Charles Russell overstated the case when he reported that, "In San Francisco . . . pluck and persistence once wrought upon the Beef Trust its only conspicuous defeat. The Trust had erected a plant and, with cheerful confidence had undertaken to seize the meat traffic there as elsewhere. It awoke one day to the consciousness that it was facing an opponent it could not awe nor tame. The city butchers were solidly united, determined, and ably led. The public was aroused; its sympathies were wholly on the side of the butchers.
45. *Enterprise*, June 18, 1898; *Chronicle*, January 25, 1899.
46. Schmidt, p. 7.
47. *Times-Gazette*, February 28, 1891.
48. *Enterprise*, November 9, 1895. The *Enterprise* was not the first paper in the locality. The *South San Francisco News* was published by Barnes and Murphy from March 1892 through September 1893. Kauffman, *South San Francisco*, p. 94.
49. *Enterprise*, November 9, 1895.
50. Lorenzo, Lorenzo, "William J. Martin, 'Father of South San Francisco,' " unpublished paper from San Mateo Junior College, June 1939, in files of San Mateo County Historical Society Library.
51. Martin, William J., "Land Company History," unpublished manuscript, no date (but post-1917), in files of South San Francisco Public Library History Room; Redwood City *Democrat*, March 26, 1896; see also *Enterprise*, various dates.
52. *San Francisco* (San Francisco: Pacific Art Company, 1904–1905), p. 164.
53. Alexander, Philip W. and Hamm, Charles P., *History of San Mateo County*, (Burlingame: Press of Burlingame, 1916), p. 200.
54. Ibid., p. 199.
55. *Ninety Years, The Story of William Parmer Fuller 1827–1890* (San Francisco: privately printed, 1939), pp. 114–115. Martin reports that "Chicago officials personally took part in framing this contract." Marin, "Land Company History."
56. *Enterprise*, September 1, 1900, October 26, 1900.
57. Incorporated in 1902, capitalized at $1,000,000, the company had directors including local entrepreneurs as well as "men of means" from Pittsburgh and Boston. *Call*, February 25, 1903.
58. *Enterprise*, August 7, 1905.
59. *Chronicle*, April 8, 1896; Stindt, p. 13. The *Call* reported at the time that the SP was going "to have an inning with Oakland." The paper reported that since the politicians of the East Bay city had treated the SP as an enemy, the SP was going to retaliate—"Oakland is to be tabooed in favor of the peninsula"—and that the new bayshore line would be built within two years. Reprinted in *Enterprise*, October 24, 1896.
60. In 1891 the Land and Improvement Company constructed trackage between the packing house that was under construction at Point San Bruno and the main line of the Southern Pacific at Baden. The purpose was to make Point San Bruno factory sties more accessible. This line was leased by Western Meat Company early in 1907 and in November of the same year was sold to the newly incorporated South San Francisco Belt Railway. *Western Railroader*, 38 (May 1975): p. 3.
61. *Sunset Magazine*, July 1907, reprinted in *Enterprise*, July 20, 1907; Stindt, pp. 17–19.
62. *Enterprise*, July 20, 1907.
63. *Enterprise*, March 2, 1907.
64. Ibid., March 2, March 9, 1907.
65. Ibid., November 19, 1910.
66. *Democrat*, March 29, September 6, 1906; May 23, 1907.
67. *Enterprise*, December 15, 1906.
68. Ibid., February 9, 1907.
69. Resolution of Board of Park Commissioners of San Francisco, reprinted in the *Enterprise*, April 13, 1907.
70. *Democrat*, April 6, 1907; *Enterprise*, April 6, 1907.
71. San Francisco *Argonaut*, May 1907; *Democrat*, May 23, 1907.
72. *Enterprise*, May 4, 1907; *Chronicle*, October 2, 1907, reprinted in *Enterprise*, October 5, 1907.
73. *Democrat*, January 16, 1908.
74. *Enterprise*, April 4, 1908.
75. Ibid., June 13, 1908.
76. *Call*, June 3, 1908.
77. Ibid., August 23, 1908.
78. Not quite officially. The local citizens voted on September 3, and the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors adopted a resolution on September 8, declaring South San Francisco duly incorporated. Yet on September 28, the Board of Trustees of the new city at their first meeting adopted Ordinance #3, "providing for a seal for the use of the city government to read as follows: 'City of South San Francisco. Incorporated September 19, 1908'." *Enterprise*, October 3, 1908; also September 5 and 12, 1908.
79. Ibid., December 30, 1916; April 4, 1917; *Redwood City Tribune*, September, 1959.
80. *Enterprise*, April 4, 1908; September 19, 1908; and various other issues; *The Iron Age*, 98 (July 27, 1916): 175–178; *California-Magazine of the Pacific*, March 1946, pp. 16, 25, 48–9; *Bethlehem Pacific Steel in the Bay Area*, Booklet 332 (Bethlehem Pacific Coast Steel Corporation, 1953).
81. *Enterprise*, various issues; *The Foundations For Your Factory Is Already Laid*, South San Francisco Land and Improvement Company, 1914; *The Iron Age*, 92 (October 2, 1913); *California-Magazine of the Pacific*, March 1946, pp. 16, 25, 48–9; *Steel Fabrication and Erection*, Consolidated Western Steel Corporation, United States Steel, no date; *South San Francisco Plant*, Consolidated Western Steel Division of United States Steel, February 1961.
82. Eugene Aiello, "New Industrial Park Development Is South San Francisco Bonanza," *Western City*, 1958.
83. Ibid.
84. *Enterprise*, January 13, 1965; *Enterprise-Journal*, June 15, 1983.
85. Ibid, March 2, 1981; April 8, 1981; August 29, 1981; *The Gateway*, pamphlet published by Homart Development Company, South San Francisco, 1983; *Business Week*, January 23, 1984, p. 87.



THE POLITICS OF JOHN MUIR

by J. S. Holliday

The lyric ecologist re-evaluated as modern propagandist.

Flying home to California, from Chicago to San Francisco, is an experience which reconfirms and redefines one's awareness of the vastness of the West, the wilderness half of the continent—in March all brown and black, gray and white, patterned in orderly squares by the straight lines of section roads west of the Mississippi, fading to the emptiness of endless plains, wrinkled into the tangled masses of the Rocky Mountains and smoothed again by the sweep of deserts, separated by thrusts of mountain ranges, until suddenly you see, and the pilot confirms, Yosemite Valley below. The valley and its shouldering heights are clearly recognizable, impressive even amid the Sierra mass. Looking down, pressing my face against the plastic window to hold the view a little longer, I thought of John Muir and of what he had written about the Sierra, a wilderness he had so joyously, poetically described beginning in the 1870s and continuing until his death in 1914. I thought of the contrast between Muir's personal experience in the Sierra Nevada and that of tens of thousands of overland immigrants who struggled across the great barrier to reach California, beginning in 1841 and continuing through the 1860s.

That contrast between a tradition of conquering the Sierra wilderness, of forcing entry via trails and wagon passes and finally a railroad route, and the philosophy of sharing and protecting the fragility and beauty of the wilderness world—a contrast created by John Muir's eloquence—marks a significant change from the centuries-old attitude toward wilderness. Muir's message of preser-

An aging John Muir, eloquent, poetical, yet a sophisticated propagandist, educator and lobbyist. **California Historical Society, San Francisco**

vation and protection began to be heard at the very time the West was attracting America's pioneering avarice as never before, when mining frontiers were opening Indian retreats and desert wilds, when Americans, more consciously than ever before, were conquering and exploiting the continent. In contrast to that force and temper, John Muir spoke out in magazines, books and speeches that were read and listened to from California to Washington, D.C. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Muir's poetic writing, his lobbying and politicking, his cajoling and organizing of clubs and pressure groups had become a force that was shaping public and congressional opinion. Seventy to eighty years ago John Muir forecast the viewpoints, values, and arguments of today's environmentalists and ecologists.

From earliest colonial times, Americans looked west to a wilderness they knew stretched across the continent to the Pacific. Through the centuries, conquering the western wilderness became the great American epic, the reassuring evidence of progress. Most Americans who moved west were hostile to their new environment, careless, wasteful, greedy. The forests and their inhabitants were challenges to progress either to be civilized or removed.

In 1892, Frederick Jackson Turner presented *The Significance of the American Frontier*, and the same year John Muir organized the Sierra Club for the purpose of preserving the wilderness of America. The combination of these two events led to a new contrast in attitudes toward wilderness. In place of past centuries' compulsion to tame and improve the wilderness, the beginning of the twentieth century saw two different views toward wilderness emerge, both under the rubric of conservation: to conserve nature by its wise *use* or planned development for the good of civilization vs. preservation, the belief that nature should *not* be treated as a resource at all but instead should be regarded as a force to be respected and treated with restraint and infinite care.

In the early twentieth century, these two points of view—conservation vs. preservation, reflecting the ambivalence in America's attitude toward wilderness—engaged in a struggle of national scope and attention, leading to a dramatic confrontation over the Hetch Hetchy Valley.

The controversy continues today, with Muir's Sierra Club the paramount voice of preservationists who have on their side a new ally identified in the 1960s as "ecology." But ecology is not a new force; rather it is the scientific name or label for views and values that John Muir set forth in his writing. He was an exponent of ecology long before the public knew the term.

Consider John Muir as environmentalist. His writings reveal his basic ecological understanding and philosophy: the unity of nature, the interdependence of every growing thing, the delicate balances of our environment, the wholeness, the oneness and the consequent fragility of nature. John Muir became the lyric ecologist, revealing for city dweller and presidents the wilderness world of Yosemite and the Sierra where man could restore and find himself. Through his writings,

J. S. Holliday is executive director of the California Historical Society.

Muir lobbied for withdrawing a huge section of the Sierra including Yosemite Valley from settlement and incorporating it into the national park system.
U.S. Geological Survey/Sierra Club

Muir educated the public to a new awareness of and sensitivity to the beauty of wilderness. These were places to be sought out and protected from destructive forces—"hoofed locusts," lumbering operations, dams, public men who would destroy in the name of the people. Muir recognized man as a destructive force to be curbed.

Beyond his writings, Muir consciously used propaganda to influence the public, and political force to coerce the government through friendships, lobbying to get federal power to counter local exploiters, and federal regulations to protect natural environments. He organized public opinion as a force, thus foreshadowing the tactics of the modern environmentalist. Consider examples of these stages of John Muir's development from an unknown naturalist in 1869 to a national force forty years later. His nature writings stress the ecological principles of concern today. Of his first summer in Yosemite, he wrote: "The best gains were the lessons of unity—interrelation of *all* the features of the landscape. How interesting *everything* is!"

Muir spent six years responding to that invitation, intensively studying the Yosemite environment. He found order and beauty everywhere, from the grandest features of the glacier-sculptured mountains to the minutest flowers. With the exalted vision of a poet, he wrote of all he saw and experienced, "rejoicing and wondering, bathing in the glorious radiance on the trees and rocks and snow, the flush of the alpenglow, and a thousand dashing waterfalls with their marvelous abundance of irised spray . . . ." His first full-length book, *The Mountains of California*, published in 1894, has been judged "the most consequential awakening of the public mind. . . ."

The unity of nature, the ecological sense of the interdependency among all living things and all parts of the environment was a basic tenet in Muir's writings. "Everything is hitched to everything else," he said. Thus, if man does not act as "an integral part of a harmonious whole," he will "bring unbalance and beget ultimate loss and poverty." While here we see how precisely John Muir anticipated the principles of ecology and revealed a unified world of flowers, birds, animals, forests and mountains, streams and waterfalls, he also recognized man as the enemy of that world.

Of his book, *Our National Parks*, John Muir wrote: "I have done the best I could to show forth the beauty, grandeur and all-embracing usefulness of our wild mountain forest reservations and parks, with a view to inciting the people to come and enjoy them and get them into their hearts, so that at length their preservation and right use might be made sure."

Thus Muir knew himself to be an educator and a propagandist, an advocate seeking to influence public thinking and political decisions. For himself, John Muir said, "I am on the side of nature in any conflict with man." And there indeed were conflicts. In them John Muir used his knowledge and understanding as a pragmatic ecologist to produce persuasive arguments (propaganda in the best sense) to shape governmental thinking. He turned to politics to secure preservation of the wilderness.

First, there was the fight to save the region around Yosemite from the ravages of sheepherders and lumbermen. The only safety lay in making this region a national park, and John Muir began the campaign to do so with a series of articles in magazines, especially in *Century Magazine*, which published his essays, "Treasures of Yosemite" and "Features of a Proposed Yosemite National Park." By October 1890, the huge section of the Sierra that encloses the Yosemite Valley was withdrawn from settlement and incorporated into the national park system, with the valley itself remaining a state park as designated by President Abraham Lincoln in 1864.

Next there was an effort to create forest reserves. As early as 1876, John Muir had proposed a commission to study exploitation of our forests and to recommend measures for their proper preservation. He became a member of the Forestry Commission. President Benjamin Harrison, encouraged by John Muir and his persuasive pen, began setting aside forest reserves, and President Grover Cleveland in 1897 created thirteen reserves, four in California. Once these reserves were created, John Muir sought to protect them by writing articles to educate the public: "Any fool can destroy trees. They cannot run away; and if they could, they would still be destroyed —chased and hunted down as long as fun or dollar could be got out of their bark hides, branching horns, and magnificent bole backbones . . . . Through all the wonderful, eventful centuries since Christ's time—and long before that—God has cared for these trees, but he cannot save them from fools—only Uncle Sam can do that."

The initial victory of preserving forests was expanded and strengthened by President Theodore Roosevelt, who set aside 148 million acres as national forests. Next came the battle for the return of Yosemite Valley to the federal government from the State of California. In 1903 Muir spent three days in Yosemite Valley with President Roosevelt and gained his support for placing the valley under the control of the national park system. The proposal came before the California state legislature in 1905, and in the ensuing political struggle Muir used his friendship with E. H. Harriman, president of the Southern Pacific, to gain support for recession. Muir also worked through William Herrin, the SP's political boss in California. When victory for Yosemite Valley was finally achieved in 1906, Muir wrote: On the way to Yosemite in 1903, both the President and our governor were won to our side, and since then the movement was like Yosemite avalanches. But though almost everybody was with us, so active was the opposition . . . we might have failed but for the help of Mr. H– –, though of course his name or his company were never in sight through all the fight . . . . I am now an experienced lobbyist; my political education is complete. Have attended legislatures, made speeches, explained, exhorted, persuaded every mother's son of the legislators, newspaper reporters and everybody else who would listen to me."

And to his friend Robert Underwood Johnson, an editor of *Century Magazine*, he wrote: "Yes, dear Johnson, sound the loud timbrel and let every Yosemite tree and stream rejoice . . . . The fight you planned by that famous Tuolumne campfire 17 years ago is at last fairly, gloriously won, every enemy is down."

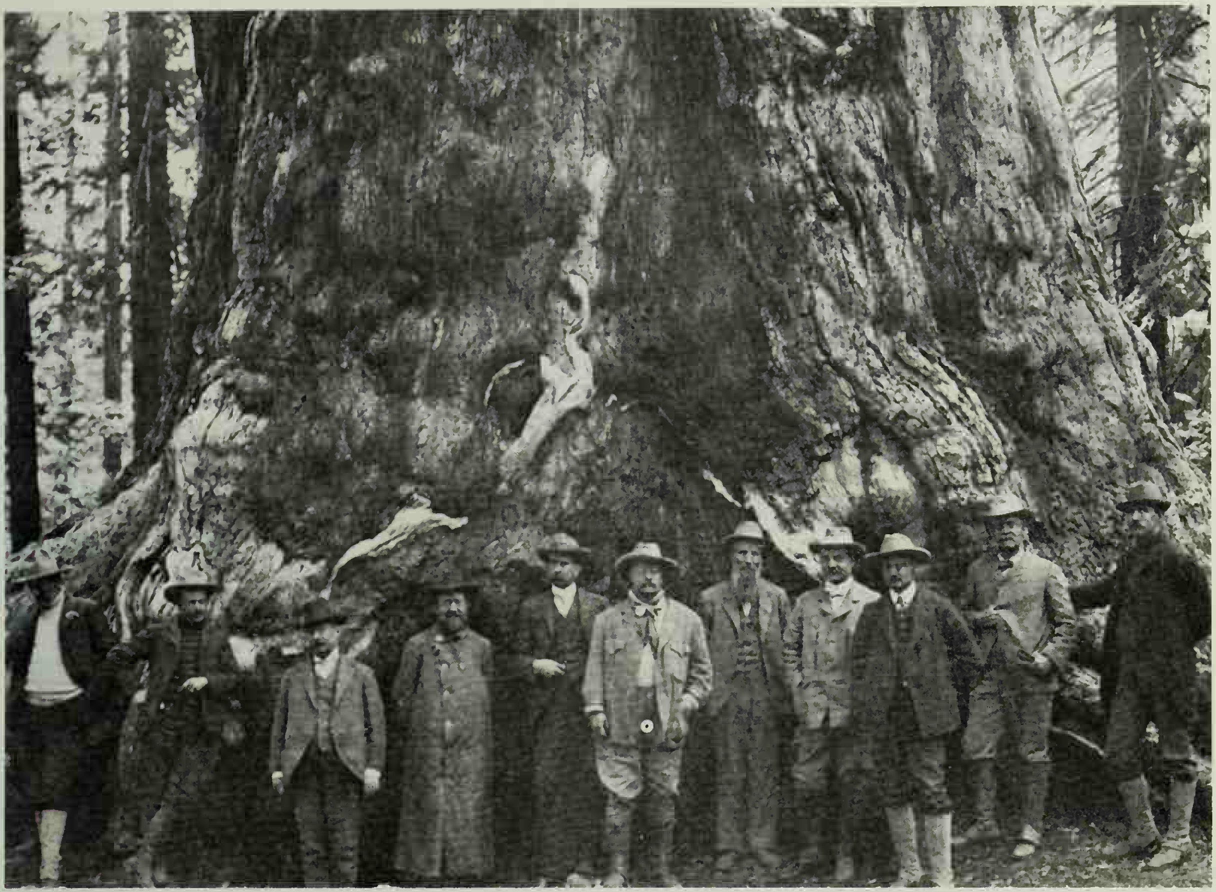
And at last came the great battle to save Hetch Hetchy, an effort that fully revealed John Muir as our first national environmentalist and ecologist, calling out to and leading the nation's conscience. On this important issue the Sierra Club itself was divided, with Warren Olney, a cofounder of the club, favoring San Francisco's use of the Tuolumne River. To protect the Sierra Club from schism, Muir and the club's secretary, William Colby, formed the Society for the Preservation of National Parks, with Muir as president. Later the Sierra Club voted to support Muir's stand to save Hetch Hetchy.

In this struggle Muir once again worked as a politician. In 1911 he spoke in New York City and Washington, D.C., met with the secretary of the interior, house Democratic leader and speaker of the house; he wrote letters, gave interviews, directed the Sierra Club in letter and telegram campaigns. In the midst of the political effort, in 1911 he wrote: "Had a long, hearty, telling talk with the President, three with Secretary Fisher, lunched with Champ Clark . . . smoked and talked over the whole Hetch Hetchy history with . . . Joe Cannon . . . saw lots of senators and representatives, and made an hour and a half speech on Hetch Hetchy and parks at a grand dinner of the influential Boone and Crockett Club . . . ."

Throughout the nation the Hetch Hetchy issue aroused debate and stirred the first national awareness and concern for the values and principles of preservation. Newspapers from Brooklyn to Chicago, Philadelphia to Mobile, Boston to Denver went on record against the plan to dam the Hetch Hetchy Valley as a reservoir for San Francisco's water system. In Lincoln, Nebraska, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis, newspapers spoke out against the Hetch Hetchy plan as a dangerous precedent that would destroy the integrity of a national park and thereby encourage attacks on any and all national parks.

As always, John Muir's eloquence best stated the case, but now that eloquence was edged with despair: "Like anything else worthwhile, from the very beginning however well-guarded, they [national parks] have always been subject to attack by despoiling gains-seekers and mischief-makers of every degree from Satan to senators, eagerly trying to make everything immediately and selfishly commercial, with schemes disguised in smug-smiling philanthropy, 'Conservation, conservation, pan-utilization,' that man and beast may be fed and the dear nation made great . . . ."

Despite his work as a propagan-



In 1903 John Muir showed influential visitors around the Mariposa Grove of big trees. From the right: Benjamin Ide Wheeler (president of the University of California), Private Secretary Loeb, Nicholas Murray Butler (president of Columbia University), John Muir, Dr. Rixey, President Theodore Roosevelt, Governor George Pardee, Secretary of the Navy Moody, and two secret service men. **California Historical Society, San Francisco**

dist speaking out for preservation, John Muir and Hetch Hetchy lost the fight. President Woodrow Wilson signed the Raker Act on December 19, 1913. Muir wrote to his friend Dr. Hart Merriam: "That a few ruthless ambitious politicians should have been able to run a tunnel lined with all sorts of bewildering statements through both houses of Congress for Hetch Hetchy is wonderful, but that the president should have signed the Raker Bill is most wonderful of all. As you say, it is a monumental mistake, but it is more, it is a monumental crime."

To another friend, Muir wrote: "I'm glad the fight for the Tuolumne Yosemite is finished . . . . Am now writing on Alaska. A fine change, from faithless politics to crystal ice and snow."

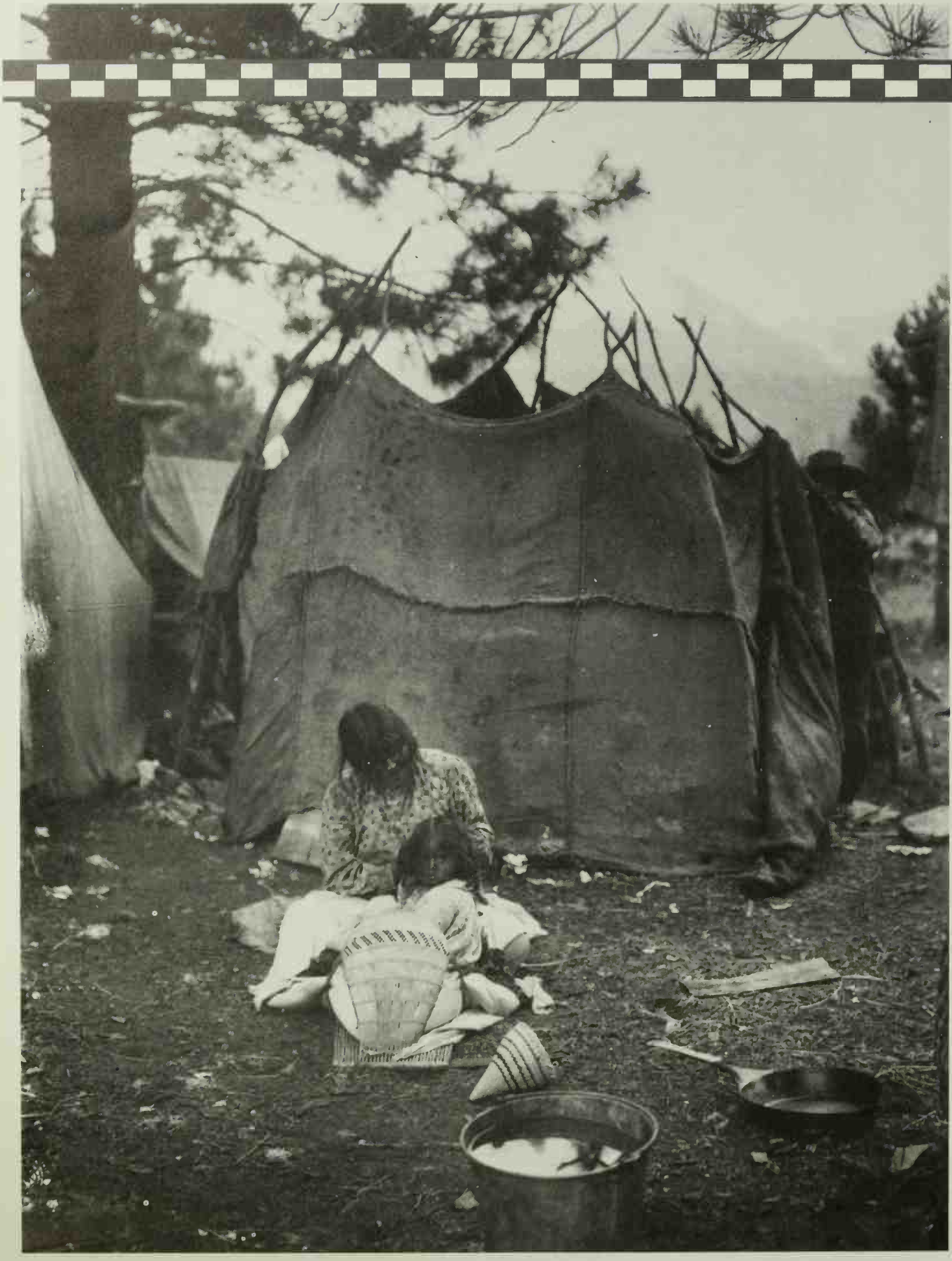
A year later, while working on his writings about Alaska, John Muir died in Los Angeles at age seventy-six.

Like ecologists today, John Muir roused the public. He called upon the city to save the wilderness. He foresaw the dangers of civilization and machinery. Today the four-wheeled machine is banned from parts of Yosemite as the "hoofed locusts" were in Muir's time.

Our environment is better understood today because of John Muir, whose words fire the energy and the conviction of today's ecologists. His poetic eloquence, his joyous descriptions create in ink the smell and color of the forests, the sound of wind and water. Muir spoke to us more than seventy [now eighty] years ago to reveal that the sight of glistening mountains and fields of flowers sooth discontent and create humility. Today the John Muir Trail opens the way to a new awareness of our world and restores a sense of proportion of man's place, of his smallness in the world.

John Muir's record of fighting for our wilderness reminds us today that in our own ways, with our own voices and pens, we can each serve as a John Muir, if not to the nation then at least to our families and thus to the family of man. ☐

Reprinted from the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, October–November, 1972.



RESIST!

SURVIVAL TACTICS OF INDIAN WOMEN

Historians have overlooked the passive resistance techniques practiced by Native American women.

by Victoria Brady, Sarah Crome and Lyn Reese

> *From there they moved us, from our homes, from Cupa. Many carts stood there by the door. People came from La Mesa, from Santa Ysabèl, from Wilakal, from San Ignacio—they came to see their relatives. They cried a lot, and they just threw our belongings, our clothes, into the carts, chairs, cups, plates. They piled everything on the carts. First they said to them, "Go and see your relatives for the last time now. You're never going to see them again." They went to the cemetery, there they wept. Then it was time to move out. Still they did not move . . . They still stayed there by the gate. And my great-grandmother went running away into the mountains. And she said "Here I will stay, even if I die, even if the coyotes eat me." She said, "Now I am going away . . . ." She kept on going, climbing away, and then from there the people moved out from the cemetery, they were weeping. And then . . . they moved us.*[1]

Rosinda Nolasquez's description of the 1903 removal of the Cupeño people from Warner's Hot Spring portrays a single but significant act of defiance. Her great-grandmother's dramatic escape and subsequent life of hiding reveal little-known aspects of California Native American women's role during the years of European conquest and expansion, beginning with the establishment of the first Spanish garrison in the 1760s and ending with the American subjugation, completed by the end of the nineteenth century. Similar acts of resistance were exercised by other Indian women who also chose to escape white control in order to ensure not only their own physical survival but the survival of their cultural identity. Living apart from whites, they helped maintain important tribal traditions and created alternatives to the dependency on white economic, political and religious systems.

Although the skill of Indian women as basketmakers and food providers has been documented, their courageous role in resisting oppression and cultural assimilation and in working for the economic survival of their community has heretofore been largely ignored in histories and popular novels. Women have been consistently portrayed rather as victims of the inevitable tide of history, which is partially understandable in view of the fact that they left no written records and few observers documented their lives carefully. Even the diaries, letters, and reminiscences of white women reveal little about the experiences of Indian women,

Facing page: At the turn of the century, a Great Basin Washo man erects a gadu *of branches and canvas while his wife dresses her daughter's hair. A tin bucket and iron frying pan, as well as a woven cradleboard and small carrying bucket, are in daily use.* The Southwest Museum, Los Angeles although Native Americans represented a significant portion of the female population in the Far West during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[2]

Although Indian women's response has been overlooked by historians, it is apparent that women did not sit passively to suffer their fate; they managed to grow up, marry, raise and support families, and sometimes fight back. Aggressive forms of resistance can be documented—fighting, speaking out against injustice, and devising unique ways of maintaining traditions—but most women employed more passive forms of resistance, modes shared with women in other dispossessed minority groups. Through stealth, deceit, running away, or the simple act of ignoring or hiding from the overriding culture, women used their wits to deliberately obstruct the group that sought to dominate them.

The European conquest of California threatened, and in many respects destroyed, the traditional way of life of the Native American. History records vividly the massacre of large numbers of native people, the brutal separation of families and tribes, the introduction of diseases for which Indians had no cures. Native people were also subjected to humiliation, as they were forced to witness the denigration of their traditions and ways of life by intruders who had neither respect for nor understanding of Indian ways. The condescending attitude of many white settlers was typified in a statement by Gertrude Atherton, a prominent Californian of her day:

> *This vast and lively tract, with the soil as rich as the minerals within her, was peopled by a few Indian tribes, so stupid that they rarely learned one another's language, so lethargic that they rarely fought. The squaws did what work was done; the bucks basked in the sun for eight months in the year, and during the brief winter sweated out their always negligible energies in the temescals.*[3]

With the exception of a few isolated periods when the population of the state increased dramatically—during the Gold Rush, for example—the colonization of California proceeded gradually during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as white settlers occupied more and more of what they perceived to be land for the taking on this western frontier. The original occupants were viewed as a labor force to be confined and exploited.

The Spanish came first. The padres actively recruited natives into the missions and then forbade the neophytes to leave. In an attempt to Hispanicize them, the padres forbade the Indians their practices and obliterated their pattern of work tied to seasonal change. Denied their traditional religious and ceremonial roles, the women also had to adjust to major disruptions in their food-gathering, cooking, and child-rearing habits. European diseases compounded their problems; women in the missions died at a younger age and in greater numbers than did the men.[4]

From the age of nine until marriage, single women were locked in *monejorios* (dormitories) at night and frequently were confined to these quarters during the day until the chores were completed. At puberty girls were encouraged to choose husbands under whose will and protection they would be placed. Monogamy was strictly enforced; divorce was not tolerated. Not surprisingly, many Indian women fled home to the greater freedom of tribal customs, as the letters of Fr. Fermín de Lasuén reveal. While he noted that all Indians were "excessively fond of the mountains, the beach, and of barbarous freedom and independence,"[5] he wrote that the ever-present possibility of escape made it difficult to get a mission girl to do something to which she objected: "If we use force, it will not be long before she becomes a fugitive to the forest."[6]

In actuality, it was very difficult for Indian women to escape from the missions. They were more closely guarded than the men, and they had greater responsibility for the children. Yet some sought freedom repeatedly. Recalling her grandmother's life in the mis-

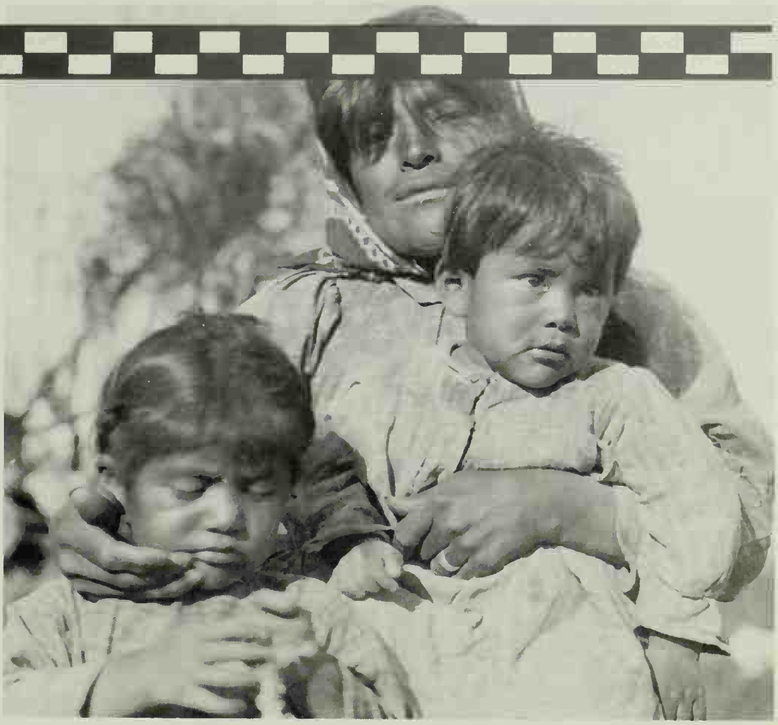
Victoria Brady, Sarah Crome and Lyn Reese are independent scholars who met to collaborate on a documentary history of women in California.

Ms. Brady is a registered nurse with a special interest in Medical Anthropology. She has studied Native American History and Culture at the University of California, Berkeley, and California State University, Hayward.

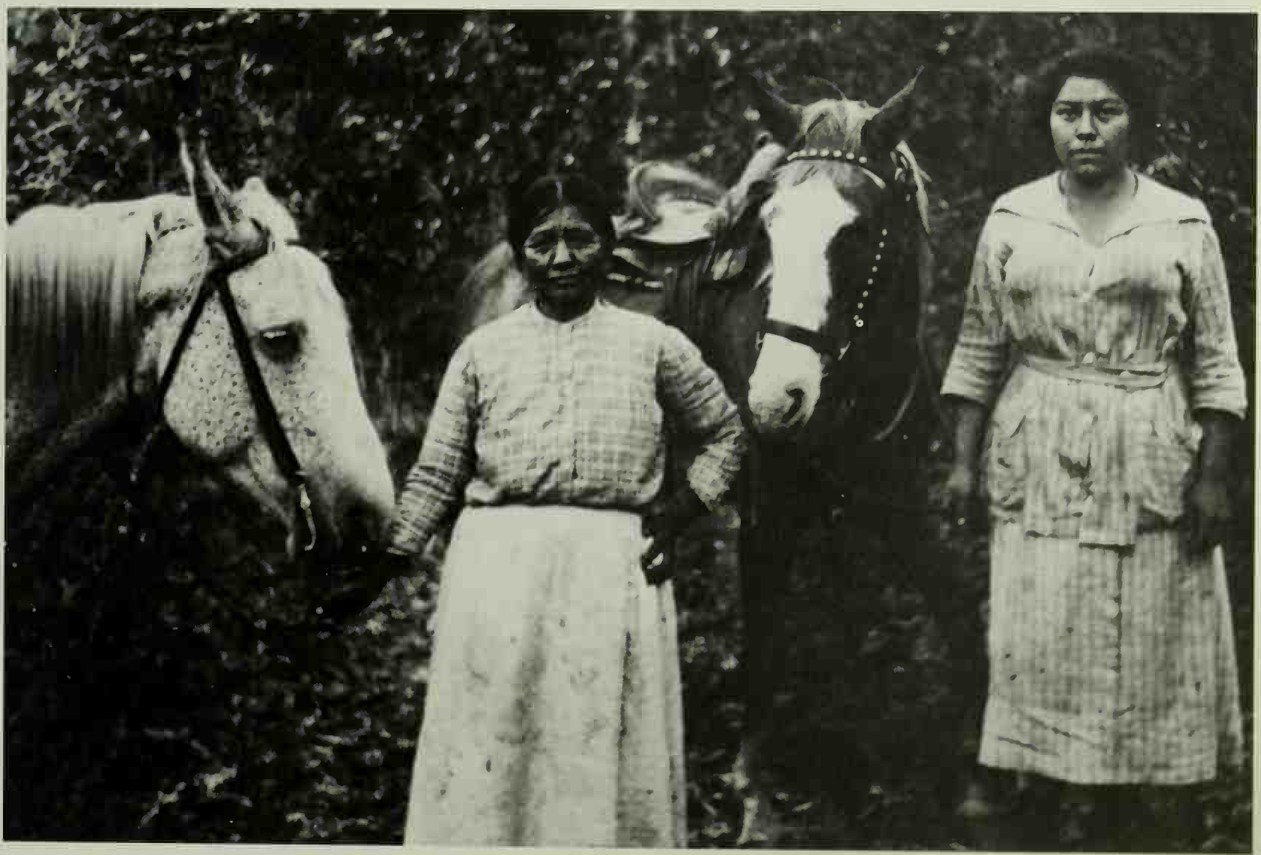
Ms. Crome recently retired from her work as research associate on the Emma Goldman Papers at the Institute for the Study of Social Change, University of California, Berkeley. Formerly she taught women's history classes in high school.

Ms. Reese is a secondary school resource teacher and women's history curriculum specialist. Recently she coedited an anthology about young women coming of age in a variety of cultures, *I'm On My Way Running: Women Speak on Coming of Age* (Avon, 1983).

"Secretive and close-mouthed," wrote Stephen Powers. Anthropologist A. L. Kroeber photographed this Mohave mother and children c. 1908. **Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley**



Some Indian women fled from the government-established reservations. This independent-looking North Coast Karok mother and daughter were photographed by John C. Merriam c. 1900. **Bancroft Library**



sions, Maria Solares, Chumash, said that her grandmother "had run away many, many times and had been recaptured and whipped till her buttocks crawled with maggots. Yet she had survived to hand down her memories of the golden age before white men came."[7]

Group escapes were also attempted. One of the most incredible efforts was the escape of an entire village which had been captured and detained at both the Carmel Mission and the nearby Don Estrada Buenavista ranch. According to an account:

> *Domingo* [village chief] *made plans to recover the women of his village, who had been sent to Carmel. He sent four men to Carmel to tell the women that they should escape from there in the night and should all travel in the direction of the Buenavista ranch. The women escaped, and so did Domingo and all his people, taking with them the herds of horses and cattle of Don Estrada . . . In this flight Domingo lost no one, for they were a brave and smart people.*[8]

The concept of the Indians as property and a source of cheap labor did not end with the mission period. Subsequent settlers sought Indian women as laborers in their homes, hotels, mines, and fields. During the Gold Rush, as American settlers spread into even the remote parts of the state, the kidnapping of native women and children became commonplace, and thousands of families were scattered as a consequence. The use of Indians as negotiable property was legitimized by the 1850 Vagabond Act, which stated that Indians who were perceived as loiterers could be forced to become servants.

When their working situation was unpleasant, however, Indian women often fled. In one of his letters describing the Gold Rush towns, William Robert Garner related that "the only female servants which the supervisory classes of the people have been able to procure are Indians, which have been brought wild from the mountains in their infancy. These remain in some houses until they arrive at the age of twelve or fourteen years, when they are almost sure to run away."[9]

It is possible that upon reaching puberty, the girls ran off because of their desire to participate in tradi-

Mrs. Lucy Young, Wailaki, with family in 1922: "I go down river . . . I run off."
Bancroft Library

tional coming-of-age ceremonies. Harsh treatment could also be the impetus for flight, as explained in this account by Lucy Young, a Northern California Wailaki:

One white man come there, want take me South Fork Mountain. His woman got li'l baby. He want me stay his woman . . . This Inyan woman whip me all time. Didden' talk my language. 'Bout week all I stay. Commence rain pretty hard. He tell me go get water. I go down, water muddy. I get it anyway. He ask me, make sign, "Where you get this water?" I showum down to river. He think I get water in hole near house. He throw out water, commence whip me, tell me go get water . . . I go down river, pretty steep go down. I throw bucket in river. I run off. Never see bucket no more. I had soldier shoes, take off, tie around neck. Water knee deep. I just had thin dress, can run good. Come up big high bank. Keep look back see if that woman follow me.[10]

As the Indians of California became increasingly displaced from the land, some resorted to theft, particularly of horses and cattle. Thus the Indian came to be perceived as both a threat and a menace in the nineteenth century, and as a consequence violent confrontations increased in frequency and in brutality. Beginning in the 1860s, the federal government was forced to intervene. Although the government sometimes assisted settlers in killing Indians, on the whole American policy was to relocate them on reservations, ostensibly to protect them from persecution. The Indians were forced to march long distances to their new and unfamiliar homes and to endure tremendous adversity along the way. Yet even under these circumstances, Indian women sometimes managed courageous escapes. Jennie Cashbaugh, Bishop Paiute, tells the story of her people's journey to a reservation east of Independence when she was a little girl in the 1860s, and of her escape along the way.

My poor grandmother sat down for just a second, she was thirsty, she wanted water, just then one of the men with the sword saw my grandmother sit down to rest. He was upon her in a little while. He stabbed her through the heart, dead, in a pool of blood layed my grandmother, all alone, cold and stiff, there was no time to show your heart of sympathy, if you had a pain in your heart you had to show it alone or if you showed it too much, Uncle Sam's man was ready to snatch your life in cold blood.

As small and young as I was I could still see the sight of my dead grandmother back there, I began to grow courage by evening, more at dusk, I knew mother and I will try to cheat death and the men in U.S. uniform . . . .

At last nature played its part and opened a way for us. We crawled close together, taking care that the two soldiers who were looking for us would not find us . . . Mother took another trail to save us from the swords which was glittering in the sun . . . So to be near mother we went her direction. The soldiers found more tracks and left mother's trail and followed them and God only knows what they did to the Indians they found. We heard their cries of agony and disaster . . . With one or two survivors we started towards the mountains east of Big Pine.[11]

A similar story was told by Lucy Young, Wailaki, regarding her escape from federal soldiers on the trek to the Hoopa reservation:

Mother ran away when we hit redwoods. Hide us all in hollow tree. Lay there all day. I had li'l cup and bucket soldier give me. Mother send me hunt water . . . .

Two days we lay in hollow log. Hear soldier in camp, go li'l ways, listen. Go li'l further, listen . . . . We see horse track. Hide again. Somebody whistle. We drop in fern. Just see soldier hat go by. We watchum long ways. When dark come, we go way down open ridge. Something rustle. I think dogs overtake us. We look back. Skunk family follow us—mother, five li'l ones. We go down, find li'l flat, heavy timber. We lay down, sleep till sun-up. Mother never eat, just drink water. We got crackers, dried beef from soldiers. There we stay till sundown. Mother begin get sick. If she die, she tell us go back to soldiers, not to no other white people. We go on. From top of mountain, we come to big pond. High mountain. I pack water for poor mother . . . .

Mother never sleep. I never sleep. Li'l sister sleep. Too tired, li'l sister. We hear bear coming. Mother raise up head. Moon just coming up. Listen, listen. Bear pass on by. Next thing Mother say: "Children, wake up, let's go. Sunshine big all over country.[12]

The government's harsh reservation system did little to resolve the so-called Indian problem. On the contrary, it pressured Indians to adopt Western culture and placed them at the mercy of government officials who were often corrupt and generally incapable of protecting them from outside threats. Furthermore, peoples of differing tribes and languages were forced together, creating the unhappiness Mabel Brown, North Coast Pomo, recounts:

Whiteman come there, take everybody to Round Valley, that time I go too. I go little while that time . . . nothing to eat there. Never do nothing. Just give little flour. Little! Little! That all they give us. That reason everybody don't like to stay there Round Valley . . . . I don't like that place, Indian there. They always dance. Every tribe, Yuki, Wilaki. I 'fraid . . . . I run off one time. Then white man take me to Round Valley again. Round Valley boss, I guess. I don't like stay there. Don't feel good . . . Walk back from Round Valley. I come back in the night. One fellow see me in the road. He said, "Hello mother. Hello mother. You better go back." Blodgett boy. He know me. Long way to walk to Round Valley.[13]

For every woman who fled white control there were countless others who resisted by hiding and maintaining secrecy. The years of indiscriminate massacres and rounding up had produced an intense Indian distrust of whites. Women learned that their personal survival and the survival of their family and their community depended in part on their ability to keep a low profile and to teach their children to hide. Elsie Allen, Pomo, describes how her mother hid her:

My mother used to hide me or make me hide whenever the white people came because we had heard of Indian children who had been kidnapped. We usually hid in the bushes. My great-grandmother said that when she was young a number of Indian children were brought down from the north by whites, riding on mules. Her aunt fed about seven or eight of these small children who were being carried south and then to be sold to ranchers. They were so starved they swallowed their food whole. My people wept when these children were taken away for they feared they would be treated badly.[14]

Jane Adams, Pomo, also remembers being hidden as a child: "Sometimes they come to the house to tell what work to be done. Sometimes they come for my mother to tell her what to do, to come and work. But we don't go amongst them. We hide as soon as the white man, white lady come."[15]

Annie K. Bidwell, who with her husband provided protection for large numbers of Maidu Indians on their ranch near Chico, describes the reaction of an entire village to the presence of whites:

At this time none of the women or children could speak English, and they always fled from white people when possible, and when escape was impossible turned their backs to them, a custom long afterwards continued by the old Indians. If passing along with a basket of wood on their shoulders, they would turn their backs to the passer-by and stand until he passed: the same with a carriage.

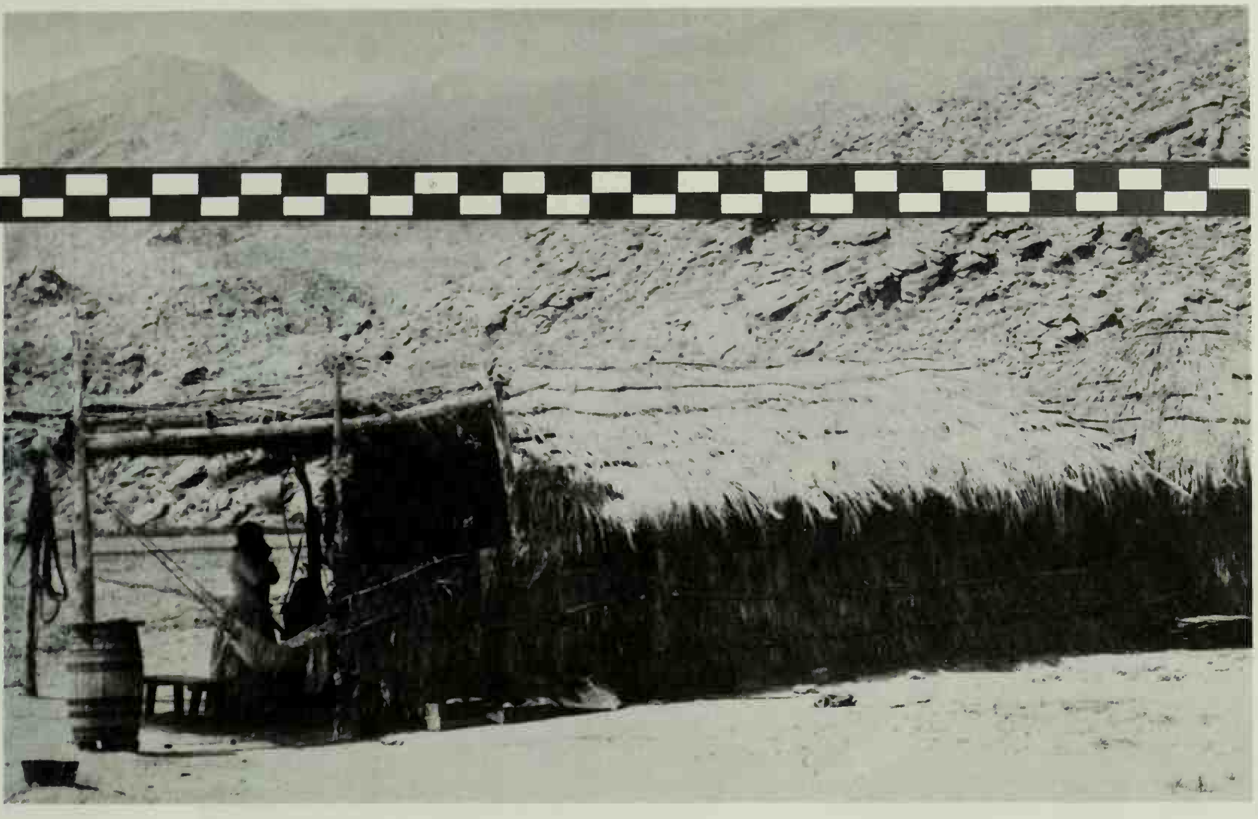
If I approached the village there was a general stampede, some dropping down the hole in the roof as skillfully as frogs into the water and others disappearing in the shrubbery . . . . This was a characteristic of the women and children.[16]

Indians also purposely withheld information, a trait often interpreted negatively by whites as a sign of Indian passivity and dullness. In 1872 observer Stephen Powers, who had travelled extensively among the Northern California peoples, characterized them as a "shy, foxy, secretive, close-mouthed race." He did concede, however, that "this singular secretiveness has kept the great body of the whites in profound ignorance of their ideas."[17] This latter observation was corroborated by anthropologist Mary Barnes, who in 1895 attempted to study the Washoes:

A first attempt at making an acquaintance proved a total failure. Four squaws and five children were seated in a group . . . . A near approach found one Mahala (squaw) quietly walking away, while the other three had, without any noticeable movement, turned their backs, and no questions or remarks received even the slightest recognition. Two of the women apparently had their attention on something in the dim distance; the other might well be solving problems of her innermost soul, so entirely wrapped, she seemed, in her own thought . . . How could one get at these people? The more vigorous the attempt, the more it was baffled by that placid indifference.

Questions were met with utter silence, a too-searching gaze finds nothing to look upon but uninteresting backs, until one is convinced that each savage is a sort of magnetic needle that adjusts itself with this one particular portion of the body always toward the beholder.[18]

Above all, native Americans were secretive regarding their traditional and sacred rites. Even those who functioned in the white world often lived in a second private world of Indian ways and rituals. Beginning in the missions, their religious and cultural observances had been forbidden. It had become necessary to practice in secret those customs which they saw as indispensible to their culture. For example, in her autobiography, Delfina Cuero, Diegeño, describes her grandmother's coming-of-age ceremonies which were conducted in secret at San Diego. Through these special songs and dances younger women learned from older women in-



Geographic isolation possible at reservations such as Palm Valley on the Colorado Desert near Palm Springs permitted Indian women to maintain traditional knowledge and survival skills. **California Historical Society, San Francisco**

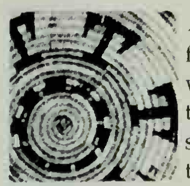
formation about sex, birthing, baby care and health.[19]

Reports from other missions show that a variety of women's customs were similarly preserved. In a reply to a questionnaire sent in 1812 by the Spanish government to all the missions, a padre at Mission San Carlos Borromeo remarked that "in secret they cling to their pagan practice. As a sign of mourning, women cut their hair and strew ashes over their body, and the old women smear their faces with pitch. Since the effects of this remain for months, they look like Ethiopians.[20] Responding to the same questionnaire, the padres at Mission San Antonio lamented: "They have their healers who are more esteemed and more feared than our university-trained doctors are by us."[21]

The spread of diseases that even university-trained doctors were often unable to cure forced the mission Indians to turn to the spiritual powers of their shamans. In the Santa Barabara mission, during a severe epidemic in 1805, a woman healer managed secretly to influence the neophytes to reject Christianity in favor of their native god, Chupa. Fra. Estévan Tápis recorded the Spanish version of this event:

> *A single female neophyte was able to delude the Christians of Santa Barbara. The case was that after a feigned paroxysm she said there had appeared to her the God Chupa (a deity worshipped along the Channel) assuring her that the gentiles would die from the epidemic if they were baptized, and that the same would happen to the Christians who did not offer tribute to Chupa and did not bathe their heads with a certain water. The report of the revelation, within an hour, which was midnight, ran through all the houses of the mission, and almost all the neophytes, including the alcaldes, went to the house of the visionary to offer their beads and seeds and to attend the ceremony for the renunciation of Christianity. The extraordinary and serious part of this matter is that, whereas the rumor extended through all the* rancherias *of the Channel and the mountains, the missionaries were totally ignorant of it, for Chupa revealed at the same time that any persons who told the Fathers would immediately die. Actually we were unaware of the occurrence for three days.*[22]

Women healers and shamans continued their practices secretly throughout the nineteenth century. The French traveller Duhaut-Cilly, in his excursion through California in 1827–28, noted that "the Indians impute to some old women the art of sorcery, and then they become objects of veneration and fear . . . These old enchantresses stubbornly refuse to converse with strangers about their occult science."[23] In 1900 the anthropologist J. P. Harrington mentioned the existence of a woman with "long fingernails and toe-nails" who the Americans set out to trap as if she were the devil. "They caught her and sent her to the government, but they did not want to keep her and turned her loose . . . . The Indians around here (Gabrieleño) all know these kinds of things, but they do not want to talk about them to white people, and keep their mouths shut."[24]



A different and generally unrecognized form of resistance was the ability of women to adapt to the dominant culture in ways that allowed for personal survival and the preservation of cultural indentiy. For example, some women used their community and extended family networks to develop production systems which did not depend solely on the white man's economy. This was accomplished through the cultivation of small garden plots, the selling of home-made goods, and the continuation of their food-gathering techniques. Out of necessity, the Diegeños worked on the ranches in the mission valley of San Diego for food and clothing, but they also foraged for greens, honey, seeds, fruit, and seafood to provide the bulk of their traditional diet.[25]

In other communities women learned to participate in the cash economy by developing markets for their crafts. Washo women became adept at turning their fine craft of basket-making into a way of making money. They began to specialize, experimenting in size and design, to suit the tastes of white collectors.[16] In Southern California, women in the Temescula Valley developed a market for their lace, an art which they had been taught in the missions. Anthropologist Constance Dubois visited this group in 1900 and described their village:

> *The interiors of some of the houses were exquisitely neat and orderly, with touching attempts at adornment—pretty baskets and shelves hanging on the walls, and over the beds canopies of bright calico. On some of the beds, the sheets and pillow-cases were trimmed with wide, handwrought lace made by the Indian women themselves. This is one of their arts which date back to the mission days. Some of the lace is beautiful and fine and of patterns like the old church laces . . . .*
>
> *There was hardly a house which had not the lace-maker's frame hanging on the wall with an unfinished piece of lace stretched in it. The making of this lace requires much time and patience.*[27]

Indian women who married or worked closely with whites sometimes found the relationship helpful in allowing them to continue native ways (note woman's traditional face tatoos). **A. W. Erickson Photograph, Peter Palmquist Collection**

Indian women managed to raise and support families within the dominant culture while secretly preserving their traditional ways. **Bancroft Library**

Independence from the white culture was not always possible, nor always practical, however. It was not uncommon for native women to work as domestics in the homes of the settlers in return for needed food and goods. Sophia Martinez recounted that she nearly died of starvation during the first year of her life. It was her aunt's ability to obtain food from her white employers that helped sustain the child in the following years:

> *About a year after that, my aunt, she used to be wash woman in the white families. And she used to take me with her in the basket. That's the way she raised me, among the whites. And they used to take me out of the basket and feed me milk . . . And that's how my aunt raised me, taking me around among white people. And they feed me. Because she go out every day except Sunday, walk around, carrying me around.*[28]

Indians who worked closely with whites sometimes used this relationship to their advantage. Victoria Reid, a one-time keeper of the keys in the San Gabriel Mission, received a large tract of land after secularization. She used her influence as a property owner to produce, along with her white husband Hugo, numerous publications to educate whites about her people. Mary Azbill, Chico Maidu, secured property because of her friendship with a white woman, Annie K. Bidwell. Annie relied on Mary to support Annie's projects for the Indians who lived on or near her Chico ranch and, in return, bought Mary's family a house. Mary was determined that Indian children be given access to education, and when the Chico school board refused to register eight of them, Mary persuaded her friend to help her. Annie suggested to the board that "there might be an adjustment made of the school taxes." Thereafter the Indian children were accepted at the Chico Vecino School.[29]

Until the 1870s, Indians were not allowed to homestead. Few were able to purchase property, and most had to attach themselves in some way to white settlements. In 1887, however, the Dawes Allotment Act allowed Indians who had been displaced by the sale of reservation land to qualify for land allotments. In practice, these grants were difficult for the women to obtain, because they could not apply independently of their husbands or if they were married to white men. Nevertheless, women pressed their claims for land ownership repeatedly.[30]

For many women survival required adapting to such

Cultural adaptation and preservation of traditional ways existed side by side on the Hoopa Indian reservation c. 1896.
A. W. Erickson Photograph, Peter Palmquist Collection

non-Indian practices as formal schooling or the ownership of private property. Others, however, managed to live in remote areas apart from whites. They survived on their practical knowledge and their native skills, becoming in the process a vital link with the old ways. To their children they passed on the messages about how to live. Julie Hutchins, a Mono, who survived into the 1960s, "honored tradition and preferred to live the old ways." According to a recent account:

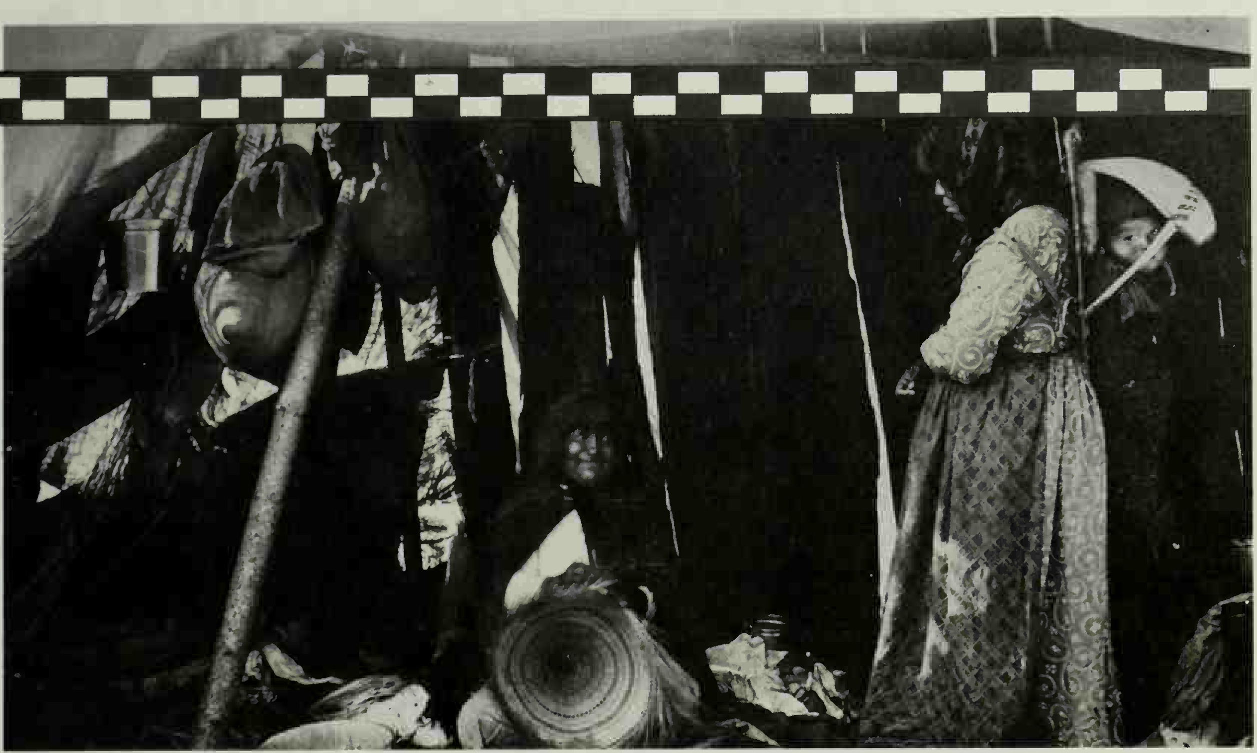
> *Her small cabin sits dormant now in the shade of a huge oak tree . . . Inside is an unfinished baby basket she had been working on, various pieces of incomplete beadwork lying about, soaproot brushes, grinding implements, antiques.*
>
> *The Johnson children spent many memorable summers with their grandmother preparing acorn. This was a complicated process which included the initial gathering, as well as the pounding, sifting, leaching and cooking of the acorn meal . . . Other days would find Julia teaching the children, or anyone else interested, beadwork, or stripping the redbud sticks for basketry material. She fastidiously observed many of the ancient Mono beliefs, such as constantly scolding the children for whistling at night, as this was invitation for the rattlesnakes to come out, or some other form of bad luck.*[31]

By the end of the nineteenth century, most Indians had been reduced to severe poverty and a vastly changed way of life. Yet it is impossible to view women such as Julia Hutchins and Rosinda Nolasquez's great-grandmother as passive victims. Throughout long years of European colonization and oppression, the native women of California developed unique methods of survival and resistance which allowed them to maintain important aspects of their culture. In the twentieth century, California Indian women continue to move ahead by building networks with Indians throughout the country and by working to achieve equality of citizenship, better economic conditions, and the preservation of their native ways. These women find a source of strength in the memory of the courageous lives of their eighteenth and nineteenth century foremothers.☐

The authors acknowledge the research contributed by Jane Scantlebury to a book on which this article is based. The book is scheduled for publication by Heyday Press (Berkeley) in Spring 1985.

Notes

1. Jane Hill and Rosinda Nolasquez, editors, *Mulu' Wetam: The First People* (Banning: Malki Museum Press, 1973), p. 103.
2. As reported by Walton Bean, there were six times the number of Indians in the state of California than the national average. Bean, *California, An Interpretive History*, (San Francisco: McGraw Hill, 1968), p.6. "Although white women sometimes trained Indians as servants, they described them at best as shiftless and curious, at worst as treacherous, savage and cruel. They only rarely could reach across the barriers of race and culture to establish sympathetic contact with Indian women." Julie Jeffrey, *Frontier Women in The Trans-Mississippi West 1840–1888* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), p. 55.
3. Gertrude Atherton, *California, An Intimate History* (New York: Boni and Liveright: 1927), p. 15.
4. S. F. Cook, *Population Trends Among California Indians* (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 34.
5. Fr. Englehardt to Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, February 1803, O.F.M. *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco: The James Barry Co., 1912), p. 12.
6. Fermín de Lasuén to Governor Diego de Borica, Mission San Carlos, August 21, 1976, in Finbar Kenneally, O.F.M., *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén*, vol. 1 (Academy of American Franciscan History, Washington, D.C., 1965), p. 396.



Indian women encamped near Lake Tahoe in the late 1890s showed partial assimilation, wearing Anglo clothing in a distinctively Washo manner. Cradle boards were used as late as 1960. **The Southwest Museum, Los Angeles**

7. Carobeth Laird, *Encounter With An Angry God*, (Banning: Malki Museum Press, 1975), p. 18.
8. Report of Inocente García, Administrator of San Miguel Mission, circa 1833, in Cook, *Colonial Expeditions to the Central Valley, 1800–1820*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), p. 199.
9. William Robert Garner Letter, July 21, 1847, in Wm. Garner, *Letters from California 1846–1847*, Donald Craig, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 91.
10. Edith Murphy, "Out of the Past, A True Indian Story as Told to Edith Murphy, 1862," *California Historical Society Quarterly* (December) 1941, pp. 356–357.
11. Jennie Cashbaugh, *Biography of an Old Woman*, Edith Dewy, interpreter, Museum of Anthropology Files, University of California Archives, Berkeley, 154, 1935.
12. Murphy, "Out of the Past," 351.
13. Elizabeth Colson, *Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women* (Berkeley: Archeological Research Facility, University of California Berkeley, 1974), p. 103.
14. Elsie Allen, *Pomo Basketmaker, The Life of Elsie Allen* Vinson Brown, ed. (Healdsburg: Nautregraph Publishers: 1972), p. 10.
15. Colson, *Autobiographies*, 200.
16. Annie Bidwell, *Rancho Chico Indians*, Dorothy Hill, ed. (Chico: Bidwell Cooperation Association, 1980), p. 26.
17. Stephen Powers, "The Northern California Indians," *Overland Monthly*, 8 (1872): 2.
18. Mary Barnes Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, pp. 1–2.
19. Florence Shipek, *The Autobiography of Delfina Cuero* (Banning: Malki Museum Press, Morongo Indian Reservation, 1970), p. 79.
20. M. Geiger, ed., "Reply of the Mission San Antonio to the Questionnaire of the Spanish Government, 1812," *The Americas*, 10 (April 1950): 483.
21. Geiger, "Reply of the Mission San Antonio to the Questionnaire of the Spanish Government, 1812," *The Americas*, 10 (Oct. 1953): 222.
22. Fra. Estévan Tápis, Santa Barbara, 1805, in Cook, *The Conflict Between The California Indians and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 150.
23. Duhaut-Cilly, "Duhaut-Cilly's Account of California in the Years 1827–1828," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 8 (December 1929): 315.
24. J. P. Harrington, Field Notes from the Gabrieleno Indians, Collection of Papers, Southwest Museum, Pasadena, California.
25. Shipek, *Autobiography of Delfina Cuero*, 56–57.
26. James Downs, *The Two World of the Washo*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1966), p. 85.
27. Constance Du Bois, *The Condition of the Mission Indians of Southern California*, (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1901), pp. 516–517.
28. Colson, *Autobiographies*, 110.
29. Margaret Ramsland, "The Forgotten Californians," Ms., 1974, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, p. 19.
30. Letters documenting women's difficulties in securing land can be found in Record Group, No. 75, Box 157, Series 64, Land Correspondence 30–49, Hoopa Valley Agency, National Archives, San Bruno, California.

31 Urion Heath, "The Praise of Tribal Elders," *California Living Magazine," edited by the San Francisco Examiner*, December 14, 1980, p. 78.

ARNOLD GENTHE'S

Berlin-born scholar Arnold Genthe(1869–1942) arrived in San Francisco in 1895. Captivated by the Pacific metropolis with its "glamorous panorama," the young man explored Chinatown where his sketching sent the "shy and superstitious" inhabitants running "into doorways and cellars." And so Genthe turned to the surreptitious use of a camera to record the children ("the pride and joy and beauty of the Quarter"), gamblers, slave girls, tongs and other exotic evidences of Chinatown's past.

His technique of photographing when his subjects were unaware of the camera created a remarkable record of everyday behavior and thus achieved a subtle social and psychological insight.

Encouraged by the favorable reception his street portraits received at an annual exhibition of the California Camera Club, Genthe opened a portrait gallery on Sutter Street in 1897 where "there would be no stilted poses, as a matter of fact no poses at all." In his studio, as in Chinatown, his subjects would be "kept from knowing the exact moment the exposure was being taken, then something more of their spirit might be brought out by my camera."

The rapid development of Genthe's reputation was due in large part to Mrs. William H. Crocker, the wife of the city's preeminent banker. She arrived at his Sutter Street studio only a few days after its opening to be photographed with her three children. She was so pleased with the portrait that "with the pride of a discoverer, she went about gathering up her friends in her carriage and depositing them at the

The California Historical Society is proud to bring to California the exhibition "ARNOLD GENTHE: THE CELEBRITY PHOTOGRAPHS," produced by the Library of Congress and recently shown at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C.

To strengthen this impressive display of Genthe's work on the East Coast after he left San Francisco in 1911, CHS has created a complementary exhibition, "ARNOLD GENTHE'S CALIFORNIA PORTRAITS." The photographs were selected from CHS Photographic Archives and augmented by generous loans from the Bancroft Library, Mr. George Livermore and a number of individuals and San Francisco families.

The Genthe exhibitions will be shown at CHS, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, until June 18. Gallery hours are Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday 1-5 p.m. "The Celebrity Photographs" will be shown at CHS, 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino, from July 1 until August 19. Gallery hours are Tuesday through Sunday 1-4 p.m.

CALIFORNIA PORTRAITS

(Left) A youthful Arnold Genthe on his horse "Chesty" in front of San Francisco's Cliff House. **Bancroft Library**

"Never permit the sitter to be conscious of the exact moment when the picture is being taken."—Artist William Keith. **Bancroft Library**

"Subordinate unimportant detail and emphasize the essential characteristic features."—Writer Lucia Chamberlain, ante 1912. **California Historical Society**

door of my studio." In a further reflection, Genthe wrote: "With so many women of means and position using their prestige in my behalf, it was not surprising that my photographs became the fashion."

To achieve "the Genthe style," the photographer controlled light and shade to highlight desirable features and obscure the less desirable—hence his immediate popularity with fashionable ladies. His sensitivity to both the art of photography and the most engaging qualities of his clients sustained Genthe's expanding appeal. Writers, artists, actors, and singers joined the socially prominent and economically powerful to be captured in the romantic aura of Genthe's technique.

Referring to a full-length portrait of his close friend, Jack London, Genthe commented in his autobiography *As I Remember* (1936): "Jack London had a poignantly sensitive face. His eyes were those of a dreamer and there was almost a feminine wistfulness about him. Yet at the same time he gave the feeling of a terrific and unconquerable physical force."

Despite the success and artistic achievement of Genthe's work as a portraitist, it was his Chinatown photographs and his images of the 1906 Earthquake and Fire (refugee camps, street kitchens, burning skyline, skeletal buildings and devastation of Nob Hill palaces) which became the basis for his national reputation, in large degree because of the wide circulation of these dramatic visual records.

In contrast, his portraits have remained more private, treasured by families, preserved in albums and silver frames—beguiling memories of children, romantic visions of brides, soft studies of strong men, shadowy recollections of the famous and the unknown. ☐

THE GOLDEN GATE AND THE SILVER SCREEN

by Geoffrey Bell

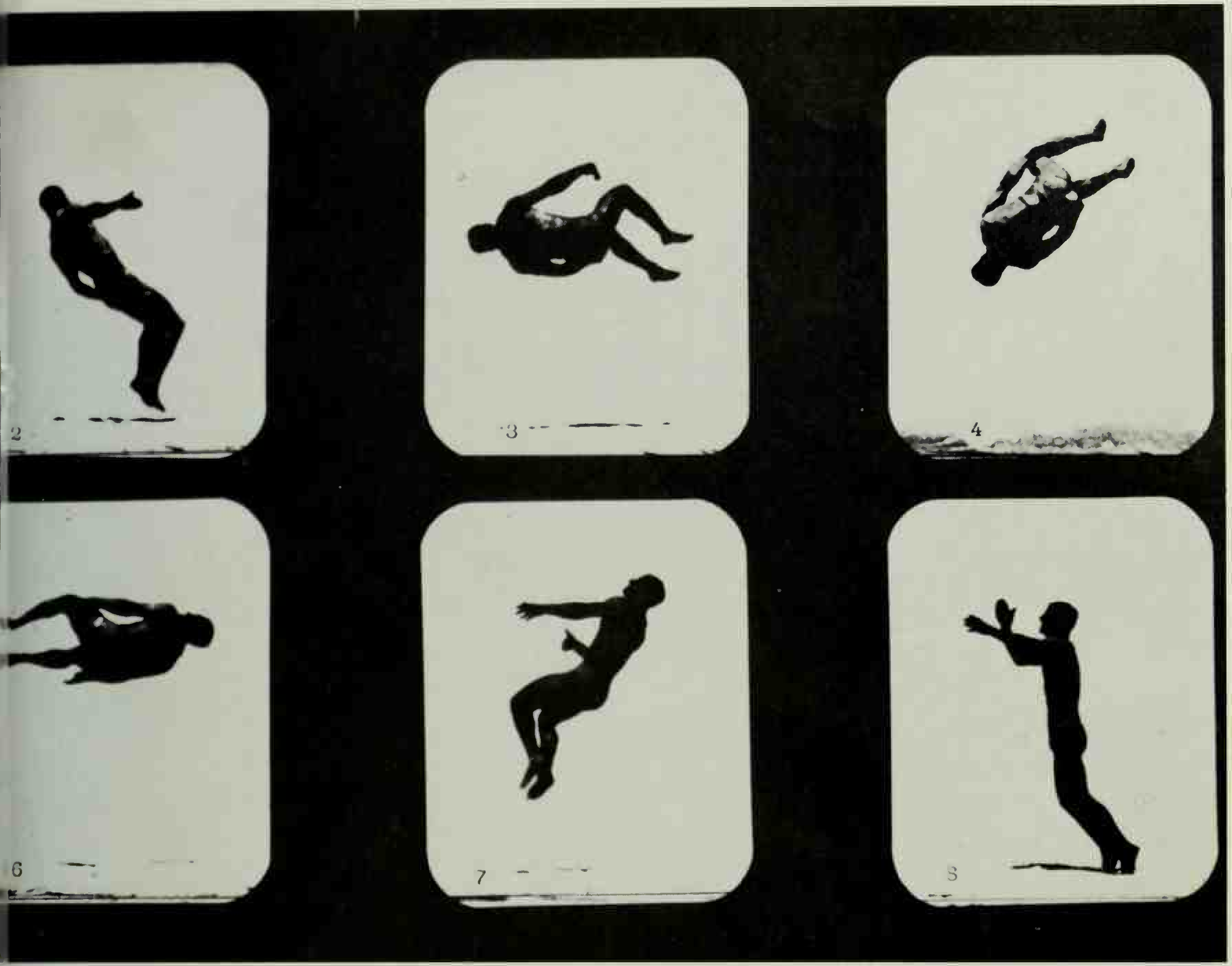
Some notes on movie scenic art and locations as beautiful as nature itself.

The beneficent climate and cosmopolitan cultural ambience of Northern California have long attracted inventive personalities and engendered creative activity. From its birth to the present day, the motion picture medium has been particularly nurtured and sustained by this unique area.

As early as the 1870s, the natural beauty and tonic qualities of Northern California's out-of-doors drew together photographer Eadweard Muybridge and industrialist Leland Stanford for an epic work on the latter's estate at Palo Alto in Santa Clara County. Their joint experiments resulted in the world's first split-second sequential photographs of horses, oxen, deer, birds and, finally, man in motion.

These stop-action photographs swiftly led Muybridge and Stanford to the invention of an instrument to project the separate images in rapid sequence onto a screen: the prototype of today's movie projector. To photography's already existing power of recording static physical reality, Stanford and Muybridge added the new dimension of recording reality as it changed through time. The world-wide premiere exhibition of their motion pictures took place in San Francisco in May 1880. The new medium amazed audiences with its continuous flow of realistic moving images and the variety of scenes photographed under wide, bright California skies.

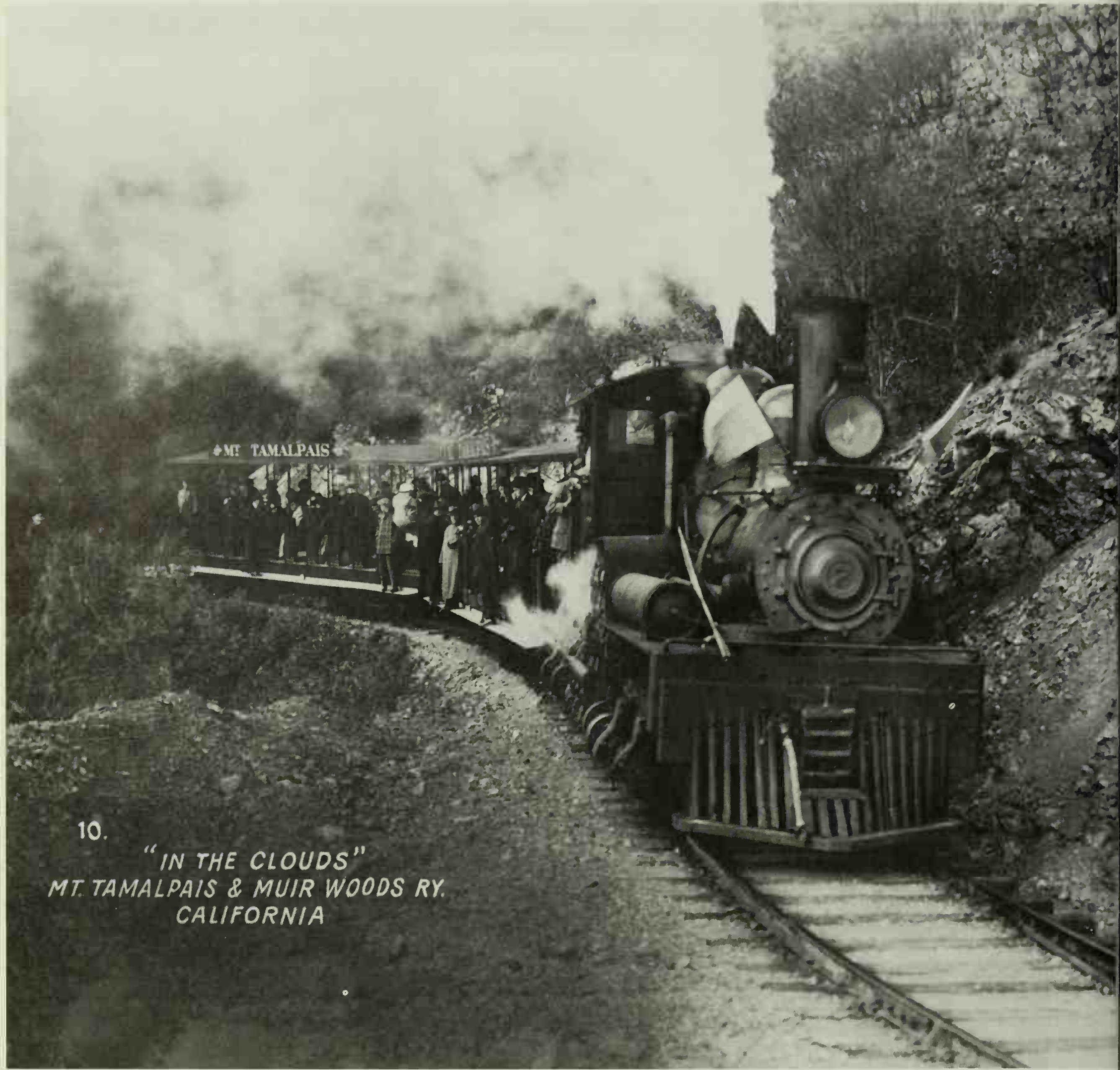
The San Francisco premiere showing of the magical picture that moved stimulated technical advances on a world-wide scale. By the mid-1890s, motion picture films were being successfully exhibited in leading cities of the United States and Europe. This new marvel showed a spellbound public that scenes and events anywhere in the world could be recorded with indisputable photographic accuracy and recreated on a screen at a later time



The Palo Alto acreage of Leland Stanford's stock farm, c. 1880. "Mr. Lawton, Back Somersault," the first human being to appear in motion pictures. **Eadweard Muybridge, Photographs, Stanford University Museum of Art**

and in a distant place. Although lasting only a few minutes, the very early films demonstrated the filmmakers' utter fascination with, and rapidly growing mastery of, the new medium.

A delightful, remarkably successful early example of the cinematic capacity to capture unstaged reality was filmed in Marin County around 1900. *A Trip Down Mt. Tamalpais,* shot from atop a railroad car, not only recorded motion, but also created the sensation of speed and propulsion. It both thrilled spec-



The winding track of the Mt. Tamalpais Railway thrilled Bay Area residents on a day's outing—and silent movie goers who enjoyed the viewpoint of the camera mounted on the lead car. **California Historical Society, San Francisco**

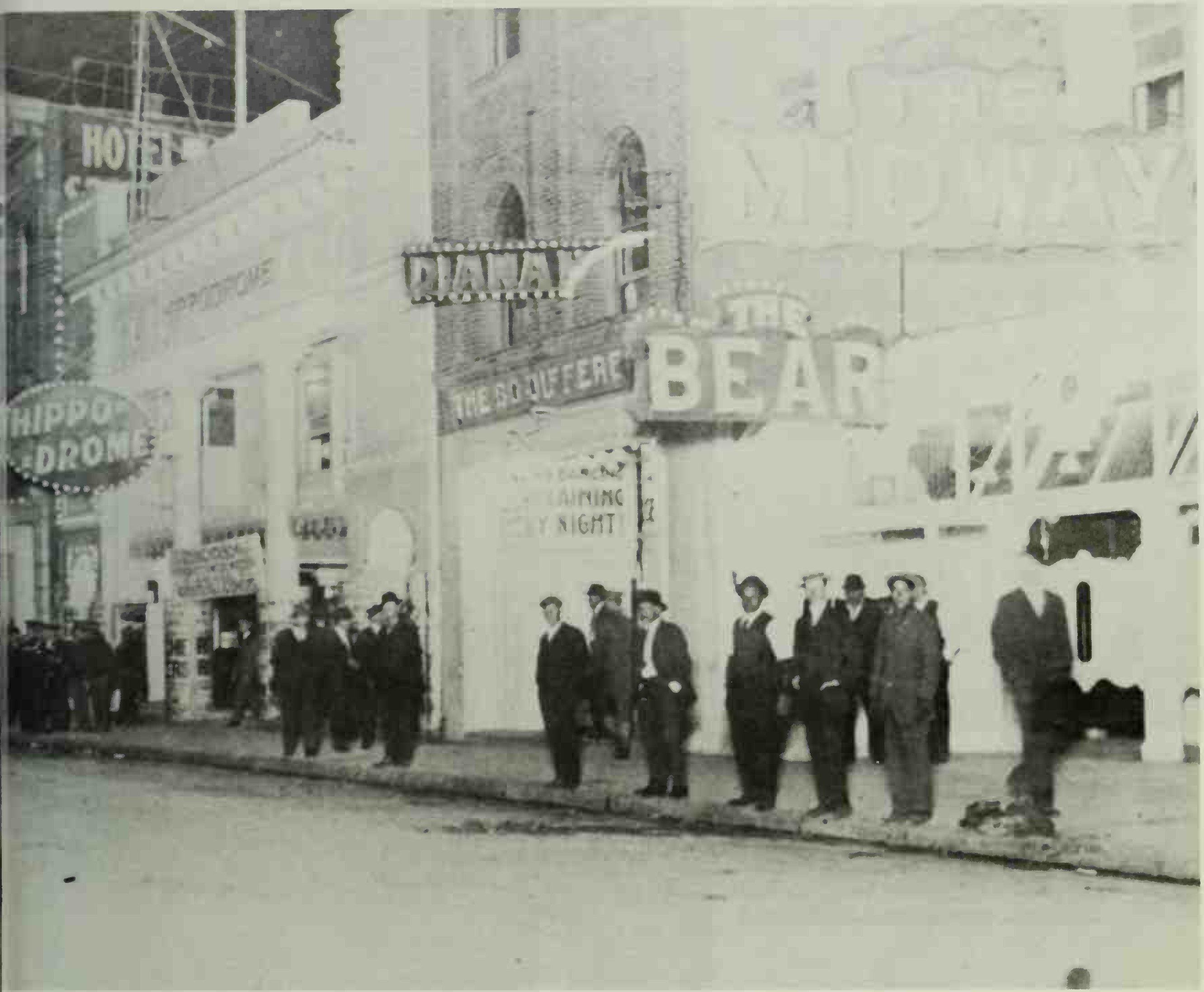
tators and provided them with a unique visual experience as the train twisted and turned down the mountain into the giant evergreen trees at its base.

Another early movie also attested to the camera's affinity for reality—but in an urban setting. This was *The Barbary Coast*, filmed in San Francisco during 1913. As no painted make-believe stage set or verbal description could do, the camera captured the squalid structures of the waterfront vice zone with raw truth, making the picture a rare social document.

Even before this, however, filmmakers were beginning to realize the new medium's potential for entertainment. Soon, the short film which merely recorded unposed reality gave way to the theatrical film which told a story.

To find attractive settings for the new story film, producers tried filming in different parts of the United States. Among the movie

The author has made several award-winning documentary films. His forthcoming illustrated history of motion pictures in the San Francisco Bay Area, *The Golden Gate and the Silver Screen*, will be published by Cornwall Books in 1984.

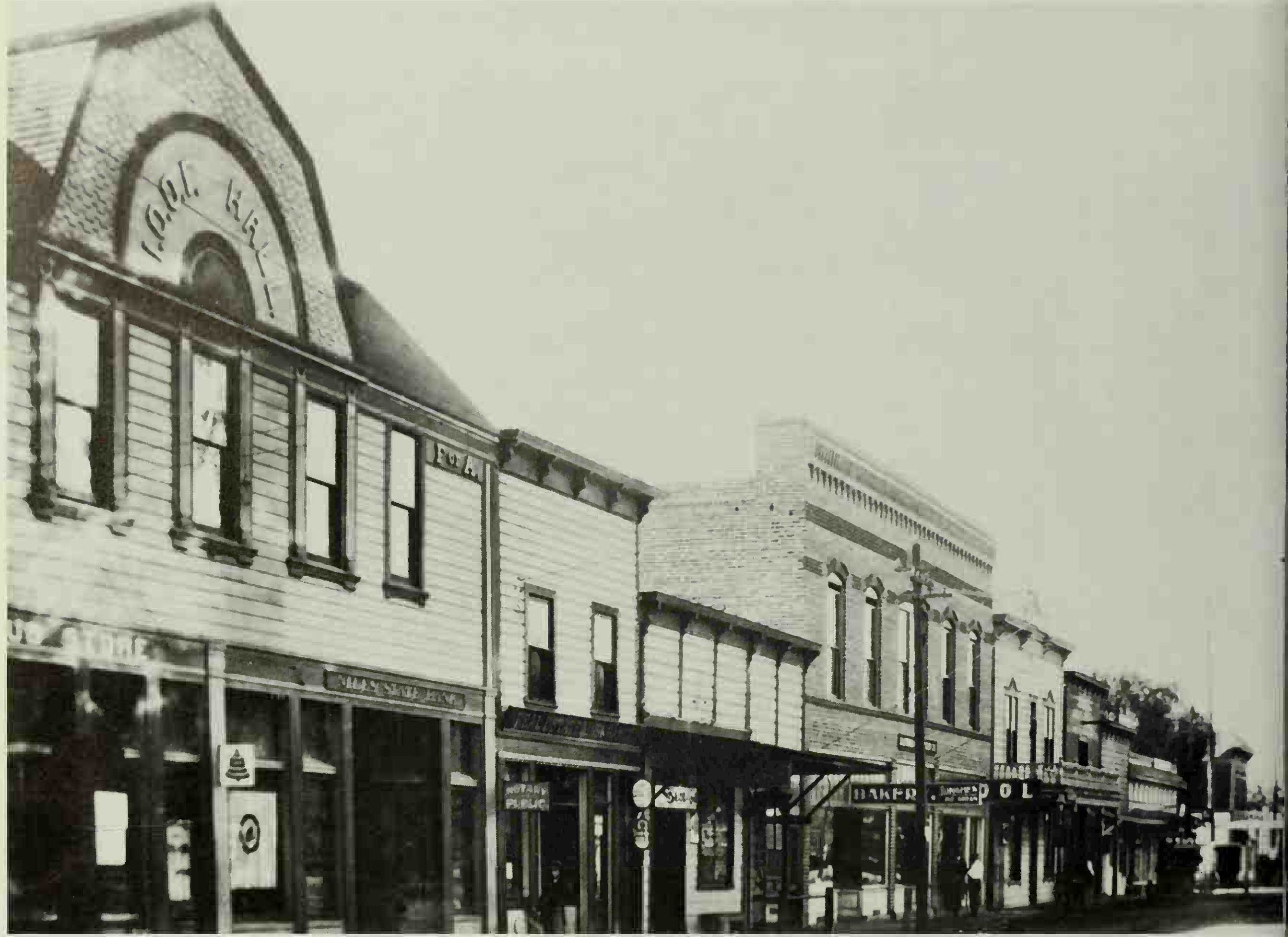


San Francisco's Barbary Coast, lower Pacific Street, filmed c. 1913.
San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library

hopefuls was Gilbert M. Anderson of the Essanay Film Manufacturing Company. Roaming the West from Colorado to Santa Barbara in search of ideal settings for adventure stories about frontier days, Anderson finally set up his film studio near the farming and ranching town of Niles in Alameda County. From 1909 to 1916, his Essanay westerns, with their strong, dramatic action building to resounding climaxes, earned world-wide acclaim. Anderson's new character, "Bronco Billy," was the prototype for the cinema cowboy later epitomized by Gary Cooper and John Wayne. The variety and magnitude of the Northern California outdoor settings chosen by Anderson—unadorned towns with unpaved streets and wooden sidewalks, rough-hewn ranches and corrals, stream-fed valleys, rolling hills, and verdant open country—helped make the Essanay films America's first true westerns.

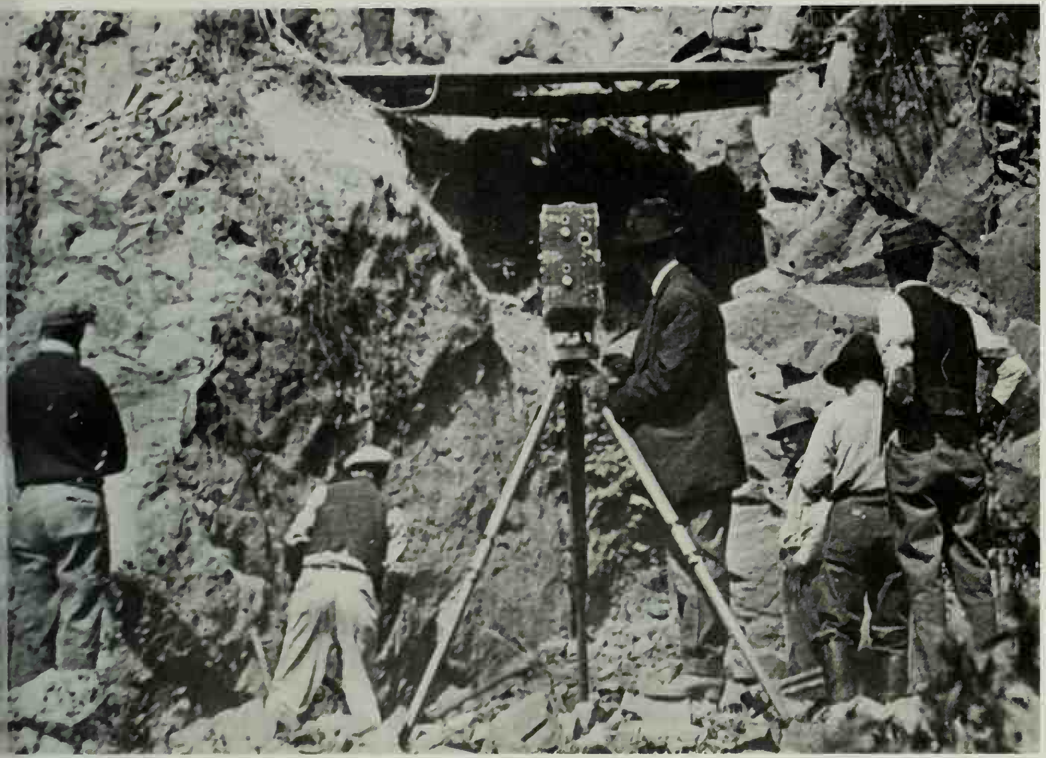
The countryside of Northern California also inspired another well-known movie figure. No less than Charles Chaplin, an artist with Essanay Company in 1915, found in the area an environment which helped him to create his "Little Tramp" in the classic comedy, *The Tramp*, which was filmed in the bucolic farms and orchards of the

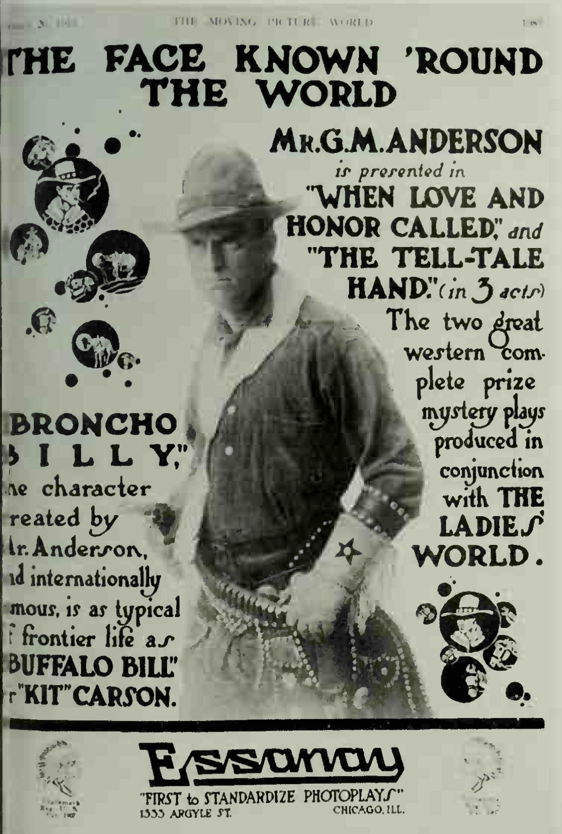
continued on page 161



Main Street in Niles c. 1912, frequent location for western movies.
Mission Peak Heritage Foundation, Fremont

An Essanay cowboy in Niles Canyon.
Geoffrey Bell Collection





THE MOVING PICTURE WORLD

THE FACE KNOWN 'ROUND THE WORLD

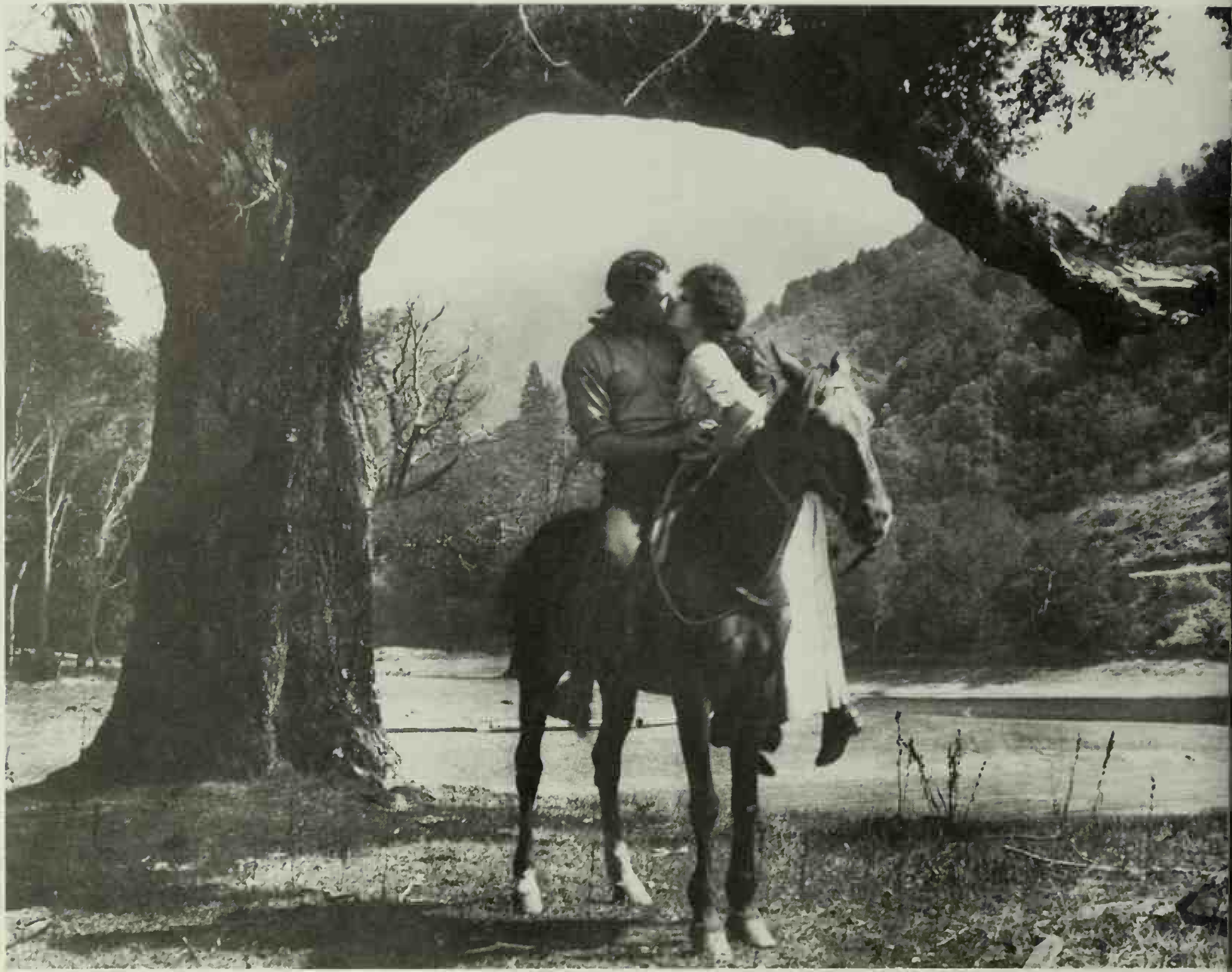
MR. G. M. ANDERSON
is presented in
"WHEN LOVE AND HONOR CALLED," and "THE TELL-TALE HAND." (in 3 acts)
The two great western complete prize mystery plays produced in conjunction with THE LADIES' WORLD.

"BRONCHO BILLY,"
he character
reated by
Mr. Anderson,
nd internationally
mous, is as typical
f frontier life as
"BUFFALO BILL"
r "KIT" CARSON.

Essanay
"FIRST to STANDARDIZE PHOTOPLAYS"
1333 ARGYLE ST. CHICAGO, ILL.

Gilbert M. Anderson's cinematographer and crew at work in Niles Canyon's creek bed. Geoffrey Bell Collection

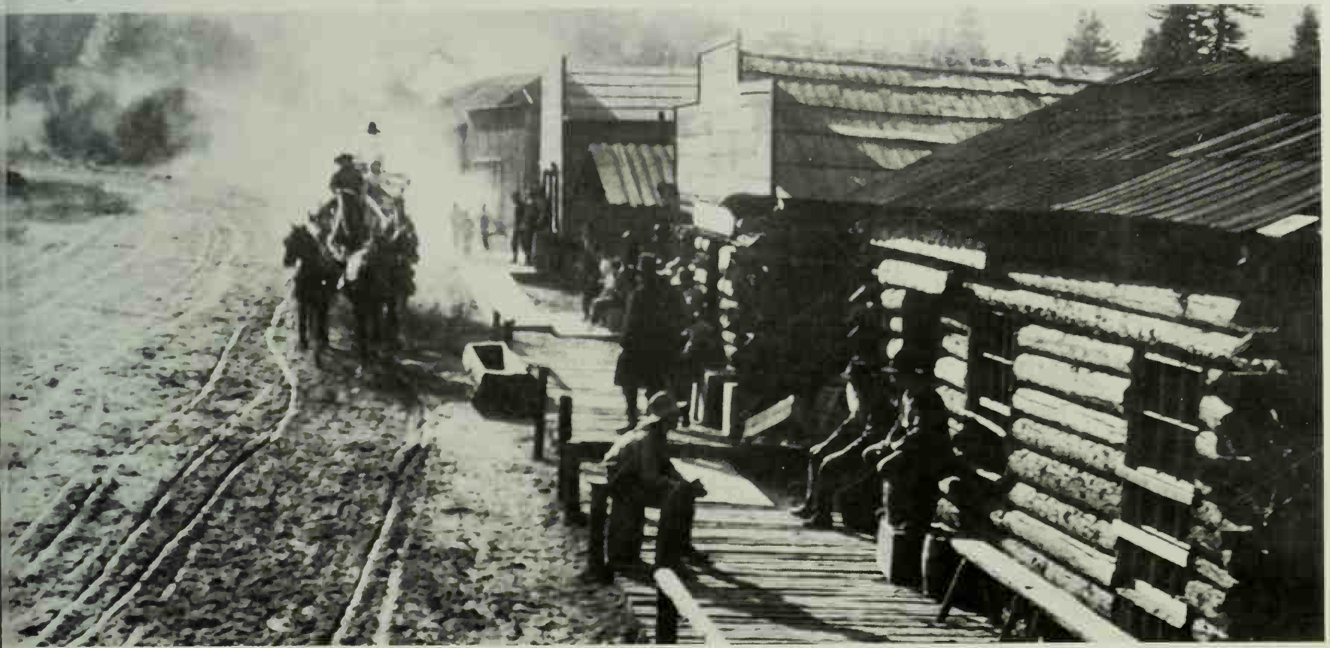
1915 advertisement for Anderson's Bronco Billy movies. Geoffrey Bell Collection



Lake Alpine area of Marin County, location for final scene of a California Motion Picture Corporation western (Mt. Tamalpais in background). **Geoffrey Bell Collection, courtesy Letty Etzler**

Niles Canyon location for Charlie Chaplin's immortal comedy, **The Tramp** *(1915).* **Museum of Modern Art, New York City**

Boulder Creek region of Santa Cruz County, location site for Mary Pickford's M'Liss *(1915).* **Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, Beverly Hills**



California Motion Picture Corporation built this rugged frontier Main Street set near Boulder Creek in Santa Cruz County. **Geoffrey Bell Collection, courtesy Cedric Clute**

countryside around Niles Canyon.

Among the most important early film companies established in Northern California was the California Motion Picture Corporation (CMPC). As the site for its studio the new company chose Marin County—just north of the Golden Gate—with its unrivaled beauty and variety of scenic backgrounds.

Entering production in 1913, the CMPC was notable among early film companies for its high-caliber cinematography. This camera work added greatly to the success of its feature-length westerns, which were among America's first. Inspired by Bret Harte's stories from the colorful history of California, the CMPC filmed them among the giant redwoods and verdant mountains of Northern California. The company also constructed a replica of an early Western town in the majestic big trees of the Santa Cruz coastal range south of San Francisco. Such unprecedented scenic grandeur impressed national film audiences and critics. The prestigious *New York Dramatic Mirror*'s review of *Salomy Jane* (1914) exclaimed:

> *This is creating an environment in the best sense, for it does on the screen what the author aims to accomplish in his descriptive passages: it gives the characters a true background. In the present in-*

stance it is a great, free, seemingly limitless background—towering mountains threaded with winding roads, rivers breaking their way through primal forests—the most inspiring of its kind that we recall.

Many types of films made by many different companies profited from the intriguing variety of settings lying between California's rocky coastline and the towering Sierra. Although most Hollywood exteriors were routinely shot against false-front sets and artificial greenery of the studio backlot, there were also astute producers who realized that movie dramas could gain strength, texture, and credibility if they were filmed in authentic surroundings. During the silent film era, even while Hollywood was coming to dominate world-wide filmmaking, many leading names came to the Bay Area to film "location scenes" for some of their most notable successes.

During the years of the early twentieth century when the new medium's potential was still being explored, movie makers discovered that the motion picture camera has a particular affinity for reality. While it unsparingly accentuated the flat, artificial qualities of the theater stage's painted backdrops, it endowed out-of-door scenes with

(Facing page) San Francisco's waterfront, location for Rudolph Valentino's **Moran of the Lady Letty** *(1922).* **Museum of Modern Art, New York City**

San Francisco's Victorian architecture (at Laguna and Hayes with alley-like Ivy Street) lent nineteenth-century reality to Erich von Stroheim's **Greed** *(1925), starring ZaSu Pitts.* **Geoffrey Bell Collection**

San Francisco's meeting of land and water at Fort Point, location for Alfred Hitchcock's **Vertigo** *(1958).* **Universal Studios**

depth and sweep. It was as though the boundaries of the film frame disappeared when movies were projected onto screens. Beyond the Gold Rush diggings and forest trails of *Salomy Jane* extended ever-wider, ever-higher mountains, beyond the teeming streets and alleys of *Greed* huddled endless urban slums, and beyond the weatherbeaten ranches and corrals of an Essanay western stretched California's cattle country. Cinema art brought to movie audiences a scenic environment that was as unlimited and inexhaustible as nature itself. The movies of Essanay, the CMPC, and other Bay Area studios, as well as Hollywood units on location in the Bay Area—even though only a small portion of the movies produced in the silent era—stand as eloquent testimony to the visual appeal and the scenic splendor of the Bay Area.

Today, movie making is again increasingly independent of the studio lot, and as a result the Bay Area is frequent host to movie makers and television crews. While much of the environment has been urbanized, imaginative producers and directors still find inspiration in the natural and man-made beauty of the area which continues to make its mark—visually and intellectually—on the ever-developing art of the cinema.☐

SEVENTY Y

FLYING—SOME PRAC

Seventy years ago—eleven short years after the Wright Brothers' first 59-second flight across the sand dunes at Kitty Hawk and fourteen years before Charles Lindbergh flew solo across the Atlantic—airmen Gustav Hamel and Charles C. Turner authored Flying—Some Practical Experiences. *Written for novice and seasoned pilots alike, the text, published by Longmans, Green, and Co. in 1914, offered pithy advice and reasoned speculations about the new scientific adventure of flying.*

Hamel and Turner's book of tested hints appears to have become standard reading in Naval aviation training classes in the United States. The excerpts which follow, accompanied by photographs of the Navy's fledgling air arm, offer a rare glimpse into the exciting early days of flying.

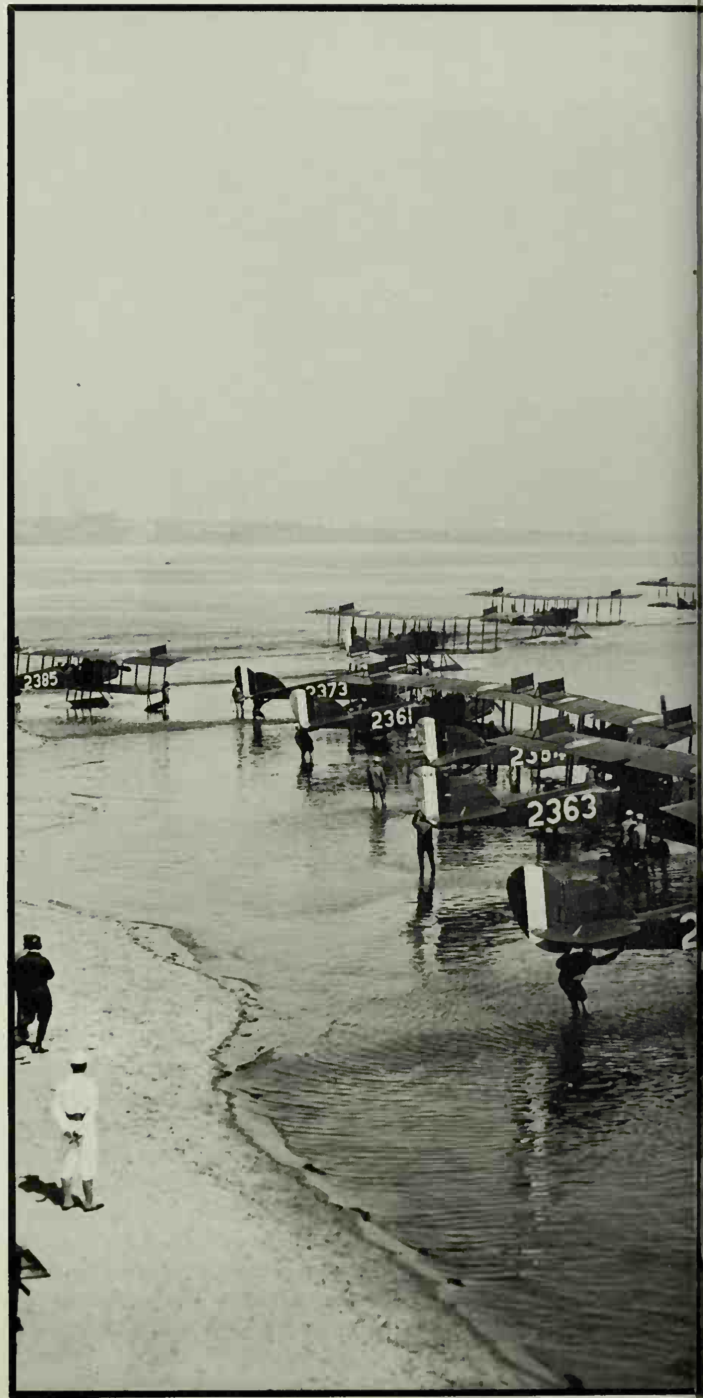
Frank Simpson, Jr., was the nation's fifty-third official Naval Aviator and the first Californian to earn his Navy wings. The designation qualified him to fly sea planes, land planes, blimps, and balloons, suggesting the navy may have been covering its bets about the future of aeronautics.

In 1916, six years after the first international aviation meet held in the United States at Los Angeles' Dominguez Field, Simpson commanded an encampment of the Aeronautical Section of the Naval Militia at North Island on San Diego Bay. The unit consisted of twenty-five men and one already aged pusher biplane. Donated by Santa Ana aviation pioneer Glenn Martin, who founded what is now the Maryland-based aerospace firm of Martin-Marietta, the plane boasted a seventy-five horsepower, eight-cylinder Curtis O engine with a maximum speed of sixty miles per hour. The plane's instability, Simpson noted, usually made it necessary to complete flying exercises before 9 a.m. when the air became too "gusty and bumpy" for that type of plane.

Simpson's enthusiastic report on the unit's experience at North Island, published by the Navy on the eve of World War I, urged that the island was

> an ideal spot for an aviation training station. Winds are light, temperatures vary but little, and the proximity to the ocean creates regularity of wind flow. The surrounding country is not broken by high elevations, and the whole of North Island offers good landing places, and the soil is sandy, thus free from sticking mud after a rain.

Shortly after Simpson filed his report, North Island became California's first Naval air station, and it remains one of the Navy's major air bases.—Editor



EARS AGO

TICAL EXPERIENCES

When the art of cross-country flying meant having a cornfield or cabbage patch in view for a landing place.

It is most important to avoid flying when hungry. One learns these things by experience. In a flight from Brighton to Hendon a pilot [co-author Gustav Hamel] started without breakfast early in the morning, and he had got within sight of Brooklands. When flying at the height of 3,000 feet he was seized with hunger faintness, and only just managed to get to earth safely before his strength left him, after which he lay beside his machine for some minutes absolutely exhausted.

* * *

. . . no aviator ought to venture on a cross-country voyage unless he is confident that, in given circumstances, he can come down in a spiral or a corkscrew, and that should he be completely turned over by a squall of wind he can right the machine again.

* * *

A pilot ought to be able to take a wing down and put it back again, and he ought to be able to replace the propeller. Yet probably there are quite a number of aviators capable of putting a propeller on the wrong way.

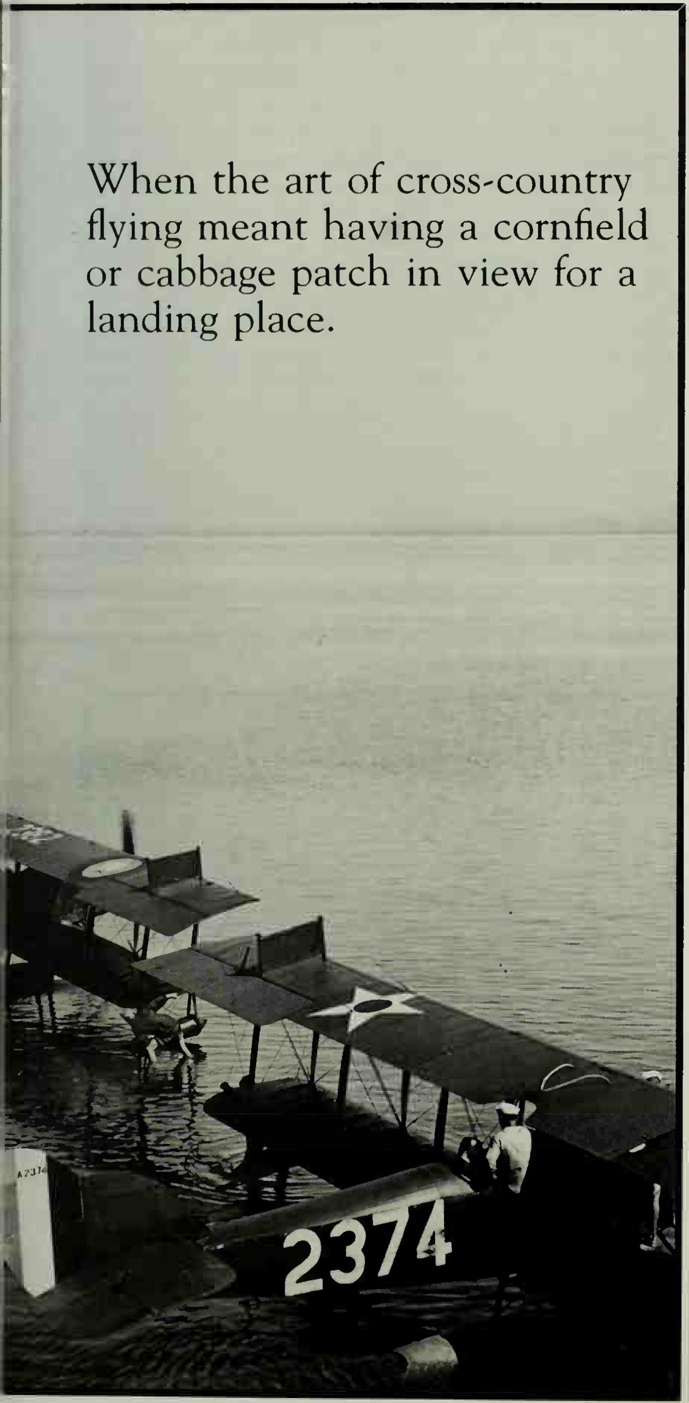
* * *

It is most advisable for a pilot to be fastened in his machine, otherwise when tilted at a big angle he may be thrown out of his seat.

* * *

It is not difficult to land in growing corn, or even among cabbages, or clover, but very dangerous in light soil of the kind in which usually beetroot is cultivated. In this soil the wheels plunge deeply and there is risk of the machine turning completely over. Ordinary ploughed land is comparatively easy to land in and get off from.

* * *



Seamen anchor the tails of a waiting fleet of sea planes lining the beach at San Diego Bay in 1919 while three planes taxi for take-off.

In no circumstances should an aviator throw himself out of the machine in a bad landing. In nearly every case . . . he has a far better chance of escaping scot-free than if he throw himself out at the last moment, even though he has had the acrobat's training and knows how to fall after the manner of the knockabout artist at the circus, who laughs at tumbles which would break the bones of the average man.

* * *

Conversation is difficult while the engine is running. . . . Conversation can be carried on easily for brief periods by the simple process of cutting the engine off for a second or two, and, while the machine is descending, saying quickly what has to be said, then switching on again and levelling out. Another obvious way is to write notes. The occupant of the front seat can write a question or a comment on a slip of paper and hold it up so that the man behind can read it, or the latter can write a note and pass it forward.

* * *

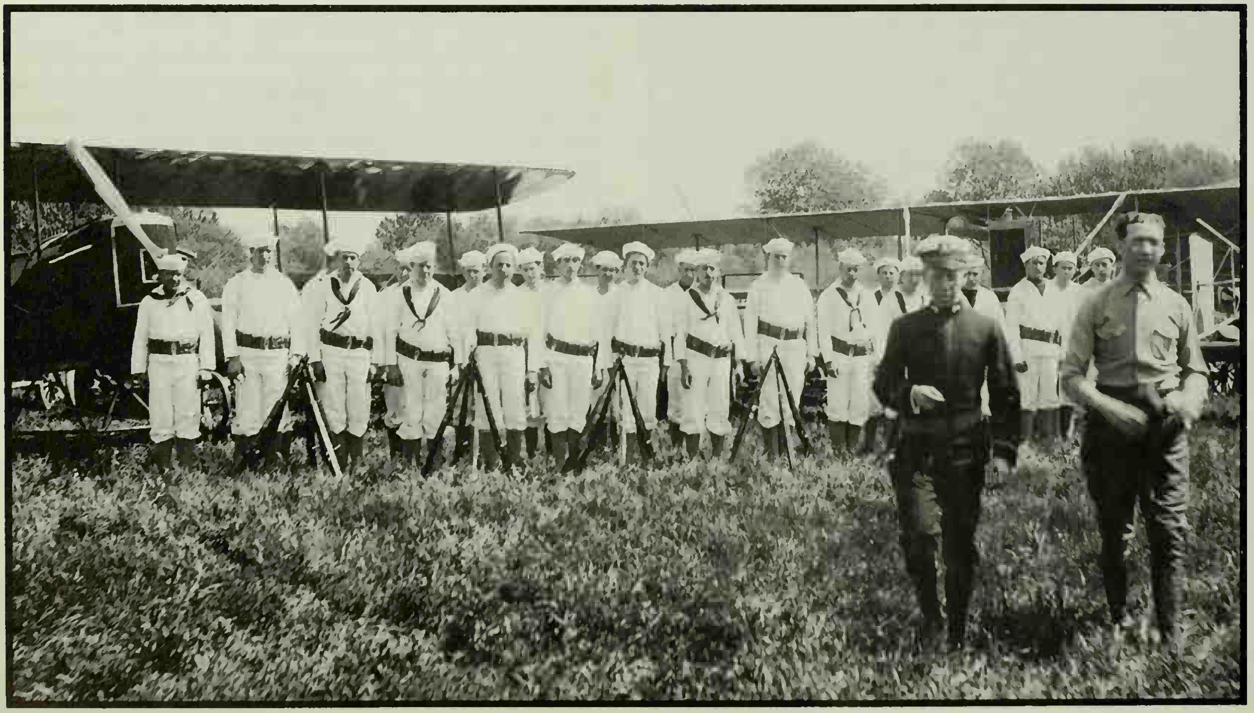
The whole art of cross-country flying can be said to be summed up, after the question of finding the way is settled, in ever having in view a possible landing place, for until machines with dual engines come into vogue, and unpremeditated landings never occur, the aviator will always be face to face with the possibility of having to return at a moment's notice to mother earth.

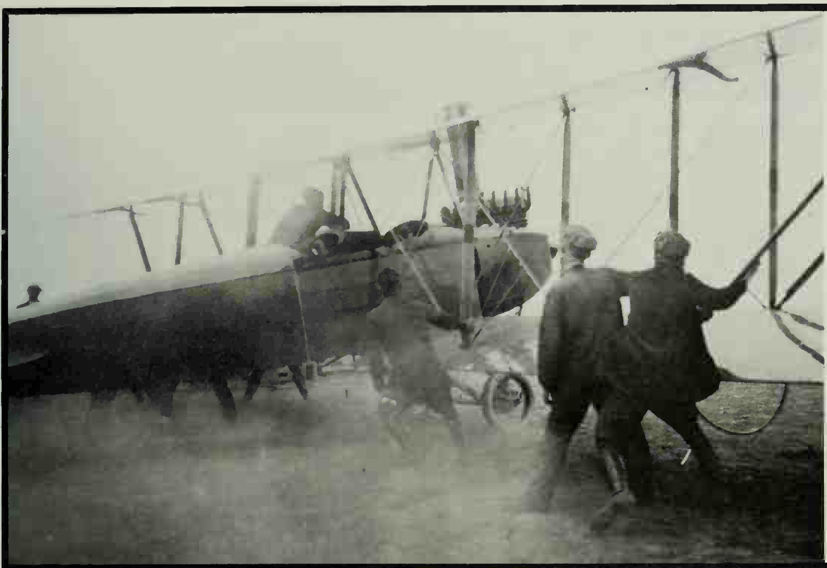
* * *

At the end of a year the fabric . . . should be taken off the wings and renewed. This is an advisable precaution, although it may not always be strictly necessary. The fabric is sometimes knocked about a good deal through the processes of taking down and re-erecting the wings; and in many cases, the unwelcome attentions of the crowd, and of people who scribble names on the wings, are deteriorating influences.

* * *

In 1916, Glenn Martin (far right) donated a $7500 biplane (right background) to the Naval Militia unit commanded by Ensign Frank Simpson, Jr. (at Martin's right).





On all modern machines, the speed is so great as to render the wearing of goggles necessary.

Moments before an exciting take-off c. 1917.

Huge passenger-carrying machines are now being made with comfortable seating for four or five people, and it is only necessary to introduce a system of dual power-plant, rendering the chance of unintended landings extremely remote, for journeys on these machines to become common.

* * *

The aviator [Mr. G. Rodgers] got across [the United States], with whole bones, only to be killed by a seagull a few months later. Whilst he was flying [in 1911] at Long Beach, California, a gull got wedged between the tail and rudder of his machine, rendering the rudder immovable. The aviator came down, head on, into two feet of water.

* * *

One little difficulty that is constantly encountered is that of getting the machine started up when you have not your mechanic at hand. . . . Where there are intelligent bystanders, however, it is always an easy matter to ask their aid. . . . It is most necessary, having obtained willing helpers, to explain very carefully the operation of waiting for the word to give the propeller a turn, of turning it with a good swing and immediately jumping clear. It is further necessary to explain that the turning of the propeller, if effectual, results in the engine going at a tremendous speed and making a great noise and wind that are quite likely to alarm those who are not accustomed to them. It is necessary also to tell the bystanders that the machine will almost immediately plunge forward and that to stand in its way is to court danger. All these instructions apply also to any willing helpers who may be found to hang on to the tail of the machine. . . .

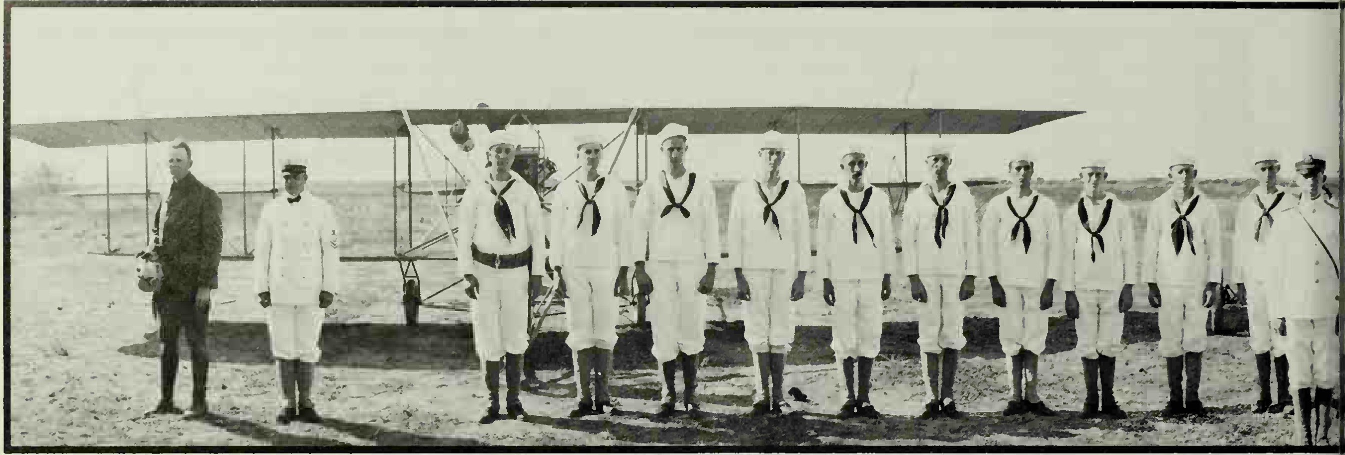
* * *

When an aeroplane flying upwind is observed to be making no more progress than a man walking, and it is known that the speed of the machine is not less than fifty-five or sixty miles per hour, it is perfectly clear that at the height at which that machine is flying the wind is a gale of at least fifty miles per hour.

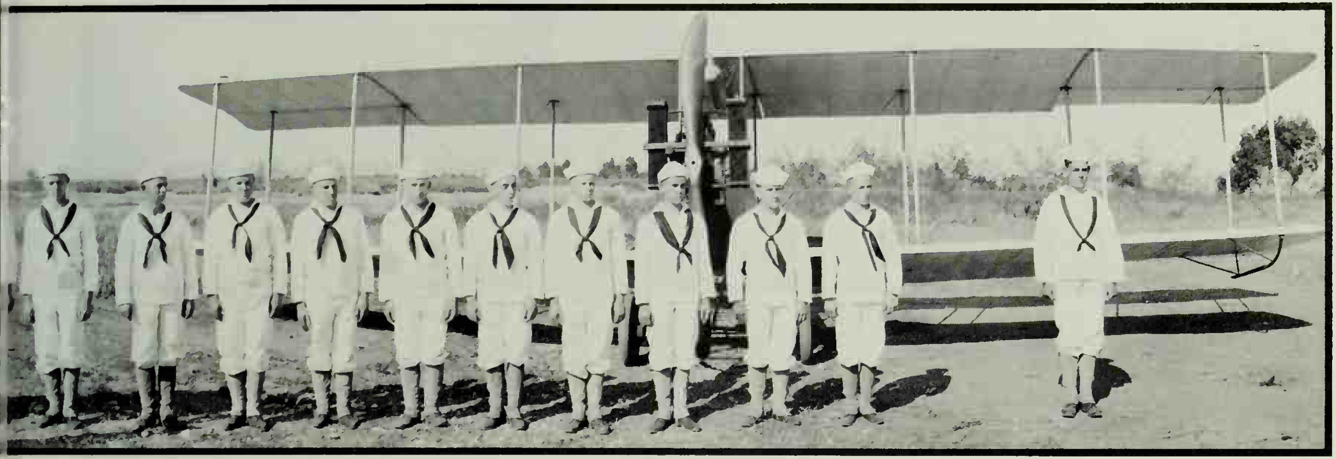
* * *

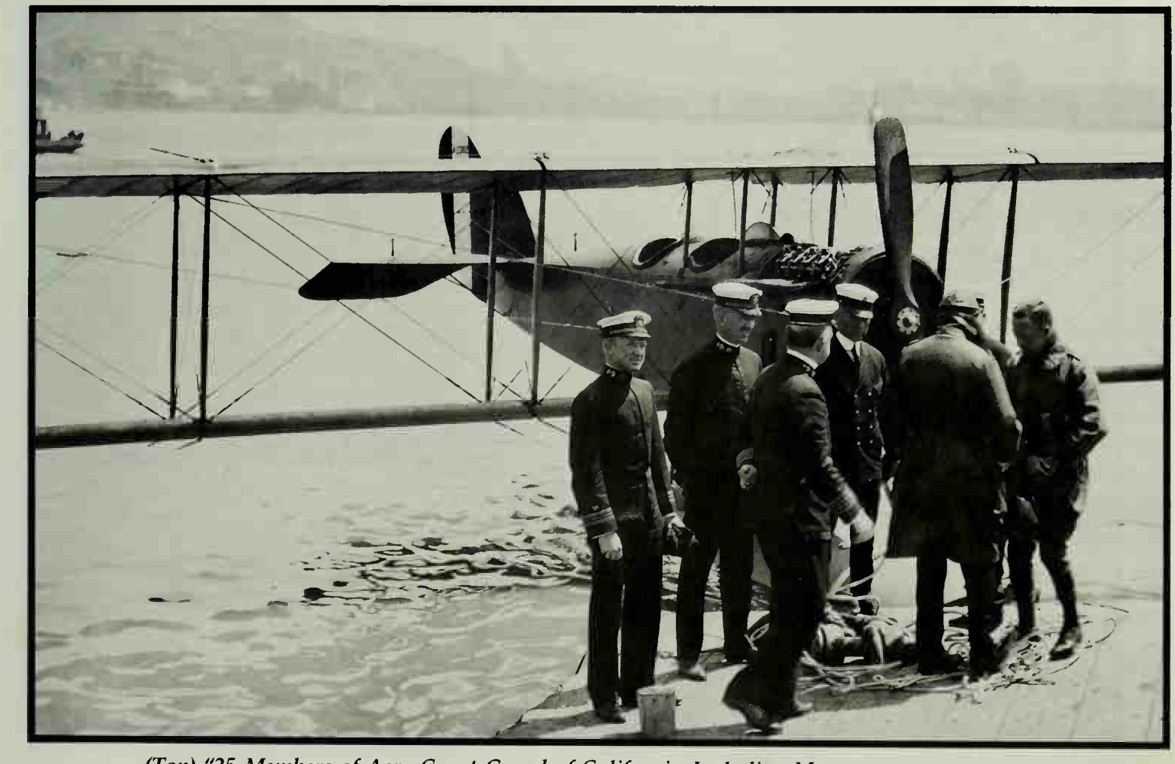
"Houses look like dice thrown on a billiard table, the largest cities seem like Lilliputian towns, the bas-relief melts away, roads, rivers, and railways appear to wind their way in a child's model landscape toy. Only the

continued on page 170



When flying at the height of 3,000 feet, he was seized with hunger faintness, and only just managed to get to earth safely before his strength left him.

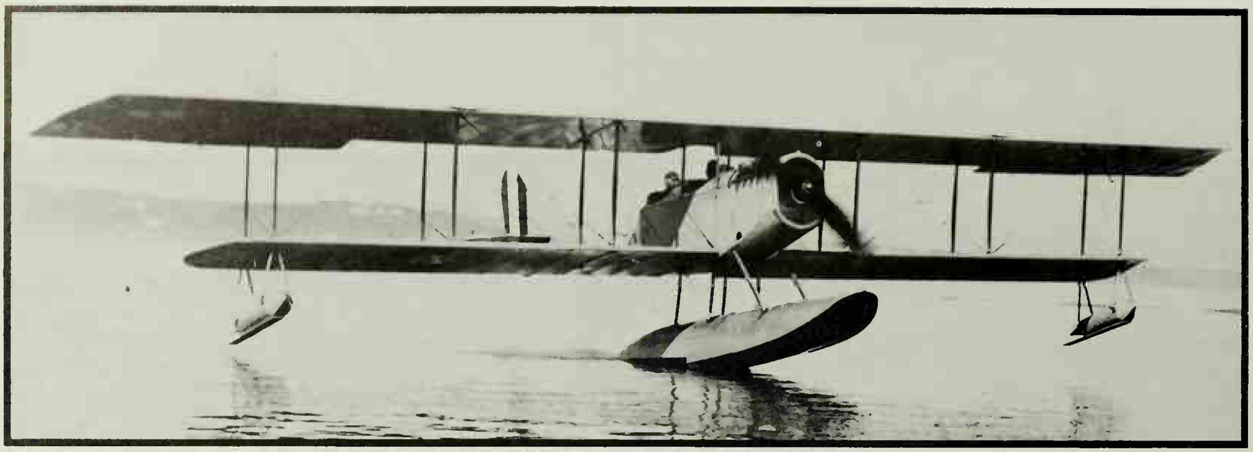




(Top) "25 Members of Aero Coast Guard of California Including Many Highly Skilled Mechanics"—Naval Air Militia's personnel and planes c. 1915.

(Left) Simpson flying a heavy "H" boat with three passengers in 1918 at North Island.

In April 1920, Simpson (in flight suit) flew the first aerial survey of "every nook and corner of San Francisco Bay" to determine the feasibility of establishing a naval airbase. Plane design was advancing rapidly.



sea and lofty mountains are spared in this wholesale diminution, and they always impose on the airman respectful admiration mixed with a very lively sentiment of fear." (quoting Lt. Conneau of the French Navy, 1911)

◆

Chief among the blessings that prophets foretold would inevitably follow in the train of flight was universal peace. Some based their opinions on the fact that war would be made so appalling as to be impossible; others saw the world shrivelled to a hand's breadth and frontiers annihilated by the immense speed of aerial craft.

◆

In these days of machines with more or less completely closed-in fuselages and in which the pilot is protected by a wind screen, the need no longer exists for Arctic clothing, even in the winter. The head, however, is exposed, and since the position is somewhat cramped and there is little opportunity of free movement, warm clothing is very necessary.

◆

On all modern machines, the speed is so great as to render the wearing of goggles necessary. Glass goggles are much to be preferred to celluloid or any other more or less transparent substitute. They are easier to wipe clean, and the vision is much clearer. It is, however, necessary to carry a spare pair in case of one getting broken through carelessness.

◆

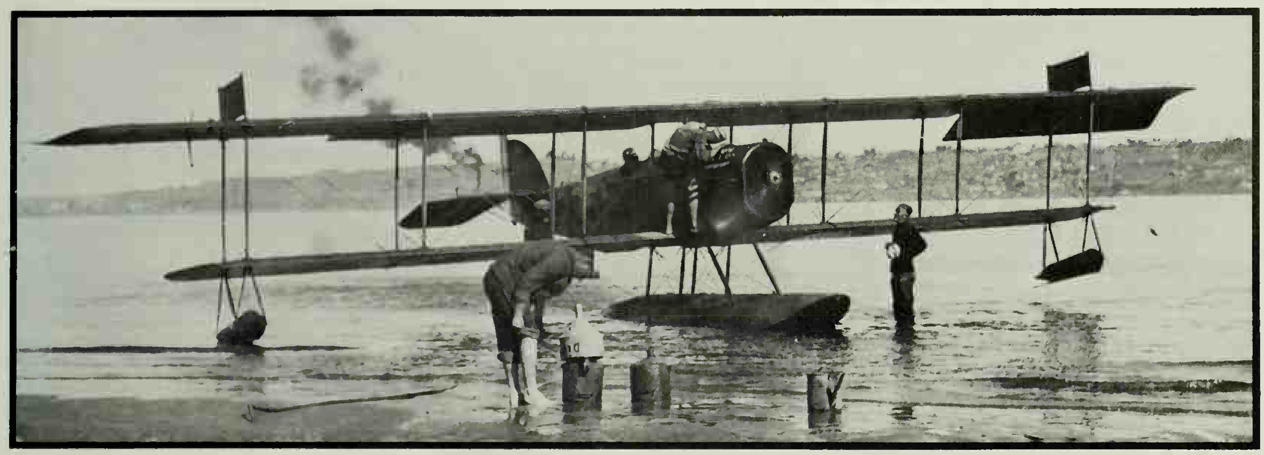
. . . for a long period it was maintained by many people that the only field in which aerial navigation would develop was that of war and preparation for war. They argued that the submarine was a parallel case, but in that they overlooked the very important fact that a submarine vessel is an extremely costly craft that could, if it offered any attraction at all, only appeal to millionaires. Submarine navigation is not the delightful thing pictured by Jules Verne in his famous story, but is a chilly, uncomfortable, wearying business without any compensation in the way of glorious and extensive views of life in the ocean depths. It is scarcely conceivable that there will ever be a demand for the private submarine.

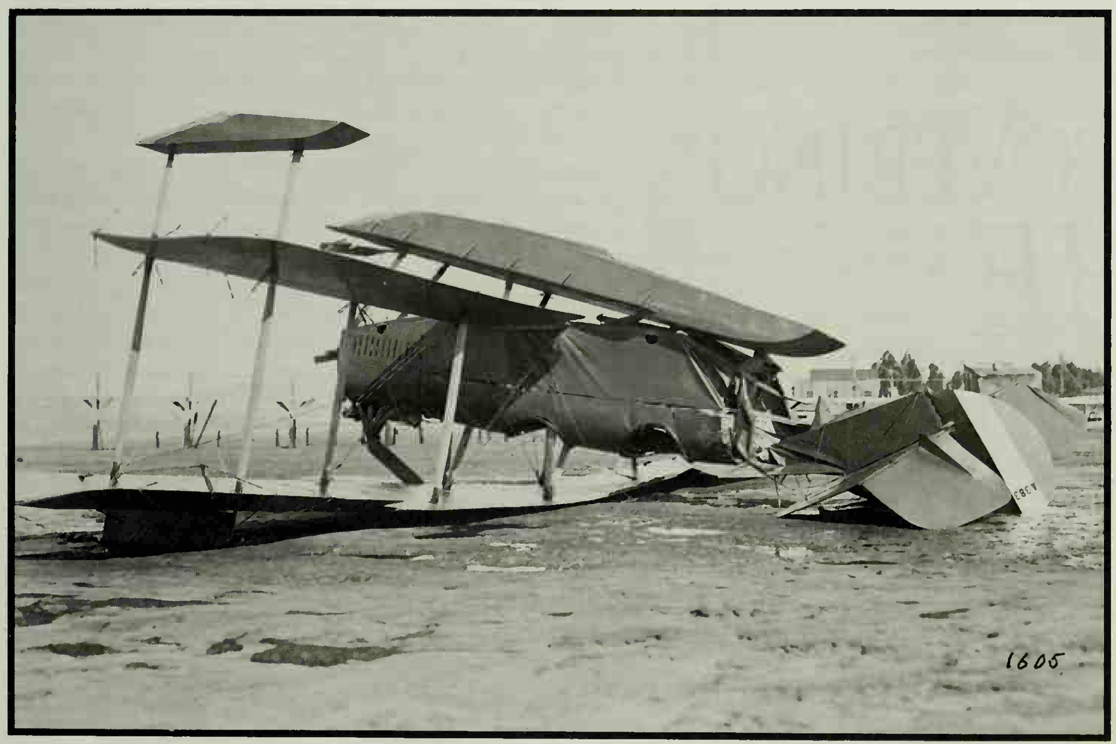
◆

There can be no doubt whatever that in the course of a very few years there will arise a class of private flyers who will fly purely for pleasure, and these will develop the use of flying machines for regular travelling. . . . It will be a delight to the City man to step into his flying machine close to his own house and do a fifty or sixty mile spin to an aerodrome or aviation station somewhere within four miles of the Bank. There he will step into his motor-car. It is not necessary to attempt any more distant forecast, but what has been said will notably, ere long, be fulfilled.

◆

Aerial navigation is now in much the same position as marine navigation was three thousand years ago. The moods and movements of the atmosphere are as little known from practical experience as were the moods and movements of the ocean known to the first navigators. The craft with which men travel in the air will bear about the same relation to air-craft of fifty years hence [1964] as the primitive man's oracle or canoe bears to the ocean liner of to-day. □





(Facing page) A water take-off in 1918 at North Island.

A navy plane rests in shoal waters, with Simpson in cockpit and navy man assisting.

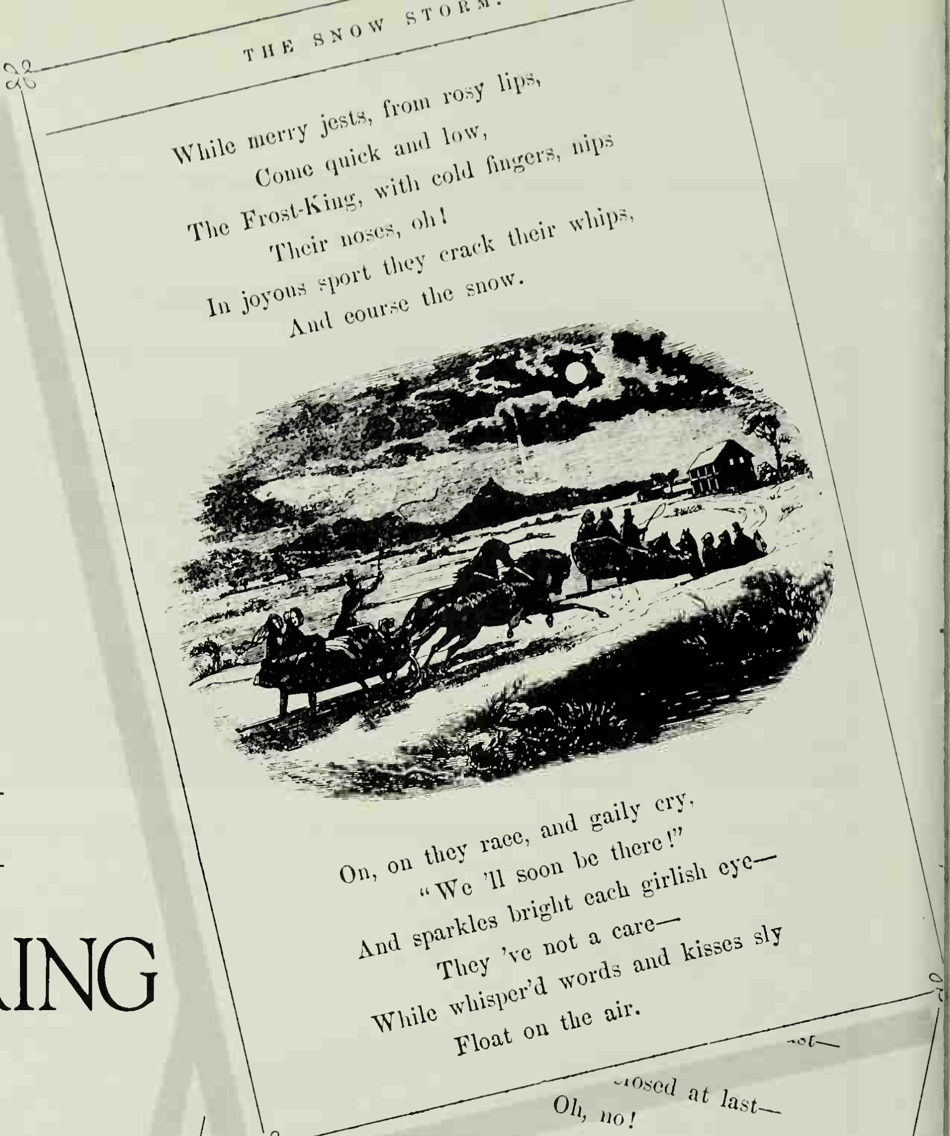
A hydroplane wreck—a not uncommon occurrence in 1918.

The photographs are from Frank Simpson III.

by James A. Silverman

UNCOVERING *THE SNOW STORM*

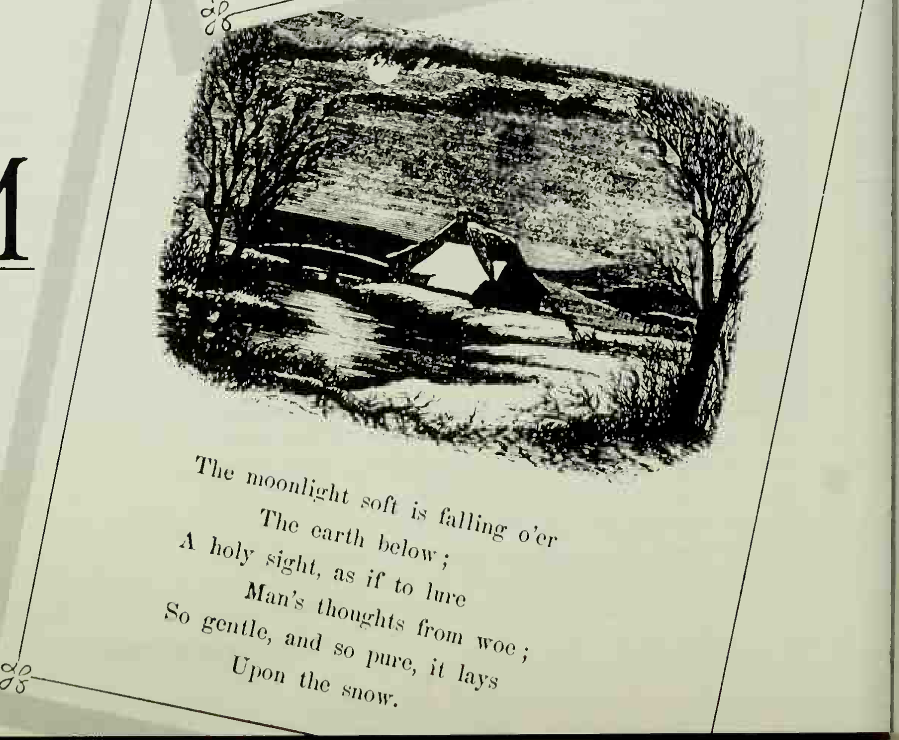
Rescuing California's first children's poem from obscurity.



THE SNOW STORM.

While merry jests, from rosy lips,
Come quick and low,
The Frost-King, with cold fingers, nips
Their noses, oh!
In joyous sport they crack their whips,
And course the snow.

On, on they race, and gaily cry,
"We 'll soon be there!"
And sparkles bright each girlish eye—
They 've not a care—
While whisper'd words and kisses sly
Float on the air.



ost—
losed at last—
Oh, no!

The moonlight soft is falling o'er
The earth below;
A holy sight, as if to lure
Man's thoughts from woe;
So gentle, and so pure, it lays
Upon the snow.

In Robert Greenwood's *California Imprints, 1833–1862,* the title *The Snow Storm* stands out among the books published in San Francisco in 1857. Factual business directories, almanacs, settlers' guides, governmental documents, school and library catalogs, orphanage reports, narratives of captivity by Indians, and miscellaneous belles-lettres all appear. But *The Snow Storm* is a literary children's book. Who was its author Esther M. Bourne? How did the popular western artist Charles Christian Nahl become the book's illustrator? Why was the book published in San Francisco in 1857? What might this volume tell about life in San Francisco soon after the Gold Rush?

The Snow Storm differs substantially from the children's books published in California before 1857. According to Greenwood, there were at least six schoolbooks issued under Mexican sovereignty. *Tablas Para Los Niños Que Empiezan a Contar* [Tables for Children Who are Learning to Count] (Monterey: Zamorano, 1836) was printed on the first press on the northern Pacific coast, a Ramage press shipped from Boston. Because the type was English, printer Agustin Zamorano improvised the Spanish letter "Ñ" by laying a "," on its side above the English "N."[1] *Tablas Para Los Niños* and *Catecismo de Ortologia* [Spelling Catechism] were studied by the pupils of Jose Mariano Romero, a schoolmaster who had joined Zamorano and the Hijar and Padres Colony which traveled from Mexico to Monterey in 1834.[2] Romero, author of the second book, also has been credited with the first. That schoolbooks appeared from Mexican-Californian presses would seem to indicate a regional demand was not being satisfied by importation. But why original schoolbooks were created in California in this early era remains a question.

Charles Nahl drew all but one of **The Snow Storm's** *illustrations. His half brother Arthur probably drafted the moonlight cabin scene (below left).* **CHS, Bancroft Library**

The first school in Sacramento opened its canvas door in 1849 with seating for only some of the three dozen children living in town. Four years later, approximately 800 students were enrolled in Sacramento's new public schools. This represented a market to printer James Bithell who worked at 98 J Street. He reprinted at least several of Charles Walton Sanders' *School Reader* series, notable for their inclusion of singing lessons. Sanders' books were first published by Newman & Ivison in New York, then marketed nationally to hundreds of regional printers who issued editions with their own title pages. *The Second Book* (Sacramento: Bithell, c. 1852) and *The Fourth Book* (Sacramento: Bithell, 1854) appear to be the only children's books published in California during the early 1850s.[3]

Uncle John's story, "The Good For Nothing," inaugurated the Juvenile Department of *Hutching's California Magazine* in December 1856 and at the same time initiated home-grown imaginative children's literature in California. Although Uncle John lived in San Francisco, he placed his story in Podsfeldt, where the boy Hans Schmeterling learned to mend his ways. Uncle John was actually Dr. Granville Temple Sproat, "warm personal friends" with his publisher, James Hutchings. While living at the Sproat boardinghouse, he married Sproat's daughter.[4]

Sproat wrote children's stories for Hutchings from 1856 through 1860. He is best remembered for *Uncle John's Stories for Good California Children* (San Francisco: Hutchings & Rosenfield, c. 1860), a collection of tales set in Europe, New England, California, Java, China, and on the Pacific ocean.[5]

> *The Snow Storm*
>
> *The beauteous snow has come at last.*
> *Athwart the sky*
> *In feath'ry flakes, 'tis falling fast!*
> *They fly! They fly!*
> *In quaint, fantastic shapes 'tis cast,*
> *On all that's nigh.*

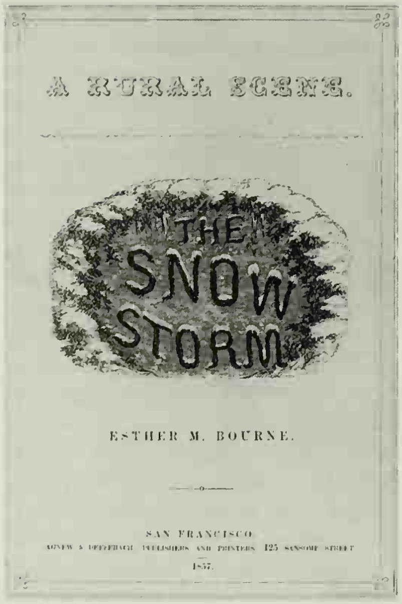
It cannot be said with certainty who read Esther Bourne's ten-page sentimental poem *The Snow Storm.* The book's preface date, November 1857, and its holiday spirit, however, suggest that the volume was meant to be placed beneath the Christmas tree. San Francisco children would have enjoyed its fine engraved illustrations showing children playing in the snow. To Ms. Bourne's father the poem recalled "memories of the youthful days of the men and women of California . . . ."[6]

The life of *The Snow Storm*'s author, Esther M. Bourne, is obscure. Born c. 1843, probably in New York, she had an uncle, William Oland Bourne, who wrote poetry and children's fiction published in New York. In 1852 or 1853 Esther and her father, George Melksham Bourne, sailed for San Francisco. She was apparently "a young Miss in her teens" when she penned *The Snow Storm,* her only known work.[7]

George Bourne, who played a key role in his daughter's book, started one of New York's first newspaper agencies in 1826. He remained an active journalist, and he described his feverish passage across Panama with his daughter in articles which he sent East. By 1857, when *The Snow Storm* was published in San Francisco, Bourne was known as Dr. Bourne – vegetarian, public lecturer, and proprietor of the Electro-Chemical and Vapor Baths on Market Street. He frequently walked from San Francisco to San Jose, lecturing along the way on how to achieve good health. Once he hiked from San Francisco to Portland, Oregon, eating only Graham-brand flour foods to promote the product made famous by its cracker.[8]

In his introductory "Apology" to *The Snow Storm,* Dr. Bourne states three reasons for publishing the book. First, it was "a tribute, however trivial, to Her [his daughter's] Genius." Second, the poem evoked fond memories. Third, the book's introduction offered the opportunity to inveigh against San Francisco's public schools and champion the cause of phrenology or the study of character through examination of the skull. Bourne also protested corporal punishment by teachers, calling them "miserable dyspeptics who bring their irritability and suffering into the school room . . . ." Esther, he attested, had been educated at home until she was in her teens; then she attended public school, until she was "mistreated." As a result Dr. Bourne probably viewed her poem as his own triumph over the public school system.

The author is compiling a comprehensive bibiliography of children's books published in California since 1836. He presents slide programs about his work to children and adults.



A RURAL SCENE.

THE SNOW STORM

ESTHER M. BOURNE.

SAN FRANCISCO

1857.

Title page to 1857 edition of **The Snow Storm,** *the earliest children's book written and published in California.* **California Historical Society, San Francisco**

It was probably Dr. Bourne who commissioned San Franciscan Charles Nahl to illustrate *The Snow Storm.* At the time, Nahl was the preeminent artist in the West, popular for his dramatic oil paintings and his realistic illustrations published in *Hutching's Magazine,* as well as for his comical illustrations to Alonzo Delano's humorous books. Nahl also painted the portraits of several local children around this time. *The Snow Storm,* however, is his only children's book.[9]

The illustrations for *The Snow Storm* apparently were based on sketches drawn in the early 1850s by Charles and H. W. Arthur Nahl, half-brothers and artists, during one of several gold-country expeditions. Charles later wrote and illustrated an essay titled "Winter in the Sierras of California," published in *Hutching's Magazine,* in which he echoes the sentimentality of Esther Bourne's poem:

> *It is rather agreeable than otherwise to look out upon the gently falling flakes of snow, that are seeking a hiding place among men's whiskers–kissing without ceremony the ruddy cheeks and ruddier lips of the buoyant hearted lasses . . . .*[10]

A comparison of Nahl's illustrations for *The Snow Storm* and those in his *Hutching's Magazine* article shows strong similarities between the cloaked figures trudging through the snow and the log cabins. *The Snow Storm* reflects a happier side to the life revealed in the *Hutchings'* account, which details the stresses and dangers of winter in a gold mining camp. *The Snow Storm*'s winter scenes are highly romantic in the style of the day; children throw snowballs and build a snowman, and a full moon reassuringly lights the way for a sleigh ride.

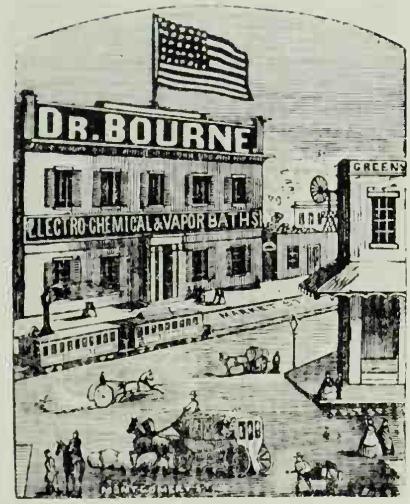
In his "Apology," Dr. Bourne acknowledges wood engraver Durban Van Vleck, "a genuine young American," for his "clever cuttings" of Nahl's illustrations. During his thirty years residence in California, Van Vleck produced engravings for many western artists. His most famous was the bear logotype that he and William Keith drew and cut for the *Overland Monthly* at the request of Bret Harte. Van Vleck engraved Nahl's pencil drawings for *The Snow Storm* not long after arriving from Virginia. Graceful and delicate, they might have helped establish the industrious Van Vleck's local reputation.[11]

Agnew & Deffebach, printers and

publishers of *The Snow Storm*, were also newly in business in San Francisco in 1857. Judging by the design and the workmanship displayed in the book, however, they were experienced craftsmen. Its typographic layout is simple yet decorative. Inking is uniform, and strikes of the woodblocks are even and clear. It seems likely that rather than sell the books, Bourne subsidized a small private edition as an expression of pride in his daughter's accomplishment. Only six copies can be located today.[12]

In 1877, twenty years after publication of the original edition of *The Snow Storm*, Carrie F. Young published a second edition. Mrs. Young, an author and founding member of the Women's Cooperative Printing Union, also edited the *Woman's Pacific Coast Journal*, a paper "in the interest of Women and Children." Several issues carried a section called "Children's Cozy Corner" edited by Cousin Curly. Young could have become aware of *The Snow Storm* through her interest in children's literature.

Edward Bosqui, whom Mrs. Young hired to print the second edition, was reputed to be an innovative San Francisco bookmaker, but in this case, Bosqui's design was neither original nor attractive. The book's title was changed to *The Snow Storm and Other Poems*, and the author and the publisher's names are omitted from the title page. Esther Bourne is identified only by her initials in the preface, and Bosqui's imprint appears on the front cover.



Journalist and health promoter George Bourne probably financed the publication of his daughter Esther's poem. **California Historical Society, San Francisco**

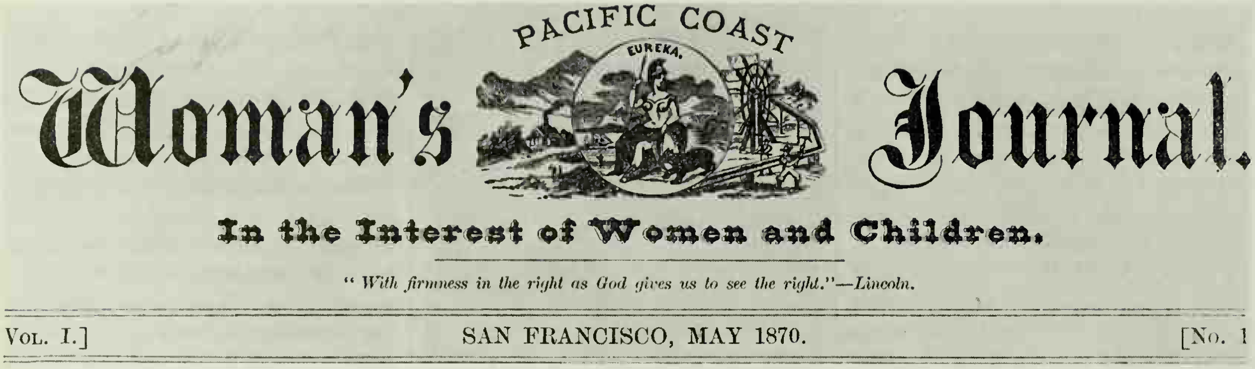
Bosqui's edition is much taller than the first edition. Although he patterned his page design after Agnew & Deffebach's, positioning the text and the illustrations within a frame of single lines, he replaced the simple, looped corner ornaments with elaborate, angular ones which he also used on legal documents. A larger typeface and more space between the lines of type gives the second edition an inappropriately formal air. Today the first edition looks newer than the second because the first was printed on rag paper rather than acidic wood pulp paper which yellows with age. Illustrations in both editions were struck from the same set of engraved woodblocks. With a price of fifty cents printed on its front cover, Mrs. Young's edition was released to the book trade. Only one copy of the 1877 edition is known today.[13]

Two major textual changes occur between the first and second editions. Mrs. Young added three short poems by Alice Cary and replaced George Bourne's "Apology" with her own preface. Although Cary's poetry seems trite today, it was admired by contemporaries like Edgar Allan Poe, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Horace Greeley.[14] Young had enjoyed Cary's writing for years, publishing "Telling Fortunes" in the *Women's Pacific Coast Journal* in July 1870.

Mrs. Young's preface raises an odd note regarding *The Snow Storm*'s illustrations. "The illustrations," she says, "with the exception of the last one, are from the pencil of the artist Nahl." The picture in question is similar to one which appears earlier in the short book. Both depict a log cabin, symmetrically balanced and set in a river valley, like all the other drawings. The sky, however, is treated anomalously, as are the mountain ridges and tree branches. The drawing is narrower and more rectangular than the otherwise oval engravings.

Most likely the drawing is the work of the other "artist Nahl"– H. W. Arthur Nahl, whose artistic identity was overshadowed by his half-brother. The men maintained a very close professional relationship and occasionally worked together on the same painting. Because 1857 was a busy year for the Nahls, Arthur may have completed Charles' nearly finished series of drawings for *The Snow Storm*.

The Snow Storm marks a turning point in children's literature published in California. As an illustrated poem, it represents a complete departure from the primitively printed Spanish schoolbooks that preceded it. The textual and graphic development of Bourne's book indicates a society advanced enough to afford the luxury of producing a poem written by a young woman, illustrated by a leading artist, and printed with a refined esthetic.



PACIFIC COAST

Woman's Journal.

In the Interest of Women and Children.

" With firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."—Lincoln.

VOL. I.] SAN FRANCISCO, MAY 1870. [NO. 1

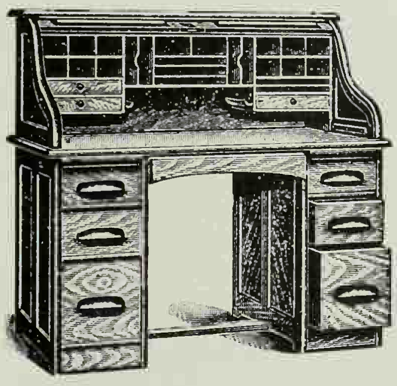
The publisher of the second edition of **The Snow Storm,** *Carrie F. Young, also edited* **Pacific Coast Woman's Journal. Bancroft Library**

The Spanish period had passed. A truly Californian identity, however, had not yet emerged in children's literature. Like Uncle John's story "The Good for Nothing," *The Snow Storm* was locally written, yet it described another place. It is a Yankee poem given the semblance of a California identity by Nahl's drawings. San Francisco children would have to wait for *Uncle John's Stories for Good California Children*, published c. 1860, for a book addressed especially to them. ☐

The author thanks Bruce Johnson of the California Historical Society and Lawrence Dinnean of The Bancroft Library for their observations on *The Snow Storm*.

Notes

1. Robert Greenwood, *California Imprints, 1833–1862: A Bibliography* (Los Gatos: Talisman Press, 1961), p. 44; George L. Harding, *Don Agustin V. Zamorano, Statesman, Soldier, Craftsman, and California's First Printer* (Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1936), p. 1987; Carey S. Bliss, *The First School Book Printed in California* (Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1976), p. 6.
2. Harding, *Zamorano*, p. 207.
3. William Warren Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846–1936* (Berkeley: Sather Gate Bookshop, 1937), p. 32; Library of Congress, *National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints* (London & Chicago: Mansell, 1968), 519: 22-34; Charles Walton Sanders, *The School Reader. The Second Book* (New York: Newman & Ivison; Sacramento City: James Bithell, [ca. 1852]), copy at Bancroft Library Sanders, *The School Reader. The Fourth Book* (New York: Newman & Ivison; Sacramento City: James Bithell, 1854), copy at California State Library.
4. Shirley Sargeant, *Pioneers in Petticoats, Yosemite's Early Women 1856–1900* (Los Angeles: Trans-Anglo Books, 1966), p. 34. The copy of *Uncle John's Stories* at Bancroft Library has a tipped-in letter written by J. M. Hutchings that establishes this relationship.
5. [Granville Temple Sproat], *Uncle John's Stories for Good California Children* (San Francisco: Hutchings & Rosenfield, [ca. 1860]), copies at Bancroft, Huntington, California State Library.
6. Esther M. Bourne, *The Snow Storm* (San Francisco: Agnew & Deffebach, 1857), p. iii, copies at Bancroft, Huntington, California State Library, California Historical Society, Library of Congress, and American Antiquarian Society.
7. Library of Congress, *National Union Catalog* 69: 640-641; Esther M. Bourne, *The Snow Storm and Other Poems* (San Francisco: Edward Bosqui, 1877), p. i, copy at Bancroft.
8. George Melksham Bourne, "Scrapbook, 1849–18??", California Historical Society; George Melksham Bourne, *Cholera Conquered* (New York: Fowlers & Wells, 1849); Bourne, *The Home Doctor: a Guide to Health* (San Francisco: San Francisco News Co., 1878); "Graham Flour Ahead," n.p., nd. (Bourne scrapbook, leaf 13).
9. Moreland Stevens, *Charles Christian Nahl: Artist of the Gold Rush* (Sacramento: E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1976).
10. [Charles Christian Nahl], "Winter in the Sierras of California," *Hutchings' California Magazine* (1859), 3: 289. The illustrations for this essay also were issued as a lettersheet published by Hutchings & Rosenfield, ca. 1860.
11. Durban Van Vleck. "Scrapbook, 1850-18??"; Brother Cornelius, *Keith, an Old Master of California* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), p. 17.
12. See footnote 6 for location of copies.
13. See footnote 7 for location of copy.
14. H. M. Cottinger. *The Educating Mother* (San Jose: Published for the author, 1887), p. 28.



AN EDITORS' CONFESSION: THE GOLDEN STATE SERIES

by Norris Hundley, jr., and John A. Schutz

Being asked by the editors of *California History* to comment on our experiences as co-editors of the *Golden State Series* is a unique opportunity, but there is nothing unique about a series of books describing significant aspects of California's past. The state's size and diversity invite multivolume histories. A century ago Hubert Howe Bancroft set the pace by publishing thirty-nine fat volumes which chronologically detailed the California story by looking at much of the continent. The rancho, gold rush, and vigilante eras each merited supplementary volumes. Nearly half a century later, the Powell Publishing Company over a three-year period issued a nine-volume set in which the topical approach and multiauthorship were more apparent than in Bancroft's. Finally, in celebration of the state's centennial, the University of California Press in the late 1940s and '50s published the *Chronicles of California* which, though shorter than Powell's and less detailed than Bancroft's, was marked by greater scholarly polish than either.

Like our predecessors, we believe that California's rich and complex past merits careful scrutiny from an intellectual perspective. With an emphasis on succinct and clear style, and utilizing a topical rather than chronological approach, we have attempted through the publication of short single-volume histories—the Golden State Series published by Boyd and Fraser of San Francisco—to summarize and integrate the whole of the state's experience, providing in the process, we hope, insights into issues of interest and significance. The topical approach of the series represents a different, not necessarily better, way to disseminate historical information, but one which seemed to be especially appropriate for a state noted for its cosmopolitan population, its unrivalled successes in both industry and agriculture, and its exotic and deceptive image as a lotus-land of easy living and unlimited opportunity.

Unlike Bancroft, Powell, and the University of California Press, we opted for individual volumes of modest size—approximately 100 to 130 pages in length—to enable us to bring out a rather long list of titles. Our desire is to introduce readers to a variety of topics and to whet their appetites for more. "Suggestive rather than exhaustive, interpretive rather than definitive"—these are words in the foreword of each volume. Rather than saddle our authors with the responsibility of exhausting their respective topics, therefore, we asked them instead to digest available research and to identify the more definitive sources in which readers could find additional information. Naturally, such an assignment is a remarkably difficult one: What to leave out? What to include? How to discuss a complex issue clearly without oversimplification?

In view of the fact that it is far easier to be wordy than succinct and to describe rather than analyze, our authors have had to exercise a tremendous degree of discretion and scholarly judgment. We believe, however, that they have done a remarkable job, and, in nearly all instances, they have produced the only overview of their respective topics. Not surprisingly, there have been and will be areas of disagreement among reviewers and authors, but the reception accorded the series has been encouraging. We ask principally that reviewers take into consideration the space limitations encountered by each author.

The actual selection of authors was, and continues to be, a more difficult task than it might seem. Our goal was obviously to select the best author for a particular subject, but this often entailed having to decide among several people. In other instances, we have had no alternative but to abandon a subject for the time being because the "best" person was unavailable. Yet in spite of such problems, unavoidable as they were, our list of authors is a very impressive one, and a source of special pride to us.

As yet, eleven titles in the Golden State Series have appeared, ten more are in preparation, and others are being considered. Some of the volumes reflect the interests deeply rooted in the California tradition—David Selvin's *A Place in the Sun: A History of California Labor* (1981), Lawrence J. Jelinek's *Harvest Empire: A History of California Agriculture* (1979; 2nd ed., 1982), Spencer C. Olin, Jr.'s *California Politics, 1846–1920: The Changing Corporate State* (1981), Jackson K. Putnam's *Modern California Politics* (1980; 2nd ed., 1983), and Irving Hendrick's *California Education: A Brief History* (1980). Others are more contemporary: Rudolph Lapp's *Afro-Americans in California* (1979), George H. Phillips's *The Enduring Struggle: Indians in California's Past* (1981), Raymond F. Dasmann's *California's Changing Environment* (1981), and Robert Hine's *California Utopianism: Contemplations of Eden* (1981). Andrew Rolle's *Los Angeles from Pueblo to City of the Future* (1981) and Robert Cherny and William Issel's *San Francisco: Presidio, Port and Pacific Metropolis* (1981) focus on the respective histories of our state's most famous cities, while volumes in the future will be devoted to a variety of topics ranging from Chicanos, Asian Americans, vigilantism, literature, and women to land, transportation, water, architecture, and Spain in California.

There are gaps in the series, naturally, some of which we already know about and others we need to discover. Business history is a serious omission, but most historians today are working in other vineyards. The motion picture and television industries certainly deserve treatment, and we are on the lookout for a suitable author. The fine arts in general warrant at least one volume if not several. These and other topics will likely find their way onto our list if we can identify the appropriate authors.

At this juncture, the enormous energy required to produce the series has been well worth the effort. If the venture were now to end, we are confident we have served a useful purpose by providing definitive information on nearly a dozen important topics in a manageable form. As it is, however, the Golden State Series is only in midstream, and our hope is that the expanding list of titles in the next two years will encourage Californians and non-Californians alike to study the history of our fascinating state. ☐

Dr. Hundley is Professor of History at the University of California, Los Angeles, and Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*.

Dr. Schutz is Professor of History at the University of Southern California.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

Westering Man: The Life of Joseph Walker.

By Bill Gilbert (New York: Atheneum, 1983. viii, 339 pp. $17.95 hard.)

Reviewed by Harlan Hague, *instructor in United States and western history at San Joaquin Delta College and author of* Road to California: The Search for a Southern Overland Route, 1540–1848 *(The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1978); "Guides for the Pathfinders: The Indian Contribution to the Exploration of the American West,"* The Pacific Historian *(Fall 1982); "Eden Ravished: The Land, Pioneer Attitudes, and Conservation,"* American West *(Spring 1983).*

"A Bourgeois and His Squaw," frontiersman Joseph Reddeford Walker as painted by Alfred Jacob Miller.

Joseph Walker is one of the giants of western history. His story spans the West, from Tennessee to the Rockies and the Great Basin, from the Yosemite to Santa Fé, from 1798 to 1876. Partly because of the enormity of the task and because of a paucity of sources, there has never been a biography of Walker. Now, Bil Gilbert has ferreted out scarce materials and has written a readable, informative history.

The volume is more than simply a biography of Walker, who was as famous in his own day as he is in this. The author skillfully places Walker in time and place with a life-and-times approach. This makes for a more interesting narrative and, here at least, is essential since, more often than not, all we know of Walker's movements is what someone else said about him. Unfortunately, Walker was no diarist or correspondent, and the author was forced to include generous assumptions. For lack of adequate documentation, there are a number of Walker-would-have-acted-thusly judgments.

Walker was the quintessential mountain man. His family had lived on the frontier for generations. When they reached the Mississippi Valley, he left the settlements and spent most of his adult life in the plains and mountains. He traveled the Santa Fe Trail, and he trapped in the Rockies. He discovered a route across the Sierra Nevada and enjoyed the delights of California. He explored the Great Basin and guided emigrants and government expeditions. He had an Indian family. Unlike the typical mountain man, he lived a long, prosperous life and died peacefully.

Walker has always been well-known in western history, but he has nevertheless remained a shadow. The historical Walker comes alive on Gilbert's pages, yet the author at times appears to accept stereotypes. He admires "Frontier Heroes" who emerged as leaders because of "their common sense, bravery, coolness, ability to shoot straight, ride hard, fight ferociously, bear up and function under formidable hardship." Near the end of his life, Walker retires in California "in the farthest corner of the most Golden West." Gilbert's contention that the principal business of Frontier Heroes, here mountain men, was "making the continent their own" is not convincing. That the result of their peregrinations was empire should not obscure their main purpose, which was trapping and trading.

Inevitably, western history enthusiasts will disagree with some judgments. Gilbert's implication that Kit

Carson in 1844 was anything but a premier mountaineer is a bit baffling. By that date, he had been practicing that craft widely and successfully for eighteen years. The author is wrong when he says that Philip St. George Cooke was "never much more" than the army's authority in drill field maneuvers. Cooke commanded the Mormon Battalion whose epic march during the Mexican War established Cooke's Wagon Road which became the principal southern route to California.

A single map, showing Walker's travels, and illustrations would have been useful. Noticeably, though not unexpectedly, absent is Alfred Jacob Miller's portrait of Walker. The romantic, almost effeminate image in the painting hardly measures up to the masculine Walker of Gilbert's narrative.

The book is, on balance, a fine example of what often is called narrative history, a vague term which usually means that the story is fresh and interesting and will be read and enjoyed. Gilbert has done a creditable job with the materials available. The volume is handsome and attractively bound. It will be a useful addition to the literature of exploration and the mountain men.

Historians and the American West.

Edited by Michael P. Malone. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983. xi, 449 pp. $24.95 hard.)

Reviewed by Ted C. Hinckley, *Professor of History, San Jose State University, author of* The Americanization of Alaska, 1867–1897 *(Palo Alto, 1972) and* Alaskan John G. Brady . . . *(Columbus, Ohio, 1982), as well as numerous articles on Alaska and the United States West.*

Heretofore, western history professors often counseled overworked graduate students to refer to the relevant chapters in the historiographic summary edited in 1973 by William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson, *The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies). Given the enormous, forever swelling mass of historical literature on the West, it should come as no surprise that just ten years later an entire volume is entirely devoted to *Historians and the American West*. Any serious researcher investigating California history and the West in its entirely will want to consult this bibliographic compendium so ably edited by Michael P. Malone; there is nothing comparable.

The historiographic essays written by the seventeen contributors cover the Spanish Borderlands, the fur trade and exploration, transportation, mining, manifest destiny, urbanization, farming, violence, conservation, minority groups, women, Mormons, culture, Indians before and after the Civil War, and western government before and after 1900. Professor Malone's introductory essay is coupled with an equally valuable forward written by historian Rodman W. Paul. Paul observes that "we in western history have as yet ventured only cautiously and partially into the ferment of new thinking that has characterized the profession nationally" (viii). Malone emphasizes that the aim of his authors has been "to describe what has been done, how well it has been done, and what needs to be done" (2). As good historians, the essayists have generally ignored this latter goal.

Invariably there are disappointments. Although there are random citations referring to Alaska, it has been excluded. The index is far from complete and could have been immensely more useful had it embraced the lengthy citations listed at the conclusion of each essay. Western architecture, art, and music have been largely overlooked. And for some reason germane bibliographic volumes published by Greenwood Press don't appear.

None will be surprised that the shadow of Frederick Jackson Turner crosses a number of these essays. And while historians such as William H. Goetzmann, Earl Pomeroy, and Ray Allen Billington can hardly expect to ever enjoy his exalted status, the repeated references to their writings confirm their doyen rank. Nor are the classical names unmentioned. Hubert H. Bancroft remains alive and well, and Herbert Eugene Bolton receives considerable recognition. Indeed, contributor Donald Cutter may have rescued a dust-covered pearl in reminding readers that Bolton's Yale Chronicles of America volume, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* remains "a sweeping synthesis." While *Historians and the American West* contains a number of such reminders that not everything trustworthy has been written in the last quarter-century, the works examined inevitably concentrate there. Likewise reflecting that America's West has for some time ceased to be a national possession are not only the references to foreign authors but—amen—non-English primary sources.

Vision or Villainy: Origins of the Owens Valley-Los Angeles Water Controversy.

By Abraham Hoffman. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1981. Number Three: Environmental History Series, Martin V. Melosi, General Editor. 308 pp. $18.50.)

Water and Power: The Conflict over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley.

By William L. Kahrl. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982. 583 pp. $24.95.)

Reviewed by Kendrick A. Clements, *Professor of History, University of South Carolina, Columbia.*

Dynamited Los Angeles Aqueduct siphons near Independence and No-Name Canyon in June 1927, a chapter in California's on-going water war. **California Historical Society, San Francisco**

Early in the twentieth century San Francisco and Los Angeles, located on the semi-arid coastal plain of California, began searches for supplemental water supplies to provide for the needs of growing populations. San Francisco went to the Sierra Nevada and thereby ignited a national controversy over the meaning of conservation and over the purposes and future of national parks. Los Angeles turned to the Owens Valley and opened an even longer running dispute with issues more complex than those at Hetch Hetchy. Yet until recently, there has been little serious study of the Los Angeles-Owens Valley controversy. These books fill that gap.

One way of approaching the Los Angeles-Owens Valley dispute is to see it as an episode in the development of Los Angeles and Southern California. Another is to regard it as a part of the evolution of American conservation and resource management policy. In general, earlier works such as Remi Nadeau's *The Water Seekers* (1950), Vincent Ostrom's *Water and Politics* (1953), W. A. Chalfant's *The Story of Inyo* (1922), or Andrae Nordskog's various publications took a strictly local view, whether it was seen from the perspective of the valley or of the city. Hoffman and Kahrl see their task in much broader terms. They attempt to strip away the encrustations of myth, lie, and misunderstanding that have concealed the facts of the case and put the issues into a broader national and historical context.

The Owens Valley, 250 miles northeast of Los Angeles, is an improbable focus of a major historical controversy. Beautiful but barren, it seems to offer little but scenery. In the early 1900s, however, the Owens River, fed by Sierra snows, lured developers of two different sorts. One group, the newly organized federal Reclamation Service, contemplated using the river for irrigation of thousands of acres of the valley's fertile soil. At the same time, Los Angeles' leaders saw the river as a solution to the city's water problems and a fountain of continued growth.

As it happened, Los Angeles was able to secure control of the water rights in the Owens Valley before the valley residents realized that their hopes for development were about to be thwarted. Beginning in

1908 the city constructed a gigantic aqueduct to bring the river's water south, and in November 1913 Owens River water cascaded out at the head of the San Fernando Valley.

The aqueduct delivered more water than the city could possibly use in 1913, but the city's thirst was still not satisfied. In 1912 Los Angeles began buying up lands in the Mono Basin north of Owens Valley to add Mono water to the flow of the Owens Rivers and to the groundwater being pumped from the Owens Valley. In 1940 the "Mono Extension" of the aqueduct was completed, but most of the extra water could not be transported because the existing aqueduct was too small. Mulholland's solution to the problem was to build a second aqueduct, a "second barrel," but the arrival of Colorado River water from Boulder Dam in the 1930s and the slowing of population growth postponed that project until the 1960s. The opening of the second aqueduct in the 1970s, however, began draining Mono Lake, and yet another controversy has developed.

The people and issues in all of these events have lent themselves more to polemic and fiction than to reasoned analysis. While neither Hoffman nor Kahrl loses sight of the fact that he is telling, as Kahrl says, "a good story," both strive for reasoned, impartial assessment of the facts. Making excellent use of long-neglected records in Washington, California, and elsewhere, they despatch old fallacies and portray each side's position with sympathy and understanding.

Of course where the actors are so colorful and the facts so complicated, there are differences of interpretation. Kahrl believes that Los Angeles' Engineer Mulholland sold the aqueduct project to the city through a "fabricated drought" (p. 87); Hoffman dismisses that charge. Kahrl regards the Reclamation Service's engineer, Lippincott, as the chief villain of his story, a man who "consistently broke faith with his public trust and then lied to cover his actions" (p. 439). Hoffman admits that Lippincott was insensitive to conflict of interest in holding a Reclamation Service position while advising the city about the acquisition of Owens Valley water but concludes that the engineer acted from firm principle, not self interest. On most matters of fact and even of interpretation, the two are in close agreement.

If a reader wants only one book on this subject, which should it be? There are strengths to both. Hoffman is manageably brief; his illustrations are, for my taste, better chosen than Kahrl's as well as more numerous; he includes an illuminating chapter on Andrae Nordskog that shows vividly how a totally erroneous mythology came to dominate what purported to be the history of the controversy. Still, I prefer Kahrl. His writing has more style and is easier to follow; his larger number of pages are well used to give a much fuller history of events and developments since the 1920s; and he puts the issue into a broad interpretive framework that reveals how ambiguous the issues really were and how much the decisions made tell us about national priorities and values.

It is this broad interpretive framework that is the outstanding characteristic of Kahrl's book. His final chapter in particular shows clearly that the controversy raised questions that had no obvious answers and issues that were ambiguous at best. For example, was Los Angeles' interest in growth and development superior to the ambitions of valley residents for growth? Is the greatest good for the greatest number the proper basis for such decision? As Kahrl notes, the choice was not between wilderness and urban sprawl, but between competing concepts of growth, and "the valley was consequently sacrificed to the ethic of growth the Reclamation Service had been created to serve" (p. 440). It is particularly ironic from the perspective of the 1980s that Los Angeles, now the target of environmentalists for the draining of Mono Lake, should have aroused no criticism for draining Owens Lake and indeed earned praise in earlier decades by some of the same people for having protected the natural state of Owens Valley. Indeed, as Kahrl points out, Los Angeles not only preserved the Owens Valley environment, it actually turned time back to a point before Reclamation development began. But that of course was not deliberate, for the "policies of the Department of Water and Power are neither benevolent nor malicious; they are merely practical" (p. 443). In the pursuit of reform, progress, and efficiency, Los Angeles' leaders created a bureaucratic machine so deadly efficient, so singleminded, that it has won the undying support of Angelenos at the cost of losing the essential political quality of accommodating competing interests. It is a fine book that makes us confront the frightening implications of our own successes. In so doing Kahrl well serves the future along with the past.

California Farmland: A History of Large Agricultural Landholdings.

By Ellen Liebman (Totowa, N.J., Rowman and Allanheld, 1983) xi, 226 pp. $29.50.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, *Instructor, Vista College, Berkeley, and author of the forthcoming* Golden Gate Metropolis: Perspectives on Bay Area Regional History *(Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley).*

Agribusiness in California, the nation's leading agricultural state, is dominated by large landholdings. Although there are tens of thousands of small and middle-sized farms in the state, a relatively small number of big operations is responsible for the bulk of agricultural production and income. This has been true for more than a century, a fact that helps make Ellen Liebman's history of large landholdings a particularly important scholarly contribution.

Liebman assures the reader that she did not intend to write a "polemic against (or for) large landholdings," but the picture that emerges from the book is hardly favorable to California agribusiness. The author gives ample evidence of the ability of big growers and speculators to manipulate public policies, evade laws, and oppress farm workers. The book, however, is written in a restrained, scholarly style, and the conclusions are well defended.

Liebman admits that her study is hampered by some lack of consistent statistical information. Figures developed by different agencies and researchers for different time periods often are not comparable. Even the definition of a "large landholding" is unsatisfactory. Liebman uses 2000 acres or more, but such a parcel devoted to grazing is a much smaller economic operation than a 2000-acre vineyard. The book also lacks a full discussion of the broad economic, social and environmental implications of its findings.

Large-scale cultivation, such as this onion seed farm in the Santa Clara Valley photographed before the turn of the century, has long characterized California's agriculture. **California Historical Society, San Francisco**

Nevertheless, *California Farmland*'s strengths far outweigh its weaknesses. The volume contains a clear and sophisticated discussion of the evolution of the state's agricultural tenure system. For example, Liebman correctly concludes that the origin of contemporary land patterns is not the Mexican *rancho*, but the massive distribution of public lands in the Central Valley after 1850. By the 1870s, Henry George was decrying the "evils of land monopolization," as the state's grain and livestock production already had become dominated by huge operations.

Liebman describes the subsequent shift to intensively cultivated crops, such as fruits and vegetables, and shows that this process initially resulted in the break up of some large holdings. After World

War I, however, the trend was reversed, and land consolidation again occurred, as mechanization, cooperative marketing and public irrigation projects made large-scale field and row crop farming possible.

The author also analyzes the ability of large growers to profit from increasing federal and state participation in the agricultural economy after 1930. She contends that agricultural tax provisions, as well as government price support, marketing and research policies have generally favored big operators. Agribusiness has also used its considerable political clout to maintain a supply of inexpensive, immigrant labor. Most important, large growers have derived massive benefits from tax-subsidized federal and state water projects, while successfully resisting the Reclamation Act's acreage and residency requirements. As if to reinforce Liebman's conclusions, Congress last year all but eliminated even those largely unenforced provisions of the Reclamation Act.

California Farmland is a useful and timely work which sheds much-needed, critical light on the foundations of the state's agricultural economy.

Edward F. Beale & The American West.

By Gerald Thompson. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983. 306 pp. $24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by George Phillips, *Associate Professor, University of Colorado, Boulder, author of* Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California *and* The Enduring Struggle: Indians in California History.

In 1912 Stephen Bonsal published the first biography of Edward F. Beale by stringing together a series of quotations from published reports. Thus a new and well researched biography of this fascinating and important individual has long been overdue, and Gerald Thompson, drawing upon Beale's voluminous private correspondence, numerous public documents, as well as newspaper accounts and legal records, has undertaken this task with great thoroughness.

Beale lived a full and exciting life, participating in the American military conquest of California, carrying the first samples of gold to the East Coast, organizing California's first reservation system, occupying the office of sheriff of San Francisco County during a turbulent time, exploring areas of the West as superintendent of a transcontinental wagon road project, serving as Surveyor General of California, and acquiring one of the largest ranches in the West.

The very richness of Beale's life presented Thompson with difficulties, however. Because he was intent on following Beale wherever he might lead him, Thompson discusses aspects of his private and public life that are often irrelevant to the stated purpose of the book. Fascinating are the chapters or sections on Beale's Washington social life, his friendship with Ulysses S. Grant, his year as minister to Austria–Hungary, but they have nothing to do with the region where he left his historical mark. The title of the book, therefore, is somewhat misleading.

Thompson, moreover, sometimes fails to devote the necessary space to those areas where Beale truly had an impact on history. He is just as concerned in describing Beale's heroics at the Battle of San Pasqual and his daring dash across Mexico with gold samples as he is in analyzing Beale's role in the establishment of the modern reservation system. Two chapters are devoted to the latter subject but only a concluding paragraph says anything about the national significance of Beale's most lasting and thereby most important achievement.

Another opportunity was lost when Thompson failed to probe deeply into the character of this paradoxical man, especially after he acquired his third federal appointment. From honest and humanitarian Superintendent of Indian Affairs to dishonest and opportunistic Surveyor General of California indicates either moral change or personality complexity that should have produced analysis. Thompson, however, dismisses Beale's illegal activities by stating that "nineteenth-century standards for public morality permitted a wide attitude when it came to profiting from a public job (p. 155)." If this were always the case, why was Beale fired by President Lincoln?

In spite of these shortcomings, Thompson has painted a fresh, fascinating, and colorful portrait of an individual whose historical image had faded with time. He has, therefore, performed an important service, and his biography will serve as the standard work on Beale for many years to come. Perhaps the book will encourage others to probe more deeply into various aspects of Beale's career and character, a development Thompson surely would welcome and support.

CALIFORNIA CHECK LIST

By Bruce L. Johnson, Library Director

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Baldwin, C. Beth. *Capturing the Change; The Impact of Indochinese Refugees in Orange County; Challenges and Opportunities.* Santa Ana: Immigrant and Refugee Planning Center, 1982. Order from: Immigrant and Refugee Planning Center; 1823 E. Seventeenth Street, Suite 103; Santa Ana, CA 92701.

Brady, Jerry. *You Bet Gold Fever: A True Documentation.* San Pedro: Golden Harbor Press, 1982. Order from: Golden Harbor Press; 2410 S. Meyler Street; San Pedro, CA 90731.

Briggs, Carl and Clyde Francis Trudell. *Quarterdeck & Saddlehorn: The Story of Edward F. Beale, 1822–1893.* Western Frontiersmen Series, Vol. 20. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1983. $29.50. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Co.; Post Office Box 230; Glendale, CA 91209.

Brown, Joseph E. *Monarchs of the Mist: The Story of Redwood National Park and the Coast Redwoods.* Point Reyes: Coastal Parks Association, 1982. Order from: Coastal Parks Association; Point Reyes Station, CA 94956.

Caltech, 1910–1950: An Urban Architecture for Southern California. Pasadena: Baxter Art Gallery, 1983. $18.50. Order from: Baxter Art Gallery; Caltech; Pasadena, CA 91125.

Carter, Candy. *"There Are so Many Things I Wish I'd Asked My Father": An Authentic Oral History of Truckee, California.* Truckee: Learning Opportunities, 1983. $6.95 (paper). Order from: Learning Opportunities; Post Office Box 2466; Truckee, CA 95734.

Cordova, Fred. *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans: A Pictorial Essay, 1763–circa 1963.* Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1983. $11.95. Order from: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co.; 2460 Kerper Boulevard; Post Office Box 539; Dubuque, IA 52001.

Cornelius, Wayne A., Leo R. Chavez, and Jorge G. Castro. *Mexican Immigrants and Southern California: A Summary of Current Knowledge.* La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 1982. $3.00 (paper). Order from: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies; Q-060; University of California, San Diego; La Jolla, CA 92093.

Fry, Patricia L. *The Ojai Valley: An Illustrated History.* Ojai: P. L. Fry, 1983. $15.85 ($1.50 shipping). Order from: P. L. Fry; 1093 Rancho Drive; Ojai, CA 93023.

Garate, Donald T. *Termo to Madeline: Northern California's Last Frontier.* Ravendale: D. T. Garate, 1983. $14.95. Order from: D. T. Garate; Box 7; Ravendale, CA 96123.

Gold, Herbert. *A Walk on the West Side: California on the Brink.* New York: Arbor House, 1981. $12.95. Order from: Arbor House Publishing Co.; 235 E. 45th Street; New York, NY 10017.

Hawks, Nelson C. *Explanation of the Point System of Printing Type with Specimens, in the Office of the Island City Press.* 1918; reprinted San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1983. $20.00; ($1.50 shipping). Order from: The Kemble Collections; CHS Library; 2099 Pacific Avenue; San Francisco, CA 94109.

Hine, Robert V. *California's Utopian Colonies.* California Library Reprint Series. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. $20.00 (cloth), $6.95 (paper). Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Holsinger, Rosemary (comp.). *Shasta Indian Tales.* Happy Camp: Naturegraph Publishers, Inc., 1983. $8.95 (cloth), $3.95 (paper). Order from: Naturegraph Publishers, Inc.; Post Office Box 1075; Happy Camp, CA 96039.

Hudson, Travis and Thomas C. Blackburn. *The Material Culture of the Chumach Interaction Sphere.* Volume 2: *Food Preparation and Shelter.* Second in a projected 5-volume series. A Ballena Press/Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History Cooperative Publication. Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1983. $85.00 (limited autographed edition), $39.95 (cloth), $24.95 (paper). Order from: Ballena Press; 1259 El Camino Real, Suite 118; Menlo Park, CA 94025.

Index to the Architect and Engineer, 1905–1928. Compiled by Gary A. Goss; edited by M. K. Swingle. San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1982. $10.00 ($1.50 shipping). Order from: CHS Library; 2099 Pacific Avenue; San Francisco, CA 94109.

Jarrett, Edith Moore. *Old Timer's Tales of Fillmore.* Venture: Ventura County Historical Society, 1983. $7.75 ($1.25 shipping and tax). Order from: Ventura County Historical Society; 100 East Main Street; Ventura, CA 93001.

Jewett, Masha Zakheim. *Coit Tower, San Francisco: Its History and Art.* Color photographs by Don Beatty. San Francisco: Volcano Press, 1983. Order from: Volcano Press; 330 Ellis Street; San Francisco, CA 94102.

Klebingat, Fred. *Memories of the Audiffred Building and the Old City Front.* San Francisco: Mills Ryland Co., in cooperation with the National Maritime Museum, 1983. $5.00 (paper). Order from: National Maritime Museum; Foot of Polk Street; San Francisco, CA 94109.

Levi, Steven C. *Committee of Vigilance: The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce Law and Order Committee, 1916–1919.* Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 1983. $15.95. Order from: McFarland & Company, Inc.; Box 611; Jefferson, NC 28640.

Long, Raphael. *Red Car Days: Memories of the Pacific Electric.* 1966; reprinted with revisions, Glendale: Interurban Press, 1983. $11.95. Order from: Interurban Press, Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.

McArdle, Phil (ed.). *Exactly Opposite the Golden Gate: Essays on Berkeley's History, 1845–1945.* Berkeley: The Berkeley Historical Society, 1983. Order from: The Berkeley Historical Society; Post Office Box 1190; Berkeley, CA 94701.

McMahan, Jacqueline Higuera. *California Rancho Cooking.* Lake Hughes: The Olive Press, 1983. $14.95. Order from: The Olive Press; Lake Hughes, CA 93532.

CHECK LIST

Masri, Allan. *The Golden Hills of California: A Descriptive Guide to the Mother Lode Counties of the Northern Mines. . . .* Volume 2. Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1983. $7.95 (paper). Order from: Western Tanager Press; 1111 Pacific Avenue; Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

Oda, James. *Heroic Struggles of Japanese Americans: Partisan Fighters from America's Concentration Camps.* North Hollywood: James Oda, 1983. $14.00 (cloth), $8.50 (paper). Order from: James Oda; 7054 Vanscoy Avenue; North Hollywood, CA 91605.

Osborne, Michael. *Granite, Water, and Light: The Story of the Waterfalls of Yosemite Valley.* Yosemite National Park: Yosemite Natural History Association, 1983. $5.95 (75¢ shipping). Order from: Yosemite Natural History Association; Box 545; Yosemite National Park, CA 95389.

Praetzellis, Mary, Betty Rivers, and Jeanette K. Schulz. *Ceramic Marks from Old Sacramento.* California Archaeological Reports, No. 22. Sacramento: Department of Parks & Recreation, 1983. Order from: Distribution Center, California Department of Parks and Recreation; post Office Box 2390; Sacramento, CA 94811.

Ruhge, Justin M. *The Historic Cannons of Goleta: In Search of a Pedigree.* (Santa Barbara: McNally and Loflen, 1983. $14.00 (paper). Order from: P.O. Box 2216; Goleta, CA 93118.

San Pedro: A Pictorial History. San Pedro: San Pedro Bay Historical Society, 1983. $22.95 ($2.50 shipping). Order from: San Pedro Bay Historical Society; Post Office Box 1568; San Pedro, CA 90733.

Signor, John R. *Southern Pacific—Santa Fe—Tehachapi [Railroads].* San Marino: Golden West Books, 1983. $44.95. Order from: Golden West Books; Post Office Box 80250; San Marino, CA 91108.

Smith, Eleanor and Michael DiLeo. *Two Californias: The Myths and the Realities of a State Divided against Itself.* Covelo: Island Press, 1983. $10.00. Order from: Island Press; Star Route 1, Box 38-P; Covelo, CA 95428.

Statewide and Regional Land-Use Planning in California, 1950–1980. 3 Vols. Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, 1983. $150.00. For purchase and deposit in non-circulating libraries only. Contact: Regional Oral History Office; The Bancroft Library, Room 486; University of California; Berkeley, CA 94720.

ERRATA

Winter 1984 *California History*
Champions in the Sun

A line of type was inadvertently omitted from Richard G. Lillard's article, "International City." On page 53, the full sentence should read: "The city stood out as a statistical phenomenon in growth of population, business and wealth."

The caption on page 62 identifying UCLA's Royce Hall should read, "one of four original buildings designed in Italian Romanesque style."

On page 62, the caption identifying the first four-engine aircraft should read, "Western Air Express, later Western Airlines."

On page 65, the Sowden House was designed by Lloyd Wright, not Frank Lloyd Wright (some sources to the contrary). The photograph on the same page shows the Huntington Library, not the Huntington Residence and Gallery.

Walter Houk was not responsible for the captioning of his article, "The Look of L.A."

EXPERIENCE TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY VICTORIAN ELEGANCE

Visit the Whittier Mansion, San Francisco's *only pre-Earthquake mansion* regularly open to the public. Located in the Pacific Heights district, the four-story sandstone building is the Northern California headquarters of the California Historical Society.

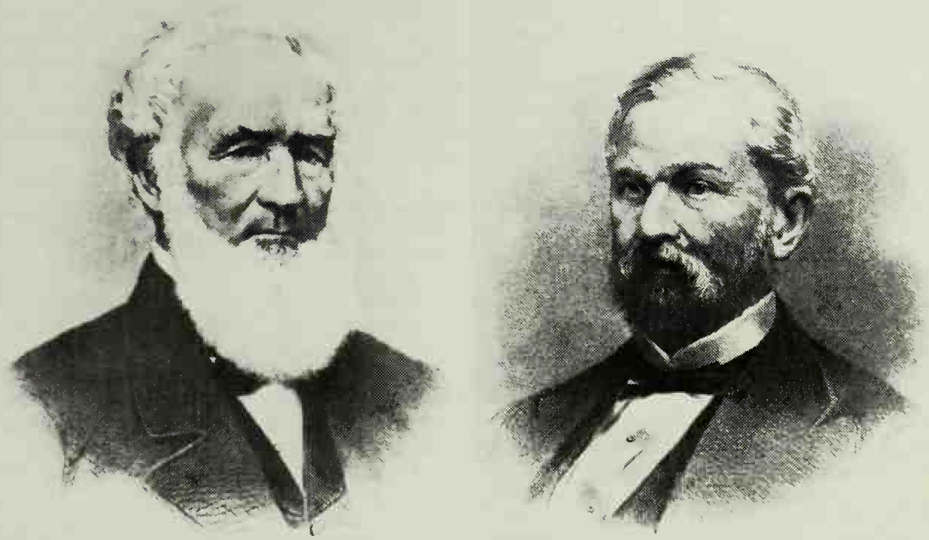
Designed by Edward Swain in 1896, the National Register landmark home features hand-carved wooden staircases and fireplaces, a Turkish smoking room, imported wood paneling and marble, cut crystal lamps, and other fine period furnishings. The rich interiors are complemented by 19th-century California paintings and changing exhibitions in the second-floor galleries.

The Whittier Mansion is open to the public on Wednesday and weekends, 1-5 p.m. Docent-led tours are held on the hour. Admission is $2; $1 for children, seniors, students. Tours are free on the first Saturday of the month. Refreshments may be arranged.

The Mansion is also available for weddings, dinners, cocktail parties, and special events. Call Richard DeLuca, Docent Program Director, or George Johnson, Staff Assistant, at (415) 567-1848 for more information.

California Historical Society
2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 94109

Historical sources you can bank on.



Henry Wells

Wm. G. Fargo

Wells Fargo Bank now presents two important historical collections, the Wells Fargo History Room in San Francisco and the Wells Fargo Museum in Los Angeles.

You can share the experience of more than 130 years of Wells Fargo and Western history at both locations. See an authentic Wells Fargo stagecoach — like those that transported goods and valuables to early California settlers. Browse through displays of gold specimens, mining tools and Wells Fargo memorabilia or examine the extensive collections of Western documents, photographs and fine arts.

You might also visit the Old Sacramento Agency — a restored Gold Rush-era Wells Fargo Express & Banking Agency — in Sacramento's Old Town.

Come in and see why we're proud to count a significant part of Western history among Wells Fargo's most treasured assets.

Wells Fargo History Museum
444 South Flower Street
Los Angeles, CA 90017
(213) 683-7166

Wells Fargo History Room
420 Montgomery Street
San Francisco, CA 94104
(415) 396-2619

Wells Fargo Old Sacramento Agency
B.F. Hastings Bldg.
1000 Second Street
Sacramento, CA 95814 (916) 440-4262

CHS Register of Historic California Businesses

The California Historical Society recognizes the following centennial businesses for their support of the Register of Historic California Businesses. The Register program seeks to preserve and promote the state's business and economic history and to provide special recognition for businesses that have existed in California for over one hundred years.

SPONSORS—$10,000 and above

Chevron USA, Inc., San Francisco
Foremost-McKesson Foundation, San Francisco
Pacific Telesis Company, San Francisco
Security Pacific Charitable Foundation, Los Angeles

$5,000–$9,999

Homestake Mining Company, San Francisco

$1,000–$4,999

Barker Bros., Los Angeles
Butterfield & Butterfield, San Francisco
Crocker National Bank Foundation, Los Angeles
Guittard Chocolate Company, Burlingame
Halsted-N. Gray, San Francisco
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Sherman & Clay Co., San Bruno
Wente Bros., Livermore

MEMBERS—$100–$999

Ducommun, Incorporated, Los Angeles
Gensler-Lee Diamonds, San Francisco
Ghirardelli Chocolate Company, San Francisco
Haas Brothers, San Francisco
MJB Coffee, San Francisco
Patrick & Co., San Francisco

CHS Donors

The California Historical Society gratefully acknowledges all contributions. Gifts to the Society may include cash, securities, gifts to the collections, real estate, life insurance, services and other in-kind gifts, memorial gifts, and bequests. Listed below are individuals, foundations, corporations and public agencies whose contributions to CHS are valued at $1000 and above. We extend our appreciation to these donors.

MAJOR—$5000 and above

Mrs. Alysse W. Allen, San Francisco
Atlantic Richfield, Co., Los Angeles
Mr. North Baker, San Francisco
Mrs. Hancock Banning, Jr., San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Robert J. Banning, Pasadena
Ms. Caroline Schiller Bartol, Carefree, Arizona
Mrs. Carole Bayer, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
The Bothin Helping Fund, San Francisco
The Braun Foundation, Pasadena
Henry and John Braun, Pasadena
The Broadway Department Stores, Los Angeles
Mrs. Ernest Bryant III, Laguna Beach
The Callison Foundation, Pacifica
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph K. Cannell, Pasadena
Chevron USA, Inc., San Francisco
The Chronicle Publishing Company, San Francisco
The Cook Company, Sacramento
The S.H. Cowell Foundation, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. J. Hewes Crispin, Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. George Ditz, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Katherine E. Doyle, Menlo Park
Mr. Frederick H. Duhring, Los Altos Hills
Ms. Josephine Elmore, San Francisco
Fireman's Fund Insurance Company Foundation, San Francisco
Foremost-McKesson Foundation, San Francisco
Mrs. Linda Irvine Gaede, Long Beach
Mr. George D. Gavin, Tucson, Arizona
Mr. Joe Gobert, Brisbane
Richard & Rhoda Goldman Philanthropic Fund, San Francisco
Mrs. Catharine Grant, Honolulu
Miriam & Peter Haas Fund, San Francisco
Walter & Elise Haas Fund, San Francisco
Mrs. Margaret A. Hall, Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. Ivan B. Hart, Piedmont
William Randolph Hearst Foundation, San Francisco
Mr. Clarence E. Heller, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. George H. Hendricks, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Louis C. Hendricks, San Francisco
Helen and George High, San Bruno
Homestake Mining Co., San Francisco
Mr. Preston Hotchkis, San Marino
The James Irvine Foundation, San Francisco
The William G. Irwin Charity Foundation, San Francisco
Ms. Elizabeth Bixby Janeway, Santa Barbara
The Koret Foundation, San Francisco
Mrs. Leroy Krusi, Walnut Creek
Mrs. Charles B. Kuhn, San Jose
Dr. Oscar Lemer, San Francisco
Mrs. Henry F. Lippitt II, Los Angeles
Mr. George Livermore, San Francisco
Livingston Bros., San Francisco
Mrs. Maurice Machris, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph A. Moore, Jr., San Francisco
Moore Dry Dock Foundation, San Francisco
Mrs. Albert Moorman, Atherton
Mrs. Virginia Morell, Menlo Park
Mr. Lee P. Morris, Medford, Oregon
Mr. Ross E. Morris, Vallejo
Dan Murphy Foundation, Los Angeles
Mr. Graham Nash, Pasadena
National Endowment for the Arts
National Endowment for the Humanities
National Historical Publications & Records Commission
Northrop Corporation, Los Angeles
Pacific Telesis Company, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Packard, Los Altos Hills
Mrs. Joseph Paul, Ross

Miss Mary E. Pike, Santa Monica
Estate of Hannah E. Praxl, San Francisco
Mr. William Roth, San Francisco
San Francisco Foundation
Estate of Kathleen Schiller, Carefree, Arizona
Security Pacific Charitable Foundation, Los Angeles
Albert Shumate, M.D., San Francisco
Mrs. Betty Siegel, Berkeley
Dr. Carey Stanton, Santa Cruz Island
Mr. John Sutorius, Los Angeles
The William Gorrill Swigert Foundation, Pasadena
Teevan Painting Company, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Norman B. Terry II, Los Angeles
Ticor, Los Angeles
Travel Dynamics, Inc., New York
Union Pacific Foundation, New York City
Mr. & Mrs. Charles S. Wheeler III, Corona del Mar
Mr. & Mrs. William T. White III, East Irvine
Mrs. Dorothy Wiles, Redding

SUPPORTING—$1000-$4999

The Albertson Foundation, Los Angeles
Ampex Corporation, Redwood City
The Annenberg Fund, Inc., Beverly Hills
Architectural Resources Group, San Francisco
Atlantic Richfield Foundation, Los Angeles
Dr. Joseph A. Baird, Jr., San Francisco
Barker Bros., Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Henry Bettman, Burlingame
Mrs. Gail Roy Bivans, Glendale
Mrs. James S. Black, Jr., Hillsborough
The James G. Boswell Foundation, Los Angeles
Mr. Walter Braun, Beverly Hills
Dr. & Mrs. Earl Bubar, Los Angeles
Estate of Lynda Buchanan, San Francisco
Butterfield's, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Richard Call, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Buffington Carter, Colusa
The Columbia Foundation, San Francisco
Conklin Bros., San Mateo
Ms. Jean Connolly, San Francisco
Mr. John C. Cosgrove, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Gordon B. Crary, Jr., Los Angeles
Crocker National Bank Foundation, San Francisco
Crowley Maritime Corp., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul L. Davies, Jr., San Francisco
Delta Queen Steamboat Co., Cincinnati
Mrs. Beverly Denenberg, San Francisco
Mr. Harrison Dibblee, Ross
Mrs. Lewis T. Dobbins, Berkeley
Mrs. Jefferson Doolittle, San Francisco
Mr. Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Mrs. Virginia Woods Fallon, Santa Rosa
Mr. Charles Faye, San Francisco
Mr. Karl Feichtmeir, Federal Way, Washington
Mrs. Joseph C. Fennelly, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Attilio Ferrari, San Francisco
Estate of Adrienne S. Fuller, Hillsborough
Gauger, Sparks, Silva, Inc., San Francisco
General Electric Company, Campbell
Ms. Jerry Gordon, San Francisco
Mrs. Gerald Gray, Lafayette
Guittard Chocolate Co., Burlingame
Mr. & Mrs. George N. Hale, Jr., San Francisco
Halstead-N. Gray, San Francisco
Mrs. George L. Harding, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Hilton Hotels Corp., Beverly Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Harry Holmes, Pebble Beach
Mr. George Hornstein, San Francisco
Hotchkis Foundation, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Jaquelin H. Hume, San Francisco
Hyatt on Union Square, San Francisco
Mrs. Douglas Johnson, Belvedere
Kawaguchi-Kihara Memorial Foundation, Los Angeles
Mrs. Gladys Q. Knapp, Santa Barbara
Mr. Donald B. Lamont, New York City
Dr. & Mrs. Stephen Leavitt, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. Ernest A. Lewis, Lake Wildwood
Ralph B. Lloyd Foundation, Beverly Hills
Loomis-Sayles & Co., San Francisco
Estate of Mary Evelyn Lorenz, Atherton
Ignacio E. Lozano, Jr., Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Bernard E. Maushardt, San Francisco
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Edward A. McDevitt, San Francisco
Mrs. Milbank McFie, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. James K. McWilliams, San Francisco
Dr. Wallace E. Moore, Jr., San Antonio, Texas
Mr. & Mrs. David H. Murdock, Beverly Hills
National Maritime Museum Association, San Francisco
National Trust for Historic Preservation
Mrs. V. Aubrey Neasham, Hillsborough
Mr. Greg Nelson, Reno
Mr. Harry L. Nickerson, Castro Valley
Mrs. Lionel E. Ogden, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Otter, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Packard, Los Altos
Pasadena Foundation, Pasadena
Mrs. Edwin Pauley, Beverly Hills
Dr. Edith Lamm Piness, Claremont
Plant Builders, Inc., San Francisco
Mr. Thomas V. Reeve II, Villa Park
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. John Dowling Relfe, San Francisco
Jane Anne Rey, Tiburon
Mr. Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles
Mr. William M. Roth, San Francisco
Mrs. Madeleine Haas Russell, San Francisco
Sacramento Pioneer Assoc., Sacramento
Mr. Porter Sesnon, San Francisco
Drs. A. Jess and Ben Shenson, San Francisco
Sherman & Clay Co., San Bruno
Mr. & Mrs. Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Simpson III, Pasadena
Mr. Henry Sleeper, Sacramento
Harriet and Robert Speer, Gleneden Beach, OR
Harry G. Steele Foundation, Newport Beach
Mrs. D. Daniel Stuart, Camarillo
Sunco Mechanical, Burlingame
Mr. & Mrs. Hart H. Tantau, San Francisco
Estate of Madeline Tibbe, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. R. Lockwood Tower, San Francisco
Dr. and Mrs. Stanley R. Truman, Oakland
U.S. Leasing Corp., San Francisco
Mr. Daniel G. Volkmann, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Ruth C. von Platen, San Marino
The Waste Family Fund, San Francisco
Wente Bros., Livermore
Whisler-Patri, San Francisco
Mrs. Warren B. Williamson, Pasadena
Mr. Howard Willoughby, Piedmont
D. Zelinsky & Sons, San Francisco

CHS Members

The California Historical Society is grateful for the annual support of over 8000 members nationwide. We offer our special thanks to those individuals, foundations, and corporations listed below whose exemplary annual membership gifts help ensure the continuing vitality of the Society's collections, publications and educational activities.

Individual Members

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL—
$1000 & above

Mr. North Baker, San Francisco
Mrs. Hancock Banning, Jr., San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Robert J. Banning, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen D. Bechtel, Jr., San Francisco
Miss Beda Berg, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William J. Bettingen, Beverly Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Johnson S. Bogart, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
Mr. James G. Boswell, Los Angeles
Mr. Alan Braun, Pasadena
Mr. Henry Braun, Pasadena
Mr. John Braun, Pasadena
Mrs. Ernest A. Bryant III, Laguna Beach
Dr. & Mrs. John Callander, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph K. Cannell, Pasadena
Mr. Robert H. Carpenter, Los Angeles
Mrs. Henry Cartan, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Buffington Carter, Colusa
Mr. Frank Caufield, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Sherman Chickering, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas E. Clarke, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. J. Hewes Crispin, Santa Barbara
Lady Ruth Crocker, San Marino
Mrs. Ralph K. Davies, Woodside
Mr. & Mrs. Alan S. Davis, San Francisco
Mr. Stuart Davis, Beverly Hills
Margaret & Bernard DeRoche, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. George Ditz, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Dewey Donnell, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Fred S. Farr, Carmel
Mr. & Mrs. David Fleishhacker, San Francisco
Mrs. Linda Irvine Gaede, Long Beach
Mr. & Mrs. James R. Galbraith, Encino
Mr. Walter B. George, Millbrae
Mr. & Mrs. George N. Hale, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William R. Hambrecht, San Francisco
Mrs. George L. Harding, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. James R. Harvey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Mr. Clarence E. Heller, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Alander F. Hogland, San Francisco
Mr. Preston Hotchkis, San Marino
Mrs. Warren R. Howell, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Huntington, Glenbrook, Nevada
Mrs. Gladys Q. Knapp, Santa Barbara
Mrs. LeRoy F. Krusi, Walnut Creek
Mr. & Mrs. Charles B. Kuhn, San Jose
Mr. & Mrs. Ernest Allen Lewis, Lake Wildwood
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Livermore, Danville
Mrs. Ruth M. Logan, Oakland
Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
Mr. Floyd Myers Marsh, Williams
Mr. & Mrs. Bernard L. Maushardt, San Francisco
Mrs. Edgar N. Meakin, Hillsborough
Drs. Knox & Carlotta Mellon, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence V. Metcalf, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James S. Miller, Geyserville
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph A. Moore, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. Charles E. Noble, San Francisco
Mrs. Lionel E. Ogden, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Otter, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. David Packard, Los Altos Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Richard H. Peterson, San Francisco
Miss Mary E. Pike, Santa Monica
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Pike, San Marino
Dr. Edith Lamm Piness, Claremont
Mr. & Mrs. Robert H. Power, Nut Tree
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Mr. William Roth, San Francisco
Mr. Porter Sesnon, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. W.J. Shirley, Pasadena
Albert Shumate, M.D., San Francisco
Dr. Carey Stanton, Santa Cruz Island
Mr. & Mrs. D. Daniel Stuart, Camarillo
Mr. & Mrs. Hart H. Tantau, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Norman B. Terry II, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Lockwood Tower, San Francisco
Mrs. Paul L. Wattis, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Charles S. Wheeler III, Corona del Mar
Mrs. Alice Whitson, Willow Creek
Mrs. Nick B. Williams, South Laguna
Mr. Howard Willoughby, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Edward Galland Zelinsky, Belvedere

THE FRIENDS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

$500–999

Mr. & Mrs. John A. Blume, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert L. Bridges, San Francisco
Mr. James Bronkema, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Guy C. Earl, Jr., Warner Springs
Mr. & Mrs. A. Barlow Ferguson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Devoe Field, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. William R. Fielder, Atherton
Dr. Harvey Glasser, San Francisco
Mr. James C. Greene, Los Angeles
Mr. George Gund, San Francisco
Mr. Alfred Harrison, Berkeley
Dr. & Mrs. Donald T. Hata, Sacramento
Ms. Leslie D. Jaffe, Sausalito
Mrs. Judith G. Kelly, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. L. W. Lane, Jr., Portola Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Robert P. Miller, Jr., Pasadena
Dr. Ynez O'Neill, Los Angeles
Mrs. Russel D. Niles, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Byron Nishkian, San Francisco
Mr. Clair L. Peck, Jr., Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. David Potter, San Francisco
Mr. Bryce Rhodes, Santa Cruz
Mr. William Robbins, Jr., Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. Laurence Robertson, Beverly Hills
Mr. Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles
Ms. Clytie P. Mead Smith, Newport Beach
Mr. Warren D. Sorrells, Fort Worth, Texas
Mrs. Doreen B. Townsend, San Francisco

Dr. & Mrs. Walter G. Warren, Los Gatos
Mrs. Genevieve M. Watts, San Francisco
Mrs. Helen Woodward, Los Angeles

$250–499

Mr. & Mrs. Frank H. Abbott III, San Francisco
Mr. Jack B. Adams, Los Angeles
Mr. Edward C. Allred, Los Angeles
Ms. Alice O'Neill Avery, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Guilford C. Babcock, San Marino
Mr. Kahn Balin, San Francisco
Mr. George Hugh Banning, La Jolla
Mr. & Mrs. Hancock Banning III, Newport Beach
Mrs. Walter C. Bateman, Jr., Pasadena
Dr. & Mrs. James S. Benedict, San Pedro
Mr. & Mrs. Freeman R. Brant, Los Angeles
Mr. James R. Bronkema, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Louis C. Burnett, El Macero
Mrs. Donohoe Carter, Gilroy
Mr. James C. Clark, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Eleanor A. Clayton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Henry Sutcliffe Coe, San Jose
Mr. & Mrs. Steven S. Conner, El Cajon
Mr. George L. Cook, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. David Cookson, Hillsborough
Mr. Newton A. Cope, San Francisco
Mrs. George M. Cox, Los Angeles
John & Barbara Craig, San Francisco
Mrs. Chester R. F. Cramer, Greenbrae
Mr. Michael D. Cullivan, Alameda
Dr. & Mrs. William N. Davis, Jr., Sacramento
Mr. John N. Dayton, San Francisco
Mr. Penn DeRoche, Oakland
Mr. & Mrs. Caspar H. Escher, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Edward R. Evans, San Marino
Mr. Karl E. Feichtmeir, Federal Way, Washington
Mrs. Mortimer Fleishhacker, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. Alfred Fromm, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Winston R. Fuller, Pasadena
Dr. & Mrs. John R. Gamble, San Francisco
Mr. Stephen Gavin, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Richard N. Goldman, San Francisco
Mr. Laurence K. Gould, Jr., Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Henry B. Grandin, Jr., Sausalito
Mrs. John E. Grant, Bakersfield
Mr. J. J. Greene, San Francisco
Horace & Margaret Guittard, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Peter E. Haas, San Francisco
Mr. Raymond T. Haas, San Rafael
Dr. & Mrs. George Haberfelde, Pacific Palisades
Mr. & Mrs. Charles W. Hammond, San Marino
Mrs. George Fiske Hammond, Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. Clifford V. Heimbucher, Berkeley
Mrs. Elise Higgins, Mountain View
Mr. & Mrs. Harry Holmes, Pebble Beach
Mr. & Mrs. Robin Hood, Aptos
Mr. Preston B. Hotchkis, Los Angeles
Mr. Derk K. Hunter, San Jose
Mr. & Mrs. Steven Huss, San Carlos
Mrs. Robert B. Hutchins, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George D. Jagels, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. G.F. Jewett, Jr., Ross
Mrs. Douglas Johnson, Belvedere
Mrs. F. A. Jostes, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Gustav Knecht, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. William C. Landreth, San Francisco
Mr. Oscar T. Lawler, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Charles E. Lowrey, San Francisco
Mrs. Jane Luthard, Los Altos
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh L. MacNeil, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Robert D. Marshall, Belvedere
Mr. Peter McFarland, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Donald McNear, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Gerald Lewis McVey, Moraga
Mr. & Mrs. John F. Merriam, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Joseph D. Messler, Pasadena
Mrs. Bruce E. Michael, Woodside
Mr. Robert Folger Miller, Hillsborough
Mrs. John Mock, Los Angeles
Ms. Mary Tilden Morton, Rutherford
Mrs. V. Aubrey Neasham, Hillsborough
Ms. Elizabeth O'Shaughnessy, San Francisco
Mrs. Charles E. Osthimer III, San Francisco
Ms. Ann Pearson, San Francisco
The Honorable Robert F. Peckham, Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. David Plant, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Donald E. Priewe, Danville
Mr. & Mrs. Herbert C. Puffer, Folsom
Mr. & Mrs. Jack Raub, Newport Beach
Jeanne & Chris Redlich, Hillsborough
Dr. & Mrs. John D. Relfe, San Francisco
Ms. Win Woodward Rhodes, Corona del Mar
Mrs. Alfred Riccomi, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Henry J. Rooney, Oakland
Mrs. Walter Schilling, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. Edward J. Schneider, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Eugene A. Shurtleff, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Alan D. Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mr. W. L. Simmons, Napa
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Simpson III, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. G. D. Simpson, Orinda
Mr. Edgar Sinton, San Francisco
Mr. David P. Smith, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. H. Russell Smith, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Roger W. Souza, Suisun
Mrs. Keith Spalding, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Irving Stahl, San Francisco
Mr. J. O. Steiny, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Ellis M. Stephens, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. Barry Sterling, Santa Monica
Mr. William D. Swanson, Oakland
Ms. Kathryn E. Taylor, San Francisco
Mr. Waller Taylor II, Los Angeles
Mrs. Adolph Teichert, Jr., Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Thede, Menlo Park
Mrs. Joseph Thompson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Tilton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Jerry Tone, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Tuller, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. John R. Upton, San Francisco
Mrs. Ogden Vest, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred S. Wilsey, San Francisco
Mrs. Nancy L. Winton, San Francisco
Mrs. Dean Witter, San Francisco
Dr. Charles Wollenberg, Berkeley
Peter & Midge Zischke, Orinda

Corporate Members

PATRON—$5000–up

Altantic Richfield Co., Los Angeles
Ticor, Los Angeles

AFFILIATE—$2500–4999

McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Moore Dry Dock Foundation, San Francisco
Times Mirror Foundation, Los Angeles

CENTENNIAL—1000–2499

Architectural Resources Group, San Francisco
Bechtel Power Corporation, San Francisco
Bixby Ranch Company, Los Angeles
The James G. Boswell Foundation, Los Angeles
Crocker National Bank Foundation, San Francisco
Foremost-McKesson Foundation Inc., San Francisco
Fluor Corporation, Irvine
Gilmore Company, Los Angeles
Great Western Financial Corporation, Beverly Hills
Hewlett-Packard Co., Palo Alto
Hilton Hotels Corp., Beverly Hills
Homestake Mining Company, San Francisco
Matson Navigation Company, San Francisco

Guittard Chocolate Company, Burlingame
The Hibernia Bank, San Francisco
Hill & Co., San Francisco
Earle M. Jorgensen Company, Los Angeles
Joy of California, San Jose
Lawrence Engineering & Supply Inc., Burbank
Lippin & Grant, Los Angeles
Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Los Angeles
Marsh & McLennan, Inc., San Francisco
Maxwell Galleries, San Francisco
Nut Tree, Nut Tree
Pacific Coast Holdings, Inc., San Francisco
Phoenix Leasing, Inc., Mill Valley
Plant Contractors, Inc., San Francisco
Price Waterhouse & Co., Los Angeles
RJB III Co., Sacramento
Rollins, Burdick, Hunter, San Francisco
San Francisco Commercial Club, San Francisco
San Francisco Federal Savings & Loan Association, San Francisco
Southern Pacific Transport Company, San Francisco
Stauffer Chemical Co., San Francisco
Sidney Stern Memorial Trust, Pacific Palisades
Sutro & Company, Inc., San Francisco
Syntex Corporation, Inc., Palo Alto
Tadich Grill, San Francisco
Transit Casualty Company, Los Angeles
Wells Fargo Foundation, San Francisco
Woodwards Gardens Veterinary Hospital, San Francisco
Yosemite Park & Curry Company, Yosemite National Park
Memorex Corp., Santa Clara
Newhall Land & Farming Co., Valencia
Pacific Lighting Corp., Los Angeles
Pacific Mutual Life Insurance, Newport Beach
Louis and Flori Petri Foundation, San Francisco
Santa Cruz Island Company, Port Hueneme
Security Pacific Charitable Foundation, Los Angeles
Shaklee Corporation, San Francisco
Sunco Mechanical, Burlingame
Transamerica Corp., San Francisco
Union Bank, Sacramento
Union Oil Co. of California Foundation, Los Angeles

BENEFACTOR—$500–999

The R. C. Baker Foundation, Orange
The Bank of California, San Francisco
Beaver Insurance Company, San Francisco
Burnett & Sons, Sacramento
Chevron, USA, Inc., San Francisco
Chronicle Broadcasting Co., San Francisco
Cocuzza Lenchner Foundation, San Francisco
Columbia Channel Gold Mining Co., Oakland
Crowley Maritime Foundation, San Francisco
Ducommun, Inc., Los Angeles
Eastern-Columbia, Inc., Los Angeles
Dr. & Mrs. William R. Fielder, Atherton
Holt Brothers, Stockton
Industrial Indemnity Co., San Francisco
International Business Machines, San Francisco
Lane Publishing Company, Menlo Park
Levi Strauss Foundation, San Francisco
Orrick, Herrington, Rowley & Sutcliffe, San Francisco
Pacific Gas & Electric Co., San Francisco
The Pacific Lumber Co., San Francisco
Pope & Talbot, Inc., San Francisco
Sharlands Investment Corp., Oakland
Stone and Youngberg, San Francisco
Sweco, Inc., Los Angeles
Tubbs Cordage Co., San Francisco
U.S. Leasing Corporation, San Francisco
United Vintners, Inc., San Francisco

ASSOCIATE—250–499

Bankamerica Foundation, San Francisco
Richard F. Bowen Co., San Francisco
John Breuner Company, San Ramon
California Federal, Los Angeles
California First Bank, San Francisco
Coast Federal Savings & Loan Association, San Francisco
H. S. Crocker Company, Inc., San Bruno
Deans & Homer, San Francisco
Del Monte Corp., San Francisco
Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco
1st Nationwide Savings, San Francisco
First Western Savings & Loan Association, Danville
Flax's, San Francisco
Franklin Savings & Loan Association, San Francisco
Fritz Companies, Inc., San Francisco

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1871, is a statewide, non-profit educational institution designated by the Legislature as the state historical society. With regional centers in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Marino, the Society encourages the collection, preservation, and interpretation of information about the history of California. The Society's resources are made available for the education, research, and enjoyment of the state.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present.

OFFICERS

Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
President
Mrs. Norman B. Terry, Los Angeles
Vice-President
George N. Hale, Jr.,
Treasurer
Mrs. James K. McWilliams, San Francisco
Vice-Treasurer
J. S. Holliday, San Francisco
Secretary

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

North Baker, San Francisco
Mrs. Ernest Bryant, Laguna Beach
Louis C. Burnett, Sacramento
Mrs. John N. Callander, San Francisco
Mrs. Robert B. Carter, Colusa
Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino
J. Hewes Crispin, Santa Barbara
James K. Edmund, San Francisco
Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Mervin D. Field, San Francisco
James R. Galbraith, Encino
James C. Greene, Pasadena
Donald T. Hata, Jr., Sacramento
Clarence Heller, Atherton
Dr. William Johnston, Los Angeles
Richard B. Lippin, Los Angeles
George Livermore, San Francisco
Mrs. Bernard L. Maushardt, San Francisco
Lawrence Metcalf, San Francisco
Burnett Miller, Sacramento
Robert P. Miller, Jr., Pasadena
Dr. Julian Nava, Northridge
Byron Nishkian, San Francisco
Richard C. Otter, Belvedere
Dr. Edith L. Piness, Claremont
Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles
Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mrs. Frank Simpson III, Pasadena
Dr. Carey Stanton, Santa Cruz Island
Hart Tantau, San Francisco
R. Lockwood Tower, San Francisco
Dr. Charles Wollenberg, Berkeley

EMERITI

Mrs. Francis D. Frost, Jr., Pasadena
Trustee Emeritus
Dr. Albert Shumate, San Francisco
President Emeritus

STAFF

J. S. Holliday, *Executive Director*
Pamela L. Seager, *Associate Director*
Louise Braunschweiger, *Southern California Director*
Bruce L. Johnson, *Library Director*
Kay Sprinkel Grace, *Development Director*

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—WHITTIER MANSION: Leslie Scott, *Administrative Assistant*; George Johnson, *Staff Assistant*; Sandra McPartlon, *Development Coordinator;* Lorin Starr, *Membership Coordinator;* Robin Endsley-Fenn, *Historic Business Register*; Howard Maull, *Accounting Manager;* Beverly Denenberg, *Curator;* June Whitesides, *Curatorial Assistant;* Kathryn Orrell, *Weekend Receptionist;* Renee Eaton, *Regional Planning Director;* Nancy Jones, *Program Director*; Julie Vinson Haler, *Program Coordinator*; Gerri Ginsburg, *Program Planner*; Jean Tozer, *Program Assistant*; Colin Oakey, *Buildings and Properties Manager*; Robert Silvestri, *Maintenance*; Valerie Simonetti, *Buildings Assistant*; Heidi Swarts, *Courier Editor*; Marilyn Ziebarth, *Director of Publications/Education Coordinator.*

LIBRARY: Joy Berry, Judith Sheldon, *Reference Librarians;* Douglas Haller, *Curator of Photographs*; Stephen J. Fletcher, *Assistant Curator of Photographs;* Glenn E. Humphreys, *Reference Librarian and Curator of the Kemble Collections;* Waverly Lowell, *Curator of Manuscripts;* Sandy Larson, *Archivist;* Gerald D. Wright, *Reference Librarian and Curator of the* Chronicle *Archives.*

EL MOLINO VIEJO: Margaret O. Eley, *Director*; Daniel Hoye, *Staff Assistant;* John E. Anderson, *Caretaker.*

HISTORY CENTER: Tom Zimmerman, *Photographs Consultant*; William Wurtz, *Assistant Curator.*

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Richard W. Reinhardt, *Chairman*; Frank G. Goodall, Donald Hata, Bruce L. Johnson, William L. Kahrl, Gary Kurutz, W. Michael Mathes, Henry Mayer, Knox Mellon, Jr., Luther Nichols, Robert H. Power, James J. Rawls, Charles Wollenberg

CALIFORNIA HISTORY
Individual copies $4.00
Published quarterly ©1984 by CHS

Annual membership $25.00
Teacher membership $20.00
Student membership $15.00

$10.00 of each membership is designated for subscription to *California History*

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS—WHITTIER MANSION
2090 Jackson Street
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

LIBRARY
2099 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS—HISTORY CENTER
6300 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90048
(213) 651-5655

EL MOLINO VIEJO
1120 Old Mill Road
San Marino, California 91108
(818) 449-5450

Articles for publication, books for review and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Managing Editor, 2090 Jackson Street San Francisco 94109. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors.

LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897
Second-class postage paid at San Francisco.
Publication number 084180

BACK COVER: The good citizens of Sonora pause on their May 1900 excursion for a photographer and his assistant to document the event for posterity. Although the occasion has been forgotten the photograph remains as a testament to our fascination with visual images. California Historical Society, San Francisco

Administrative Headquarters
2090 Jackson Street
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

Library
2099 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

El Molino Viejo
1120 Old Mill Road
San Marino, California 91108
(213) 449-5450

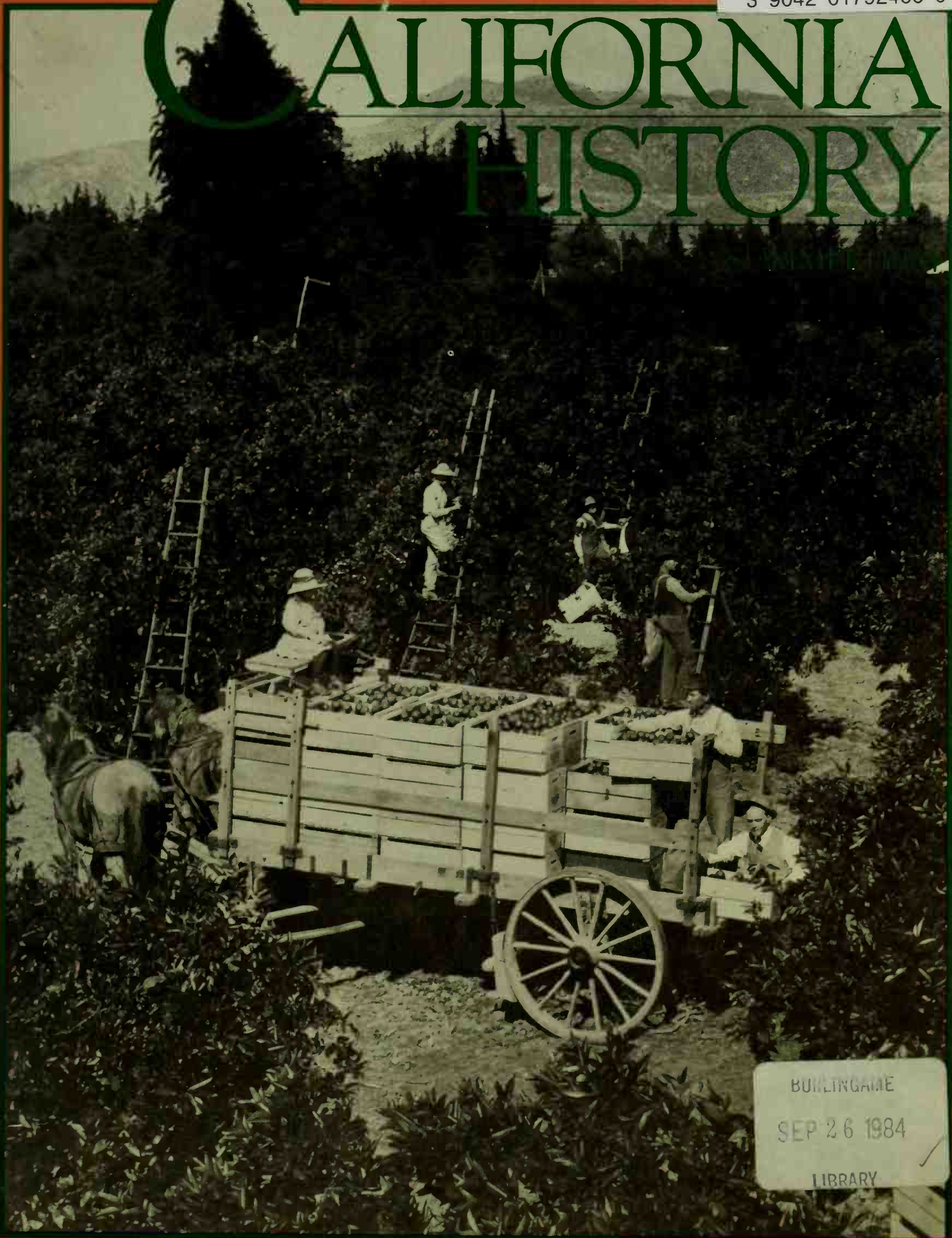
History Center
6300 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90048
(213) 651-5655

Summer

BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9042 01792466 0

MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA H

CALIFORNIA HISTORY



BURLINGAME
SEP 26 1984
LIBRARY

In memory of her husband Western Logan, Ruth McIlvary Logan, long-time resident of Piedmont, California, and member of the California Historical Society, has sponsored this issue of *California History*.

Born in Georgia in 1890, Western Logan became a part of America's westerly trend. In 1897 his father James and mother Mary moved to California, and from there they joined the continent's last great gold rush, to Dawson City on the Yukon River, not as goldseekers but as correspondents for two San Francisco newspapers. After several years in that place of high hopes and shattered dreams, the Logans returned to Berkeley, California.

In 1916, Western graduated from the University of California at Berkeley and began working as a salesman for the Barrett Company, a distributor of agricultural fertilizers.

In 1924, William McIlvary, president of the company, brought his wife and daughter, Ruth, from their home in Tarrytown, New York, to California on a business trip. He asked Western Logan to serve as their driver-guide—with the happy consequence that Ruth and Western became engaged. They were married in 1926 in Tarrytown and returned to California, to live in Berkeley and later Piedmont.

Western became widely known in Southern California where he worked with citrus growers and agronomists to improve the use of chemical fertilizers in orange and lemon groves. By the 1930s he represented the Shell Chemical Company as one of their leading salesmen of specialized fertilizers. He remained associated with that firm throughout the rest of his career, working closely with the citrus industry in Southern California.

Following his retirement, Western and Ruth traveled widely from their home in Piedmont. He died at age 74 in 1964.

Ruth Logan lives at Piedmont Gardens in Oakland. We are pleased to honor her husband for his years of service to the California citrus industry.

Covers: *Under the attentive eye of a field foreman's daughter, a crew pick and box oranges in Riverside County during Southern California's turn-of-the-century citrus boom.*
CHS, Title Insurance and Trust Collection, Los Angeles

Above: *Demonstrating the approved technique for setting in orange trees c. 1920, a nurseryman shows his youthful apprentices the fine points of using a planting board.*
CHS, San Francisco

JAN 19

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

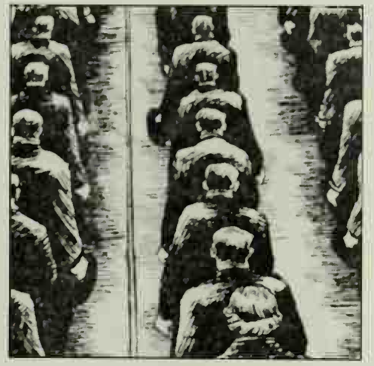
VOLUME LXIII NO. 3 SUMMER 1984

J.S. HOLLIDAY
Executive Director
PAMELA L. SEAGER
Associate Director
MARILYN ZIEBARTH
Editor
JAMES J. RAWLS
Reviews Editor
ANDREA DuFLON
Designer

Editorial Consultants
RICHARD BATMAN
LOWELL JOHN BEAN
ROBERT BECKER
DOUGLAS DANIELS
IRIS W. ENGSTRAND
FRANCIS F. GUEST, O.F.M.
NORRIS HUNDLEY
W. TURRENTINE JACKSON
W. MICHAEL MATHES
DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.
SPENCER C. OLIN, JR.
RODMAN W. PAUL
ANDREW F. ROLLE
ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE
DAVID J. WEBER
FRANCIS J. WEBER
DAVID A. WILLIAMS

California History is published quarterly by the California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco. Postmaster: send address changes to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. LC 75-640289/ ISSN 0612-2897

200



212

242

194
FDR's Forgotten Friend: Henry H. McPike and the 1932 Democratic Presidential Nomination
by Thomas T. Spencer

200
Over the River Jordan—California Volunteers in Utah During the Civil War
by Tom Generous

212
The Day the City Stopped
by John Kagel

224
Heinrich Schliemann's Sacramento Connection
by John F. Wilhelm

230
El Castillo de Monterey, Frontline of Defense
by Diane Spencer-Hancock & William E. Pritchard

242
An Imaginative Visual History of San Francisco: The Collages of Satty
by Pamela L. Seager

245
Is the Hotel (As We Know It Now) Doomed
by Basil Woon

247
Yee Ah Chong Remembers Vacaville's Chinatown

252
A Regional Response to the Impressionist Challenge
by Robert M. Frash

256
The New Anatomy of California
by James D. Houston

260
Book Reviews

264
California Check List

FDR's FORGOTTEN FRIEND: HENRY H. MCPIKE AND THE 1932 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

Did Henry McPike of the California delegation engineer FDR's fourth-ballot victory?

by Thomas T. Spencer

The 1932 Democratic National Convention remains one of the most interesting and debated in American history. Franklin Roosevelt won the presidential nomination of the Democratic party, but not without a difficult struggle. After failing to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority of delegates on the first three ballots, Roosevelt finally achieved the nomination when the California delegation abruptly shifted its support to him on the fourth ballot. This initiated a shift among other delegations that brought him the victory.

Determining who was responsible for arranging the shift of delegations is a source of debate among historians.[1] Some authors, while attributing responsibility for Roosevelt's nomination to California, focus more specifically on the respective roles played by influential editor and newspaperman William Randolph Hearst and by delegation chairman William Gibbs McAdoo in those critical negotiations.[2]

Largely overlooked by historians, however, has been the influential part played by Henry H. McPike, former Democratic party state chairman in California and vice chairman

On a whistle-stop tour in September 1932, presidential hopeful Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his son James (at FDR's right) gather with supporters (left to right) campaign manager James Farley, Congressman Frank Buck of Vacaville, U.S. Marshal George Vice, and Senator William Gibbs McAdoo in Sacramento's Southern Pacific Depot.
Bancroft Library

of the California delegation at the 1932 Democratic convention.

Born in Vallejo, California, in 1871, Henry H. McPike began his legal career in San Francisco in 1890 with the firm of Dunne and McPike. During the next two decades he became active in Democratic state politics, and in 1926 he was named state chairman of the Democratic party, a post he held for the next four years. In 1932 he helped organize California Democrats for John Nance Garner and was named vice chairman of the California delegation at the 1932 Democratic National Convention.[3]

McPike's involvement in the 1932 Democratic convention has not been well documented.[4] Evidence indicates, however, that he did indeed play a major part in the negotiations concerning the shift of votes to Roosevelt on the fourth ballot.[5] The most compelling information to this effect is found in a previously obscure and unpublished manuscript written by McPike himself regarding the Democratic party in California. In 1938 he sent Roosevelt a draft of one chapter from this proposed history in which he detailed his role in the 1932 presidential primary in California. McPike claimed that he, rather than William Gibbs McAdoo, was most responsible for Roosevelt's nomination at the national convention.[6] While such an assertion might be easily dismissed as merely an attempt to secure political favor, further study of the manuscript shows that many of McPike's claims warrant consideration.

McPike's manuscript and accompanying documents deal primarily with the period from 1930 to 1932. The first section of the manuscript deals with McPike's activities and feelings toward Roosevelt from 1930–1932, during which time Roosevelt was laying the groundwork for his candidacy. This section focuses on the activity before Roosevelt was an announced candidate and on the crucial California primary which Roosevelt lost. The second portion of the manuscript deals with the 1932 convention itself and with the political maneuvering that secured Roosevelt the nomination.

McPike claims in his manuscript that as early as 1930 he had strong Roosevelt sympathies and favored a Roosevelt candidacy. In the 1932 California presidential primary, however, he supported instead John Nance Garner and helped to organize Democrats in northern California on Garner's behalf. McPike claims that his defection and Roosevelt's subsequent defeat in California's primary was a consequence of a division within the state party caused by disagreement over the proposed repeal of the prohibition amendment. According to McPike, the so called "dry wings" of the party were not enlisted by the Roosevelt campaign staff.

As early as 1929, McPike and Roosevelt were corresponding, and the letters clearly indicate that McPike held Roosevelt in high esteem. Following the overwhelming victory of Herbert Hoover over Democrat Al Smith for president in 1928, McPike responded to a letter sent by Roosevelt to the party's leadership by stating: "I greatly admire the courage which has prompted you in the hour of defeat to take up our standard and point the way to victory in the future." In June of 1930, McPike wrote to Roosevelt again extending an invitation on behalf of California's Democratic party to visit the state on his contemplated trip west, with assurances that Roosevelt was a great favorite in California. Roosevelt graciously declined, but nevertheless thanked McPike and encouraged him to visit the governor's office should he have the opportunity to come east to Albany.

Thomas T. Spencer is an Adjunct Assistant Professor of History at Indiana University at South Bend.

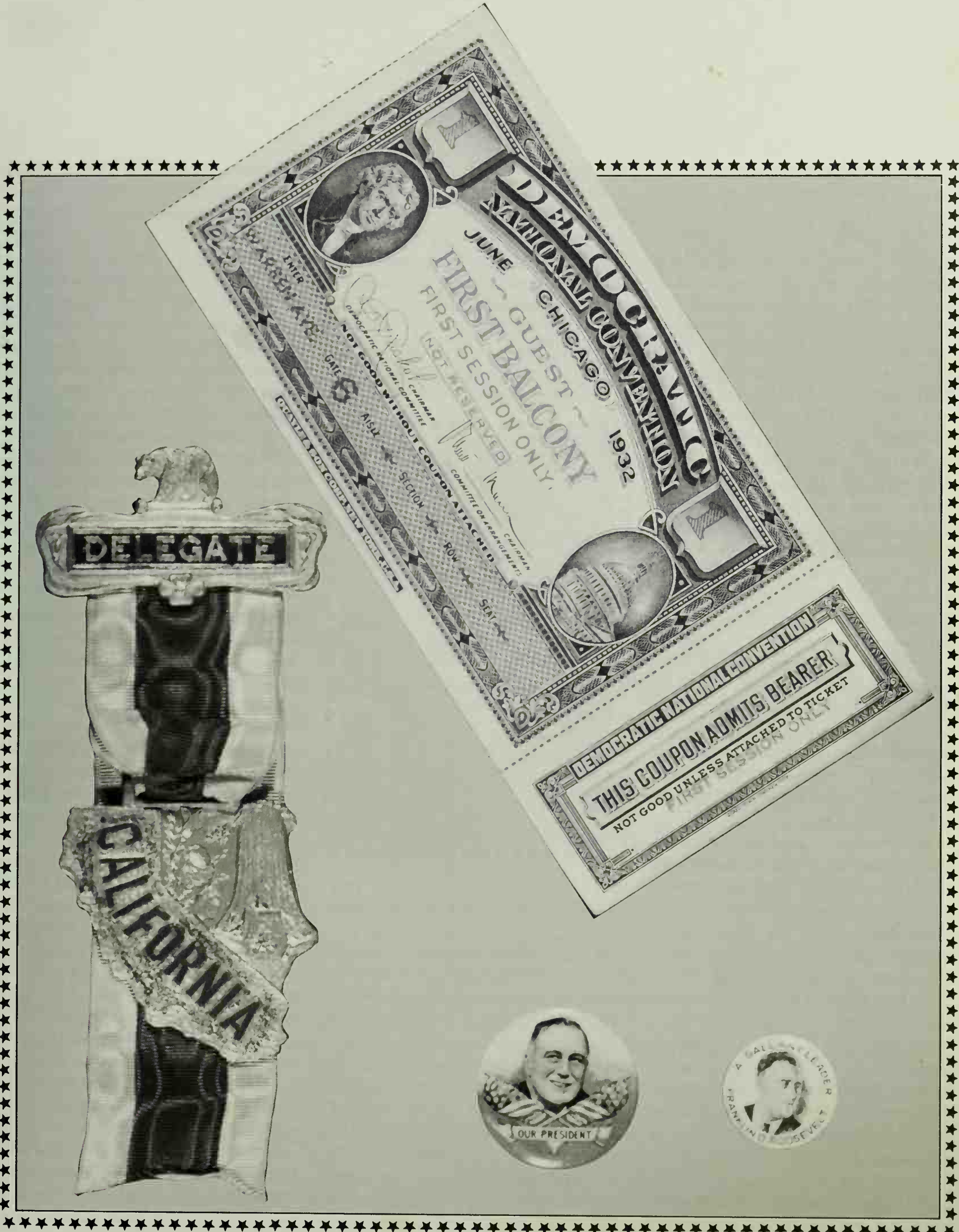
Despite his personal relationship with Roosevelt, McPike apparently was not recognized as an asset by Roosevelt's campaign staff, a significant oversight as things turned out. In July of 1931, campaign manager James Farley made a tour of the far western states to garner support for Roosevelt's still unannounced candidacy, yet he neglected to speak with the party's former chairman, Henry McPike.[7] According to McPike, Farley was confident in placing his trust solely in Justus Wardell, who, in turn, convinced Farley that there was no need to worry in view of the fact that some of the most prominent Democrats in the state were on the Roosevelt list of delegates. Farley subsequently wrote Wardell: "We are going to forget California, leaving it entirely in your hands."[8]

McPike claimed that he, rather than William Gibbs McAdoo, was most responsible for Roosevelt's nomination at the national convention.

Justus Wardell was a powerful figure in Democratic party politics in California, a logical choice therefore to lead the Roosevelt campaign. He had served a term in the state legislature, attended the Democratic National Convention as a delegate in the years 1904, 1908, and 1928, and he was the party's nominee for governor in 1926. Furthermore, he was a contender for the party's nomination for a future senate seat. As the leader of the "wet wing" faction of the state's Democratic party, however, he deliberately alienated those members of the party who opposed the repeal of prohibition by neglecting to include any of them on his list of Roosevelt delegates. Among these were Henry McPike and William McAdoo, Wardell's chief rival for the senate nomination in 1932.

McPike complained of this exclusion to Homer Cummings, an advisor on the Roosevelt staff, but was informed by James Farley that the national committee would not intervene.[9] After trying again, to no avail, to convince the Roosevelt organization that Wardell was mishandling the California campaign, McPike contacted William McAdoo with the proposal that a rival list of Roosevelt delegates be submitted for the primary. When McAdoo dismissed this idea as implausible, McPike and several of the other Democrats excluded from Wardell's list shifted their allegiance to the campaign of then Speaker of the House John Nance Garner.

McPike proceeded to organize the Democrats for Garner in northern California, and he was instrumental in having former presidential candidate Al Smith included on the primary ballot. This tactic proved very successful, for on primary day the



DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
JUNE CHICAGO 1932
GUEST
FIRST BALCONY
FIRST SESSION ONLY.
NOT RESERVED
ENTER WABASH AVE.
GATE 5 AISLE SECTION ROW SEAT
NOT GOOD WITHOUT COUPON ATTACHED
CHAIRMAN DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
THIS COUPON ADMITS BEARER
NOT GOOD UNLESS ATTACHED TO TICKET
FIRST SESSION ONLY

Smith ticket drew enough votes away from Roosevelt to give Garner the primary.[10]

The consequence of Roosevelt's failure to perceive the split in the Democratic party in California was evident after the results of the primary were announced. Roosevelt lost the primary to Garner by over 45,000 votes. Thus Garner rather than Roosevelt had the complete support of the California delegation. In a letter sent to Farley afterwards, Cummings acknowledged their mutual error in failing to recognize McPike as a prominent member of the party, and admitted that McPike's letters had been storm signals of things to come. He added that it was very ironic to see him and others now pledged as delegates to Garner.[11]

While there is evidence to substantiate McPike's assertions about the primary period of the Roosevelt campaign, verifying McPike's claims regarding his role at the Democratic National Convention is more difficult. Yet some of his claims do warrant consideration.

In the second part of his manuscript, McPike asserts that after being elected vice chairman of the California delegation he initiated negotiations with the chairman of the Texas delegation, Sam Rayburn, regarding Roosevelt's candidacy. After three ballots Roosevelt still had not achieved the necessary two-thirds majority, causing many to believe his candidacy was in trouble. McPike began negotiations with the Roosevelt forces about switching California's support from Garner to Roosevelt. McPike's contact with the Roosevelt forces was J. Bruce Kremer, a national committeeman from Montana. He informed Kremer of his desire to caucus the California delegation to urge them to vote for Roosevelt, and he asked in return that certain concessions be made to the delegation, including a promise that the Roosevelt managers would not take sides against McAdoo in the senatorial primary, that no help would be given to Justus Wardell in his attempt to gain control of the Democratic State Committee, and that expense money would be provided for five of the California delegates.[12]

McPike was not recognized as an asset by Roosevelt's campaign staff, a significant oversight.

After conferring with Roosevelt, Kremer assured McPike that the McAdoo and Wardell stipulations would be honored. The request for expense money was turned down, but McPike received additional assurances that he "could have anything he wanted in California." McPike then confronted McAdoo, the delegation's chairman, with the proposal, but McAdoo remained evasive. He proposed a caucus, which McPike then discussed with Roosevelt leaders Homer Cummings, Kremer, and Arthur Mullen, a national committeeman from Nebraska.[13]

At this caucus, McPike addressed the California delegation and spoke of the necessity of nominating the candidate who was the choice of the majority of delegates and clearly popular enough to be elected. He urged that California switch its allegiance to Roosevelt and called upon the delegation to authorize McAdoo to cast the delegation's ballots in favor of Roosevelt. McAdoo initially was reluctant to accept responsibility for such action, but after being persuaded by McPike that a shift to Roosevelt would help his senatorial candidacy, he finally agreed. McPike secured permission for McAdoo to address the convention, and McAdoo announced California's switch.[14]

It is impossible to verify all of McPike's claims in the second part of his manuscript, but there is evidence that he was a primary figure in helping arrange the shift. Some evidence for this claim is provided by newspaper accounts of the convention. One account in the *San Francisco Examiner* relates that when the question arose as to whether the California delegation should turn to Roosevelt, McPike and McAdoo were two of four persons appointed to a committee to decide when this shift should occur. This committee conferred with the Texas delegation, and they agreed to the shift to Roosevelt on the fourth ballot. A caucus of the California delegation was then called by McAdoo.[15]

Homer Cummings' unpublished diary gives additional credence to McPike's claims. Cummings testifies that McPike was indeed a central figure in the negotiations with the Roosevelt forces. He states that an agreement was reached whereby in return for support of the California and Texas delegations (1) John Nance Garner would be nominated for vice president if he so desired; (2) William McAdoo was to have assurances that in regard to political patronage matters in California the reorganization should be recognized and dealt with in the usual custom; (3) McAdoo would be consulted, in the event of Roosevelt's election, regarding the selection of the Secretaries of State and Treasury, thereby assuring him some influence in the new administration; and (4) an agreement would be honored between Kremer and McPike regarding some regional adjustments in McPike's territory.[16]

While the nature of the adjustments is unknown, this last point concerning Kremer's negotiations with McPike substantiates his claim that he talked with Kremer and received certain political favors for lobbying in Roosevelt's behalf. The exact nature of these arrangements is disclosed neither in Cummings' diary nor McPike's manuscript, but McPike was evidently in the middle of those negotiations and his role was important enough to warrant certain stipulations. This last point has been overlooked by historians who have analyzed the shift of the California delegation of the 1932 Democratic convention.

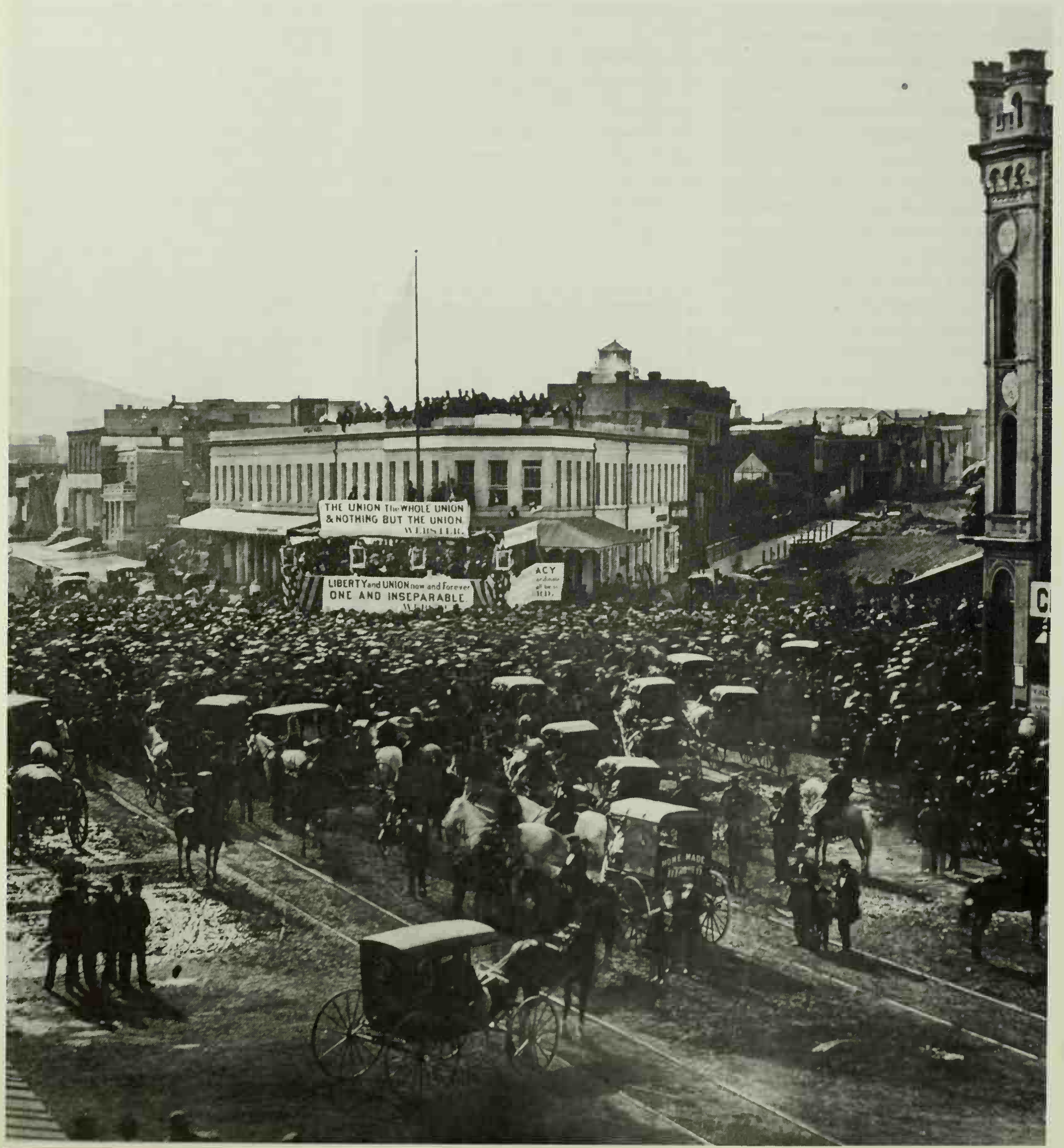
The McPike mansucript demonstrates the vital and influential part he played in Franklin Roosevelt's nomination. It provides, too, another look from a different perspective at California's important role in Roosevelt's 1932 presidential nomination. ☐

> Roosevelt lost the primary in California to Garner by over 45,000 votes.

Notes

1. A summary of those claiming credit for arranging the shift of the California and Texas delegations is presented in Earland T. Carlson, "Franklin D. Roosevelt's Fight for the Presidential Nomination, 1928–1932" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1955), pp. 449-451. Among those claiming credit for arranging the switch are Roosevelt campaign lieutenants Arthur Mullen of Nebraska and Donald C. Roper of South Carolina and Californians William Gibbs McAdoo and William Randolph Hearst.
2. See Russell Posner, "California's Role in the Nomination of F.D.R.," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 39 (June, 1969): 121-139; Oliver Carlson and Ernest Sutherland Bates, *Hearst, Lord of San Simeon* (New York, 1936), p. 246; W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst* (New York, 1961), pp. 435-438; Eliot Rosen, *Hoover, Roosevelt and the Brain Trust* (New York, 1977), p. 253.
3. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 29, 1940, p. 13. McPike served as a U.S. Attorney from 1933 to 1937. He died on July 28, 1940.
4. Both Posner and Rosen briefly mention McPike's name but attribute no significance to his involvement. See Posner, "California's Role in the Nomination of F.D.R.," and Rosen, *Hoover, Roosevelt and the Brain Trust*.
5. This manuscript is attached to a letter from Stephen Early to McPike, June 24, 1938, Official File, 299, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, hereafter referred to as Early to McPike.
6. Henry H. McPike to F.D.R., January 8, 1929, Box 30, Ma-Mc folder, Democratic National Committee Records, F.D.R. Library; McPike to F.D.R. June 27, 1930, Box 116, F.D.R. Papers as Governor; Private Correspondence, F.D.R. Library.
7. James A. Farley to F.D.R., July 11, 1931, Box 26, Abstract folder, DNCR, F.D.R. Library.
8. Justus Wardell to Farley, February 11, 1932, and Farley to Wardell, February 15, 1932, Box 31, W-V Folder, DNCR, F.D.R. Library.
9. Royce Delmatier, et al., eds., *The Rumble of California Politics, 1848–1970* (New York, 1970), pp. 208, 232.
10. Early to McPike, June 24, 1938, OF 299, F.D.R. Library.
11. McPike to McAdoo, February 11, 1932, OF 299, F.D.R. Library; Posner, "California's Role in the Nomination of F.D.R.," 126.
12. Homer Cummings to James A. Farley, May 5, 1932, Box 1, May-June, 1932 folder, James A. Farley Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
13. Early to McPike, June 24, 1938, OF 299, F.D.R. Library.
14. Early to McPike, June 24, 1938, OF 299, F.D.R. Library.
15. *San Francisco Examiner*, July 1, 1932.
16. Diary of Homer Stille Cummings, June 30-July 1, 1932, Diary #3, pp. 45-47, Microfilm Edition, Roll 1, University of Virginia Manuscripts Division, Charlottesville, Virginia.

The election memorabilia is from the Earl C. "Squire" Behrens collection at the CHS Library, San Francisco.


THE UNION The WHOLE UNION
& NOTHING BUT THE UNION.
WEBSTER.
LIBERTY and UNION now and Forever
ONE AND INSEPARABLE.
HOME MADE

OVER THE RIVER JORDAN

California Volunteers in Utah During the Civil War

by Tom Generous

During the War Between the States, 16,000 Californians answered the nation's call to military service. Although the California Volunteers, as they were known, did indeed fight to defend the Union, it was in the West rather than in the East where they made their military contributions. President Abraham Lincoln's administration decided early in the war that conscripting troops so far away would be expensive and might revive sympathy for the still-alive movement for California independence.

Even without the stimulus of the draft, eager Californians filled eight regiments of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and several other specialized battalions.[1] Their numbers equalled that of the entire pre-war Army, with the result that during the Civil War there were about five times as many soldiers serving in the Department of the Pacific as before.[2]

This army has had its own historians, who have shown that the Volunteers joined in large numbers to defend the endangered Union. Unhappy that they were not called to fight Confederates, they nevertheless served with distinction in the tedious, dangerous, and important work of keeping the Far West tied to the Union.[3] While this description is correct, it nevertheless misses the mark.

The California Volunteers believed in Manifest Destiny, the philosophical doctrine of natural imperial expansion under whose banner the United States had conquered North America. Itself a product of the doctrine, California produced men whose attitude formed a bridge over which the nativist and imperialist doctrines of the 1840s passed on their way to the nativist and imperialist America of the 1890s. The Volunteers' performance in Utah in subduing not only Indians but the Mormon Church exemplifies these beliefs.

With support for the Union cause running high in San Francisco in 1861, 16,000 eager Californians volunteer for military service.
CHS, San Francisco

Before the war, transcontinental mail moved by way of St. Louis, Memphis, and Santa Fe to San Francisco. During the secession crisis this route, which passed through the Confederacy, was replaced by a northern trail extending from St. Louis to Placerville, California.[4] Unfortunately, the new road traversed territory made hostile by Indian "depredations." In April 1861, the Lincoln Administration ordered four companies of the Tenth Infantry to provide protection for the emigrants passing that way.[5] Regular Infantry, however, was too valuable to be left in such a side-show when the Civil War heated up in the East. On July 24, 1861, Secretary of War Simon Cameron made the first call for three-year California Volunteers, one regiment of infantry, and five companies of cavalry for duty along the new mail route.[6] The First Infantry and the First Cavalry, California Volunteers, totaled about 1,500 fighting men, or double the number of Regulars then stationed along the route. Mustered into

California produced men whose attitudes formed a bridge over which the nativist and imperialist doctrines of the 1840s passed on their way to the nativist and imperialist ideas of the 1890s.

service within a month of their call, these men were immediately diverted to Southern California when the flames of secessionism briefly flickered there.[7]

Meanwhile, the problems along the overland mail route continued.[8] As a stopgap measure, the Army authorized the mail company to release food to the Indians along the route, hoping temporarily to pacify them.[9] But this tactic was not likely to gain support in a nation which widely believed that good Indians were dead Indians. Nor was a brief attempt to recruit a company of Mormons for the job of patroling the overland route likely to be welcomed in an army that had fought the Mormons only three years earlier during what was called the "Mormon War of 1858."[10] The Mormons were relieved of their duty after only three months' service, and the availability of large numbers of California troops soon made a different military solution possible.

While the new California troops busied themselves in Southern California, Union General Winfield Scott formulated his "Anaconda Plan" to attack Confederate troops at many geographic points. Included in the strategy was the invasion of Texas through Mexico by 5,000 Californians. Scott's plan was short-lived, but before it died the government recruited four more regiments of California Volunteer infantry and one more of cavalry.[11]

One place where some of the newly called-up units were reassigned was the troubled overland mail route. There the Third California Infantry and companies of the Second California Cavalry brought peace, but it was peace exacted in blood from the resident Indians and in ongoing struggle with the area's Mormon population.

The commander of this new fighting force, Colonel Patrick Edward Connor, was an immigrant from Ireland who had risen through the ranks of the Army. He had achieved renown as a combat soldier and commander in various wars and then retired to try his hand with mixed results as a miner in California.[12] As an Irish-American, Connor experienced the perennial blight on America's national character called "nativism." In fact, Connor's immigration in 1836 coincided with the rise of "Know-Nothingism," a bigotry aimed especially at the Irish. Accordingly, Connor did what many others have done: he Anglicized his name in 1844, dropping the "Patrick" and becoming "P. Edward Connor." Partly as a result of this change, he advanced rapidly in the Army.[13] But despite his experiences, Connor himself never showed tolerance of divergent cultures, and he eventually employed his military power in Utah in a way even Know-Nothings would have applauded.

Connor's Third California Infantry was recruited in Stockton in the fall of 1861, and it was sent to Utah with three companies of the Second California Cavalry when the mountain passes opened in the spring of 1862.[14] The gruelling trek took nine long weeks, passing through deserts and high country where even in summer temperatures dropped to freezing at night. Forage and water were extremely difficult to find. In his eagerness to begin his work Connor gave little forethought to the logistics of the march, with the result that his troops experienced extreme discomfort.[15]

In early September 1862, Connor and his men crossed the Jordan River to reconnoiter the city of Salt Lake, and he then wrote a telling report that set the tone for his entire career in Utah:

> *It will be impossible for me to describe what I saw and heard in Salt Lake, so as to make you realize the enormity of Mormonism; suffice it, that I found them a community of traitors, murderers, fanatics, and whores.*[16]

Most Americans shared Connor's biases about Mormons, whose theology, as well as practice of polygamy, was unacceptably heretical.[17] The Mormons had been run out of several more habitable sites earlier in the nineteenth century because of this hostility, until Church leader Brigham Young took them in 1847 to a place where they would be geographically isolated from the nation's hostility.[18]

This was the unhappy background of the Mormon colony in 1862 as Connor approached Salt Lake City and wrote unflatteringly of its inhabitants. By deciding that the remote Army camp constructed for the Mormon War in 1858 would not be satisfactory as his base for patroling the overland route, he made his mission a military occupation of hostile territory. To Connor, a new site in the hills just east of the city was necessary so

Tom Generous, who received his doctoral degree from Stanford University, is a member of the History Department of Choate Rosemary Hall, Wallingford, Connecticut. His book, *Swords and Scales: The Development of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, 1950–1969* (1973), was cited by the federal appeals court in the My Lai case involving William Calley.

that he could "quietly entrench my position and then say to the Saints in Utah, 'Enough of your treason.' "[19]

Permitted by the Army to take up the new location, Connor went well out of his way on October 16, 1862, to swing his troops through the center of town, hoping to cow the Mormons by a show of force.[20] At first the Mormons welcomed the arrival of the Californians,[21] but as the months passed the two groups never mixed well because Connor repeatedly and unnecessarily sought confrontations. For example, one of the reasons given to Young for moving the troops nearer to Salt Lake City was Connor's untruthful report that federal officials had requested it.[22]

Beginning in September Connor's troops set about building Camp Douglas. They dug foundations for shelters, erected shops, and buildings, cut and hauled timber for fuel, and moved mountains of dirt. A permanent theater, a restaurant, and even a dance hall eventually arose at the camp. The superb Camp Douglas site gave Connor a perfect place from which he could watch the Mormon community. But the morale of his troops was depressed upon arriving in Salt Lake City because of the extremely bitter march from California. A journalist traveling with them reported his own eagerness to see a woman, and no doubt the soldiers felt the same.[23] Connor, however, set limits on liberty parties, and the Mormons, leery of the soldiers, allowed only one person from each neighborhood to converse with troops.[24] It is hard to imagine a less friendly situation, but open hostility did not erupt until after Connor had dealt summarily with the Indians living around him.

In 1862 the overland mail route was still threatened by hostile Indians, tribes who shared small numbers and crushing poverty. Herds of buffalo, which were the staple of many other western Indians, ranged far to the north and east, and potable water and arable land were rare. Americans moving across the Salt Lake Valley thus represented tantalizing sources of essential goods.

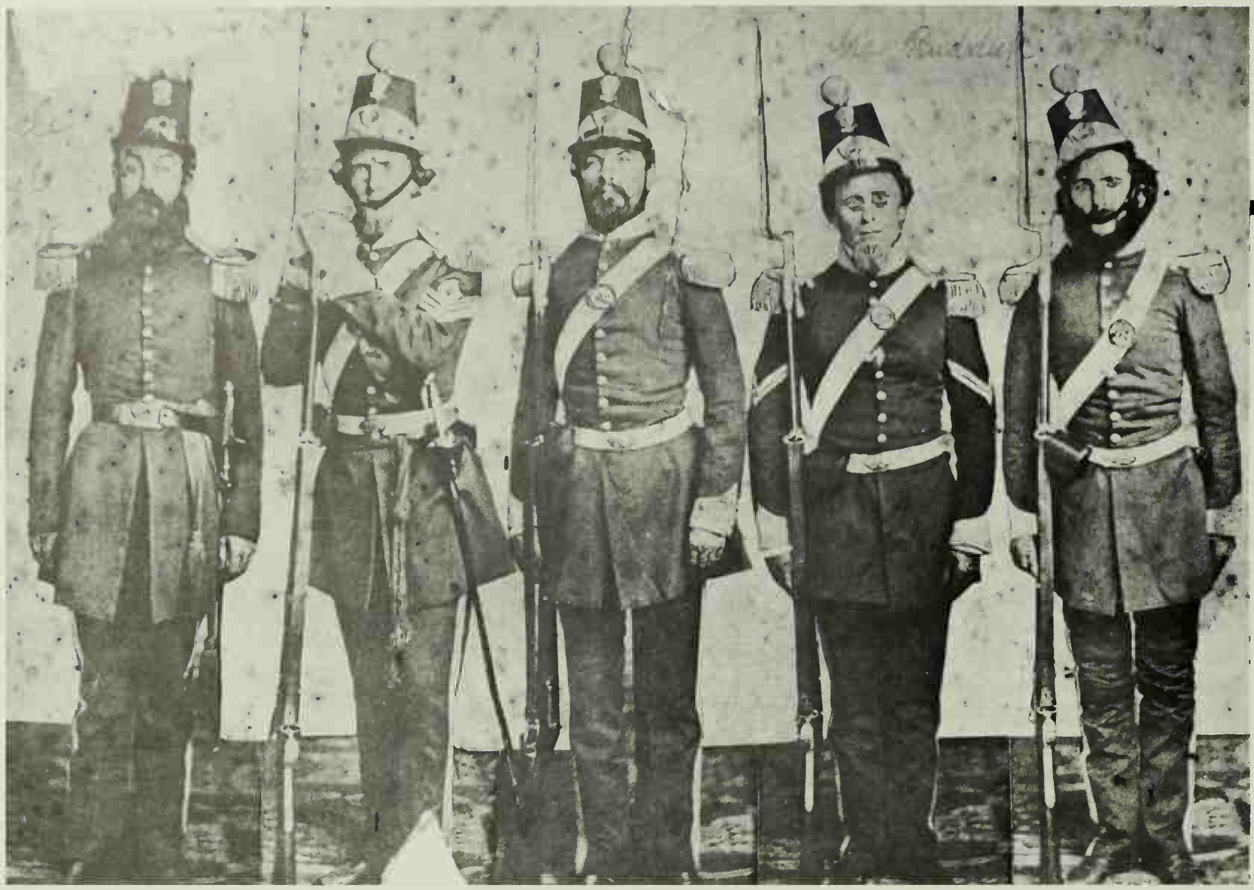
Mormon policy on the matter of Indian relations was pragmatic and intelligent. Gifted agriculturists and zealous Christians, Mormons shared their produce with their neighbors.[25] Civil War Volunteers from California were not so generous, and when a thousand of them arrived in Utah, well-trained and well-armed, the Indians there were to be in for a particularly bad time.

Captain Patrick Edward Connor, later promoted to brigadier general for his conduct in Utah, poses with his son Thomas Jefferson Connor for a photographer c. 1855.
CHS, San Francisco

(Facing page) Detail from the **Union Vedette** *newspaper masthead showing a dragoon on "vedette" or mounted sentinel duty.*

As Connor had made his way across Nevada in August 1862, reports of Indian "depredations" had reached him, and he sent two companies of the Second Cavalry under Major Edward McGarry to deal with one incident. A "star" of the California Volunteers who probably saw more combat than any other officer, McGarry gave a performance that was a preview of what Connor would do in Utah.

McGarry scoured the countryside until October 9, when his men enticed three Indians into camp under peaceful guise. He then imprisoned them, although he



These loyal "Stockton Blues" Volunteers in Connor's Third California Infantry were called upon to monitor Mormons and fight Indians, not Confederates.
CHS, San Francisco

had no evidence that they were even hostile. When they tried to escape, he had them shot. Two days later, a much larger group of Indians was surrounded and disarmed and nearly all of them killed when they too "attempted to escape." McGarry's sentries may have been intentionally lax so that they could kill the Indians as they attempted to escape.

McGarry's troops next captured six men, three women, and a child, certainly not a war party. Nevertheless, McGarry, acting on Connor's behalf, applied the tactics of threat and butchery to these helpless captives. McGarry described the incident later:

The next day, the thirteenth, I told two of the Indians, through the interpreter, that if they would go and bring in Indians who were engaged in the massacre of emigrants I would release them, but that if they did not return that night I would kill all the Indians I held as prisoners in camp. The next morning, the fourteenth, hearing nothing from the Indians I had sent out the day previous, I put to death four of those remaining, and released the squaws and child, telling them that we were sent to punish Indians who were engaged in the massacre of emigrants.

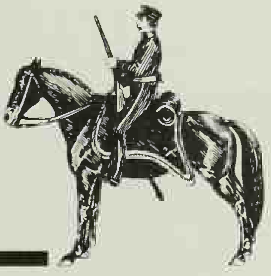
Connor received this report warmly, and McGarry received a promotion for his work.[27]

A month later, an apparently minor event led to the largest battle fought by the Californians during the entire Civil War. The ten-year-old son of a Shoshone woman and a dead white emigrant was living with his mother in a band of Shoshone and Bannock Indians led by a man called Bear Hunter. On the instigation of the boy's white uncle, Connor sent McGarry to get the boy. Trouble-shooter McGarry and sixty cavalrymen brutally took prisoners and, by threatening to kill the hostages, retrieved the boy from his Indian mother.[28]

Connor then resolved to finish with Bear Hunter, at whose intentions the modern observer can only surmise. Even the normally tolerant Mormons genuinely feared his tribe and considered Bear Hunter a "villainous . . . old fox."[29]

For their part, the Indians seemed willing to test their own martial talents against the Californians. They publicly threatened all white settlers in the area, and Bear Hunter himself danced arrogantly in front of a Mormon bishop's house in nearby Franklin, Idaho.[30]

In early 1863, when white miners were killed near Lewiston, Utah, Connor reported without evidence that the murderers belong to Bear Hunter's tribe.



In early 1863, when some white miners were killed near Lewiston, Utah, Connor reported without evidence that the murderers belonged to Bear Hunter's tribe. In response Federal Marshal Isaac L. Gibbs procured an arrest warrant for the tribe's leaders, and asked Connor for a military escort. Connor then went into action.[31] The major campaign which followed involved fifteen wagons, two pieces of field artillery, four companies of cavalry, one of infantry, and a reporter from the San Francisco newspaper *Daily Alta California*, who gave a play-by-play account to his readers.[32]

Initial contact occurred as the sky brightened on a very cold January 29, 1863, about two miles north of the present town of Preston, Idaho. Connor masked the true size of his battalion from the Indians, who may not therefore have taken the California troops as a serious threat.[33] From an entrenched position on the north bank of the Bear River, the Indians reportedly taunted the Volunteers, mocking their officers' orders: "Four's right, four's left, come on you California sons of bitches!"[34]

Connor approached stealthily from the south. When he came to the Indian camp, he ordered the cavalry to make a frontal attack down the steep bank. This nearly proved disastrous. Horses and men slipped on the frozen riverbank, buffeted here and there by the swirling, icy current. The Indians fought ferociously, and the Californians found themselves saved only by Captain Samuel Hoyt who took his company of infantry across the river west of the fighting, where the ravine was less steep, and strung them out to the rear of the Indians where the men could fire into the camp. Thus covered, the cavalry got its footing and finally crossed the icy river. What followed was a four-hour slaughter, as the soldiers fired at will into a group of people who probably no longer resisted, as suggested by the difference in casualty figures. Bear Hunter was killed, but a few other leaders managed to escape. In total, some 224 Indians were killed at Bear River, their bodies left on the field in posthumous insult. The Californians lost twenty men, and about fifty were wounded, most in the first few minutes of the battle.[35] Only a few women and children were allowed to flee the encirclement during the battle, Connor having given the order: "Kill everything—nits make lice," referring to the children. Describing the scene, the *Daily Alta* reporter wrote,

Some attempted to escape into the river, but the keen eye of the Volunteer, avenging the helpless emigrants, the women and children whose blood had been unatoned, and the fresh flowing blood of his comrade lying at his feet, was, in a moment, upon the fleeing form of the savage, and the deadly rifle did its work, and few escaped.[36]

For their efforts at Bear River, Connor, who was promoted to brigadier general on the basis of his "heroic conduct," and his troops were praised by the press, the white community, the military hierarchy, and in the published memoirs of most Volunteers.[37] In the cool light of history, however, their performance appears less praiseworthy and gallant. The size of his force suggests that Connor never intended to serve the warrant, the ostensible reason for the expedition, but instead that he sought to wipe out the tribe. Before leaving Camp Douglas, in fact, he told Marshal Gibbs that he was not going to take prisoners, and although Gibbs accompanied the force, he was given no opportunity to do his duty. Nor did Connor handle his troops well. He began the march over mountain roads in a snow storm, with the result that his artillery arrived too late to help. Captain Hoyt's route across the river was always available to Connor, but he ignored it. He should have foreseen that the conditions would cause unnecessary casualties, and indeed frostbite from the freezing river water doubled his losses. Allowing a few Indian women and children to escape was cynical rather than charitable; Connor wanted them to tell of the soldiers' savagery to frighten other tribes.[38]

As a result of Connor's actions, greater hatred and greater fear developed as the Indians continued to raid the overland mail route. In April and May 1863, the Californians carried out two other massacres of sizable groups of trapped and helpless people, judging by the twin reports that all the Indian casualties were killed—none were wounded or taken prisoner—and that only a few soldiers were injured.[39] There appears to have been an element of sport in this butchery. On one occasion, troops used artillery against three Indians who had stolen a dozen mules. The Indians died, along with half of the mules, in a mission that must have been viewed as a lark.[40]

Ultimately the Indians sought peace. In June 1863, Connor reported to his superiors that Shoshones from Idaho had talked terms with him, and shortly thereafter he went to Fort Bridger to conclude hostilities with other tribes. A handful of recalcitrants quit fighting later that summer, and in general the tribes remained peaceful through the end of the Civil War.[41] The Califor-

Experienced at resisting the United States, the Mormons removed weapons and ammunition from the territorial arsenal and ringed Young's house with well-armed men.

nia Volunteers had made the Utah district safe for white Americans by being more savage than the supposed savages.

Connor's struggle with the Mormon Church lasted longer than with the Indians. That there was no Mormon or Volunteer blood shed was due to the political agility of Brigham Young, not Connor. In both 1863 and 1864, in fact, Connor tried to provoke incidents in which the Volunteers might crush the Mormons.

Connor's hatred of the Mormons intensified in his first days in Utah during the Bear River campaign of January 1863, when some Mormon settlers refused help to his troops on their winter march.[42] Indeed, the Mormons' long-standing policy of tolerance towards the Indians lent evidence to support Connor's claim. But Connor frequently exaggerated. In December 1862, he reported that Brigham Young was organizing military resistance against the United States, a heady charge in the middle of the Civil War.[43] For their part, the Mormons had always claimed that they were loyal. When the telegraph line from the east reached Salt Lake City in October 1861, for example, the first words transmitted were Young's assurance that "Utah has not seceded, but is firm for the Constitution and the laws of our once happy Country."[44]

What Connor meant by loyalty to the Union and what Young meant by being "firm for the Constitution" were quite different, however. Church leaders thought of the people of Utah in the same way that political theorist John C. Calhoun viewed slave-owning southerners who found themselves within a Union increasingly northern in its overall attitudes. Calhoun argued that a group of people forming a "regional majority" must be able to veto the action of the national government whenever its actions were objectionable, and the Mormons agreed with this principle.[45] The simultaneous existence of two governmental regimes—one called "Utah" and appointed by federal authority, the other called "Deseret" and elected by settlers—was exactly what Calhoun meant.

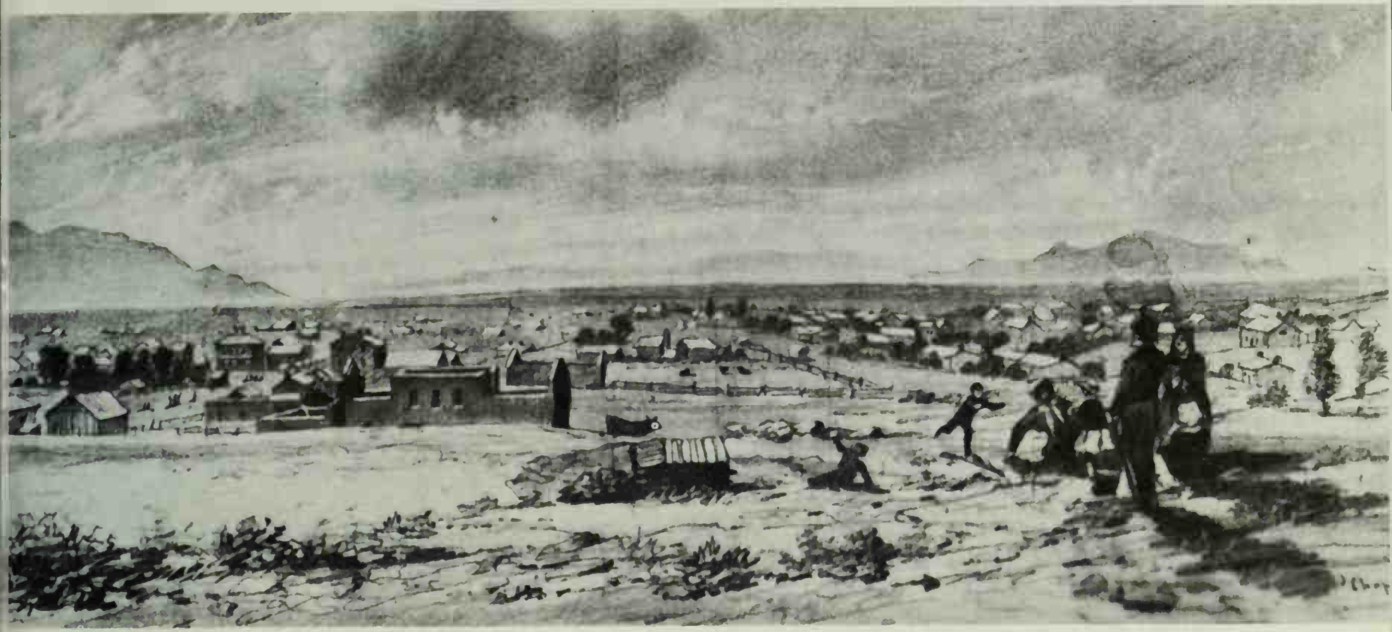
Seeking to encourage Mormon loyalty, the Lincoln Administration at first severely hurt its own cause. Its first territorial governor, John W. Dawson of Indiana, was a patronage appointee whom the Mormons saw as vulgar to women, intemperate in speech, and irrational in behavior.[46] His competence was irrelevant, for Brigham Young, as *de jure* governor of the State of Deseret, was *de facto* governor of Utah, too.

Still, the Republican administration had good reasons to seek to subdue the Mormon church. First, the government needed to elevate the cause of the federal union over the contentions of states' rights advocates in the South. Second, the 1856 Republican party platform had opposed slavery and polygamy as equal "twin relics of barbarism." Both were legal in the Mormon country.[47] The distances involved, and utter lack of federal power in Utah, however, at first left the United States little to do about the situation.

All of that weakness was swept away by the arrival in Salt Lake City of Connor's Californians. In late winter 1863, they drove Young to the brink of rebellion. On Sunday, March 3, 1863, Church members heard his sermon in the Tabernacle on the political disagreements between the Mormon State of Deseret and Utah. Young reminded his followers that the Church had long foreseen the present civil war, and he then wished the Mormon prophecy that the North and the South would destroy each other "Godspeed." Describing himself as the "governor" of the State of Deseret in Calhoun's terms, he turned on the federal officials in Utah. He reserved special scorn for Stephen S. Harding, who had just replaced Dawson, calling him "a black-hearted abolitionist . . . a nigger worshipper," healthy pejoratives in white-supremicist Utah. Young also attacked federal judges Drake and Waite in remarkably seditious words. These three men must resign, Young exclaimed, and if President Lincoln would not remove them, "The people must attend to it."[48]

The Mormon meeting next approved a resolution calling for the removal of the villains from office. Calhoun would have approved. Hearing about the meeting, Connor of course argued that the three men were only federal appointees doing their duty. The officials themselves responded that they had no intention of deserting their posts.[49] Conflict appeared likely.

On the same day as Young's ringing denunciation of Lincoln's officials, the Mormons, experienced at resisting the United States, removed weapons and ammunition from the territorial arsenal, ringed Young's house with well-armed men, and put others to work preparing equipment for a possible confrontation. But Young again acted with restraint, and on March 8, he returned to the Tabernacle to offer conciliation. He denied that the Mormons were secessionists, insisting



The Mormon settlement of Salt Lake City in the State of Deseret and Territory of Utah.
CHS, San Francisco

that they were merely citizens protecting their rights. He further implied that they could await a political settlement and did not need a military one. Connor refused this opening, however, and asserted instead that Young's remark about not sending troops to fight against secession was disloyal.[50]

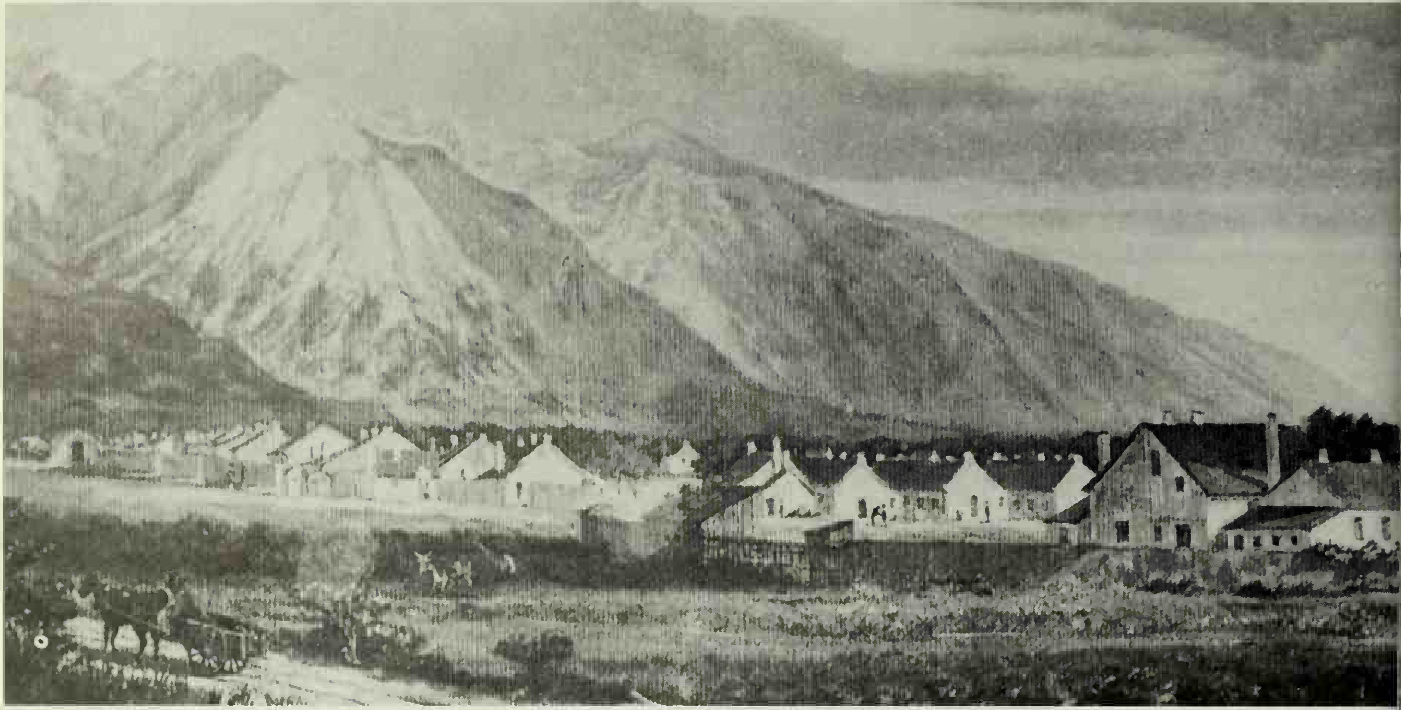
After the March 8 meeting, Connor's ally, Marshal Gibbs, procured a warrant for Young's arrest on a charge of polygamy. Chief Judge J. F. Kinney of the Territorial Court, however, probably remembered the battle at Bear River where the writ was never served but the "military escort" was thrown precipitously into combat. He thus spurned Connor's offer of a military escort for the arresting party. Had the troops been employed, Connor and Young might have had the confrontation the Californian seems to have desired. Fifteen hundred armed Mormons were on alert in the city, a number equal to all the troops Connor had in the entire territory. Catastrophe was averted when Young simply appeared in court, was arraigned, posted a $2000 bond, and was released.[51]

Most of Connor's superiors shared his hostility towards the Church. Pacific Headquarters advised him to be "prudent," but also promised him that "a day of retribution will come." On March 19, Washington ordered that Connor be reinforced and gave him permission to use force.[52] By the time Connor gained approval to use this force, however, the crisis was over.[53]

Meanwhile, Brigham Young continued to work politically. In April 1863, he went to Washington to try to convince the Administration that the overland route should be protected by the Mormons, not the meddling Californians. Not surprisingly, Connor reported that if the Californians withdrew, federal officials in Utah would lose their power to govern. He agreed, though, that perhaps the Mormons could protect the mail route as well as the Californians. This he no doubt did in hopes of having his regiment transferred to the eastern front, his long-time dream.[54] The status quo prevailed, however, because Young's loyalty to the Union was suspect, the only test that mattered at this point.[55]

This political jockeying finally generated a real solution, when President Lincoln made important decisions about Utah. In June 1863, he told an acquaintance of Brigham Young the "old log" story. Lincoln remembered from his youth that when clearing timber, they would sometimes find an old log that was too hard to split, too wet to burn, and too heavy to move, so they would just plow around it. Lincoln's visitor relayed the story to Young: Utah could be plowed around while the timber of the southern rebellion was being cleared away. If the Church would leave the Union alone, Lincoln would leave the Church alone.

Soon Lincoln followed up his promise by replacing the unpopular governor Harding with James Duane Doty who, although not a Mormon himself, enjoyed great popularity among them. Other new territorial administrators were likewise acceptable to the Church.[56] These changes meant that the rights of Mormons were likely to be better protected, whatever the California commander thought or did. As early as August 1863,



Connor's troops erected Camp Douglas in the hills east of Salt Lake City so that Connor could monitor the Mormons' activities.
CHS, San Francisco

Doty wrote that the people were peaceful and loyal, and that his was a "government of the people."[57] Coming only three months before Lincoln's more famous remark at Gettysburg about a "government of the people," Doty's sentiments probably struck a responsive chord. The State of Deseret was effectively ended in January 1864, when John Kinney, the judge who had refused Connor's "military escort," became Utah's representative in the U.S. House of Representatives.[58]

In July 1864, Connor staged a final bid for military confrontation with the Mormons. He reported that Utah's merchants were harassing his troops by not accepting the government-issue greenbacks or legal tender notes with which they were paid. He thereupon established a company-sized provost guard with headquarters directly across the street from the Tabernacle.[59] The unit was far too large to act merely as military police, so Connor was clearly trying to threaten the city, yet the unit was too weak to represent a genuine attempt to take over the Mormons. In response the Mormons immediately called up 1,000 militiamen, greatly outnumbering the fewer than 300 men Connor had at Camp Douglas. Governor Doty also supported the Mormons, as did Major General Irwin McDowell, recently named Department of Pacific commander. Aware that most of the California Volunteers were approaching the end of their enlistments, and anxious to avoid any manpower drain, McDowell quickly ordered Connor to desist. His telegram to Connor of July 16 directed, "Remove the guard and the troops rather than their presence should cost a war."[60] The Mormons had won their fight. As McDowell's adjutant wrote: "The object of troops . . . in Utah is . . . not to endeavor to correct the evil conduct, manifest as it is, of the inhabitants of that Territory."[61] At least for the duration of the war.

Connor then played his final card: he set about to recruit non-Mormon settlers to the territory to take advantage of its mining opportunities, thereby to dilute the Mormon population with "gentiles" and reduce the power of Brigham Young.[62] Most Californians themselves had originally gone west to share in the gold or silver bonanzas, so Connor's troops and military superiors vigorously supported his new idea.[63]

Silver ore had been discovered in the first years of the Mormon settlement in Utah, but the Church condemned mining because Brigham Young believed that the Saints should pursue an agrarian life. This left the ore to Connor, an ironic default since his goal was to destroy the Mormon Church.[64]

Connor took out the first mining claim himself and plunged into the program with impressive zeal. His headquarters distributed a circular about potential sites throughout the United States, and the camp newspaper published directions to the latest claims with assurances to emigrants of protection from all threats, "Indian or white," referring, of course, to the Mormons.[65] Connor expected his troops to do some prospecting themselves, although some of the officers were unenthusiastic about

"Remove the guard and the troops rather than their presence should cost a war."

the chore. Connor was undaunted. Time and again, he gave troops on patrol orders to "thoroughly prospect the country for precious metals."[66]

Despite his enthusiasm and his insistence that his promotion of Utah was successful, Connor was unable to turn the Mormon tide. The flow of about 1400 Gentiles whom he attracted was insignificant in the Mormon population of about 80,000. Utah was inhospitable culturally, politically, and topographically for most Americans. Connor himself obliquely admitted the failure when he urged that the Californians be discharged from service in Utah, in order to increase the area's non-Mormon numbers. Governor Frederick F. Low of California stymied this effort, however, by giving contrary instructions to General McDowell.

While some of the Californians did leave the Army in Utah, how many of them stayed there cannot be determined.[67] Little gold or silver was found in the area until the completion of the transcontinental railroad brought more men and materials, and, ironically, until the Mormon Church encouraged its members to pursue the new industry.[69]

Connor's war against the Mormons whimpered to an end. When Indians in Colorado rose up in November 1864, he took his Californians there to operate in the Department of Missouri under General Grenville Dodge.[70] In March of 1865, his long struggle with the Mormons finally behind him, Connor took command of Kansans, Nebraskans, and Coloradans, plus the remnants of the Third California Infantry and Second California Cavalry, in a new war against the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe.[71]

The California Volunteers enhanced their reputation as Indian-killers five months after the surrender at Appomattox, when Connor led a very large force including two companies of the Second California Cavalry against the Arapahoe at Tongue River in northeastern Wyoming on August 29, 1865. Because 250 lodges were destroyed and at least sixty-three Indian braves and "many" women and children were killed without a single reported casualty among the troops, the event was surely another shooting gallery-like massacre. Unlike the incident at Bear River, however, Connor's efforts were not decisive. The Arapahoe fought on.[72]

The Californians did not. As the campaign shut down for the winter of 1865–66, the units re-gathered at their posts to be mustered out. Few had re-enlisted in October 1864 when the original volunteer period of three years expired, thus reducing the Third Infantry to a battalion of merely five companies. The original Second Cavalry companies which suffered great casualties at Bear River had also been mustered out in 1864. Companies L and M, which had joined Connor's command in 1863, stayed with him to the very end.[73] All of these remaining units were mustered out in the summer of 1866. Patrick Connor returned to Utah where he mined his claims until his death in 1891.

A large force of California Volunteers went to Utah to carry out an important mission in an area where few troops had been before the beginning of the Civil War. These men helped conquer the West at the same time the United States was defeating the South's attempts at independence. The attitudes the men brought with them led them to exterminate most of the Indians in Utah in the name of protecting the whites.

When Connor's California Volunteers confronted the Mormons, they attempted again to destroy what they saw as an unacceptable variation from the dominant American culture. But the Mormon Church was more formidable, and Brigham Young politically outmaneuvered the Californians until higher government authorities decided to end the oppression.

In a sense the Civil War represents an oasis in the desert of nineteenth-century racial and ethnic attitudes. Before the war, Know-Nothingism and slavery reigned. After Reconstruction, the "white man's burden" and Jim Crow took their places. During the war, however, the national authority worked to liberate humans by emancipating slaves and defending a government of the people. But the actions of the California Volunteers in Utah were different: from start to finish, they were the bridge from one era of hostility to the other. ☐

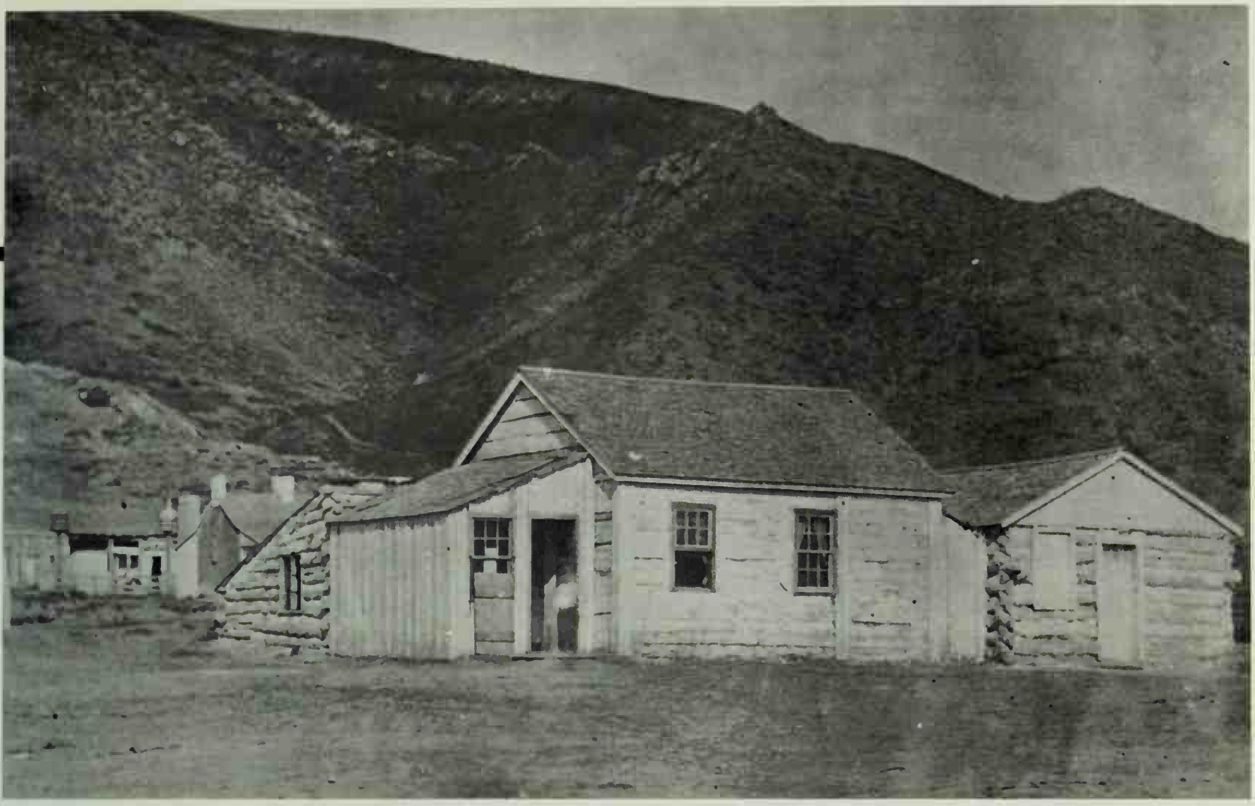
Notes

1. Orton, Richard, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion* [hereinafter Orton, *Records*] (Sacramento, 1890), p. 11; War Department, *War of the Rebellion: Official Records . . .* [hereinafter *WOR*], series 3, vol. IV, p. 73; War Department, *Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force*, pp. 328ff.
2. Wright, Arthur A, *The Civil War in the Southwest* (Denver, 1964), p. 8; War Dept., *WOR*, series 3, vol. IV, p. 465. A regiment of Washingtonians was recruited entirely in California, too. *Ibid.*, series 1, vol. L, part 1, pp. 848, 900.
3. See, e.g., Orton, *Records*, and Pettis, George H., *The California Column* (Santa Fe, 1908), written by men who

If the Mormon Church would leave the Union alone, Lincoln would leave the Church alone.

served in the Volunteers. Or, Shutes, Milton, *Lincoln and California* (Stanford, 1943), and Hunt, Aurora, *The Army of the Pacific* (Glendale, 1951), written by twentieth-century historians.

4. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 1, p. 454; Wright, *Civil War in the Southwest*, p. 8.
5. War Dept., *WOR*, series 3, vol. 1, p. 26; *ibid.*, series 1, vol. L, part 1, p. 460-1.
6. *Ibid.*, series 1, vol. L, part 1, p. 543.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 600-1, 606; Orton, *Records*, pp. 23-24. Secessionism in California is covered in Shutes, *Lincoln and California*, p. 56; Cremony, John C., "Address Before the Society of California Volunteers, April 25, 1868" (San Francisco, 1868); Ellison, Joseph, *California and the Nation, 1850–1869: A Study of the Relations of a Frontier Community with the Federal Government* (Berkeley, 1927), p. 179n.; and Earle, John J., "The Sentiment of the People of California with respect to the Civil War," Annual Report of the American Historical Association (1907), 1:126.
8. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 1, 611, 1022, 649, 757, 782, 798.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 766; other attempts to placate Indians by feeding them are at *ibid.*, pp. 451-2, 667, and 803-4.
10. Fisher, Margaret, *Utah and the Civil War . . .* (Salt Lake City, 1929); House of Representatives, *Document #605*, 57 Congress, 1st session (1902), pp. 9-10; War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 1, 1023; *ibid.*, part 2, 415; Furniss, Norman, *The Mormon Conflict: 1860–1869* (New Haven, 1960), pp. 33-34, 143-44; Peterson, Charles S., *Utah: A Bicentennial History* (New York, 1977), p. 42; Colton, Ray C., *The Civil War in the Western Territories . . .* (Norman, OK, 1959), p. 9; Hinckley, Gordon B., *Truth Restored: A Short History of the Church . . .* (Salt Lake City, 1979), p. 120-2.
11. Orton, *Records*, p. 23, 29; War Dept., *WOR* vol. L, part 1, p. 569.
12. Fox, William, "Patrick Edward Connor, 'Father' of Utah Mining" (unpublished thesis, Brigham Young University), pp. 5-8; "Gen. P. E. Connor," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Magazine*, July 28, 1866.
13. Hance, Irma W., and Warr, Irene, *Johnston, Connor and Mormons* (Salt Lake City, 1962), p. 111.
14. Orton, *Records*, pp. 505-6; War Dept. *WOR*, vol. L, part 1, pp. 55, 84, 915-17, 530, 755.
15. *Ibid.*, part 2, pp. 5-6; Lewis, Oscar, *The War in the Far West: 1861–1865* (New York, 1961), pp. 81-83; Orton, *Records*, 508; *San Francisco Bulletin*, Oct. 30, 1862, p. 1. Other Californians had better logistics; War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 1, 773-81.
16. War Dept. *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, 119.
17. *New York Times*, May 11, 1958, p. 1; Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, *passim*.
18. Larson, Gustive O., *The 'Americanization' of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, 1971), pp. 37-39; Peterson, *Utah*, p. 31.
19. *San Francisco Bulletin*, Oct. 31, 1862, p. 1; War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, p. 119.
20. *San Francisco Bulletin*, Oct. 30, 1862, p. 1; *ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1862, p. 2; *ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1862, p. 1; Larson, *The 'Americanization' of Utah*, p. 32.
21. *San Francisco Bulletin*, Nov. 1, 1862, p. 1.
22. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, p. 119; *San Francisco Bulletin*, Nov. 1, 1862, p. 1.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1862, p. 2.
25. Colton, *The Civil War in the Western Territories*, p. 164.
26. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 1, pp. 691, 178-9; part 2, pp. 228-9, 903.
27. *Ibid.*, part 1, pp. 178-9; Orton, *Records of California Men*, p. 196.
28. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, pp. 228-9; *ibid.*, part 1, pp. 182-3; *Deseret News*, Dec. 3, 1862, p. 181.
29. *Deseret News*, Dec. 10, 1862, p. 188. Danielson, Marie, *The Trail Blazer: History of the Development of Southeastern Idaho* (Franklin, ID., 1930), p. 15. An Indian historian tells that side of the story in the *Preston* [Idaho] *Citizen*, Aug. 13, 1981, p. 1.
30. Long, "The 'terrible combat'," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, April 15, 1976, pp. 6, 9. Long may not be reliable; he gave no sources for the war-dance tale, and his citation for the story of Bear Hunter's threat is not correct.
31. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 1, p. 185; *Deseret News*, Jan. 28, 1863, p. 244.
32. The *Alta* account is reprinted in Orton, *Records of California Men*, pp. 174-181.
33. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 1, p. 185.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6; Orton, *Records*, p. 176; Danielson, *The Trail Blazers*, p. 12; Long, "The 'terrible combat'," p. 10.
35. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, p. 318. The more famous events at Sand Creek, Colorado, in November 1864 were very much the same. *Ibid.*, vol. XLI, part 1, pp. 948-72.
36. *Ibid.*, part 1, p. 185; Danielson, *The Trail Blazers*, p. 12. The remark about nits and lice is sometimes credited to Col. John Chivington, commander at Sand Creek. Whichever colonel said it, Connor did his slaughtering nearly two years earlier.
37. Orton, *Records*, p. 180; War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 1, pp. 185, 318, 369; Long, "The 'terrible combat'," p. 41; Morris, W. G., "Address delivered before the Society of California Volunteers: California Volunteers as Seen by an Eastern Volunteer," an address before the Society of California Volunteers, October 15, 1893.
38. Orton, *Records of California Men*, p. 175; War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 1, p. 86.
39. *Ibid.*, part 2, p. 404; Orton, *Records*, p. 182.
40. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, 391.
41. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 1, pp. 217, 219-20, 229; part 2, pp. 470, 474, 481, 527-31, 547, 583, 585, 658-9.
42. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, p. 186-7.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 143.
44. *Journal of Discourses*, XXIII: 104-5; *ibid.*, vol. X: 106-7; Fisher, *Utah and the Civil War*, frontispiece; *Deseret News*, Oct. 23, 1861, pp. 189.
45. Coit, Margaret L., *John C. Calhoun: Great Lives Observed* (Englewood Cliffs, 1970), pp. 37-8, 62-3; Furniss, *The Mor-*



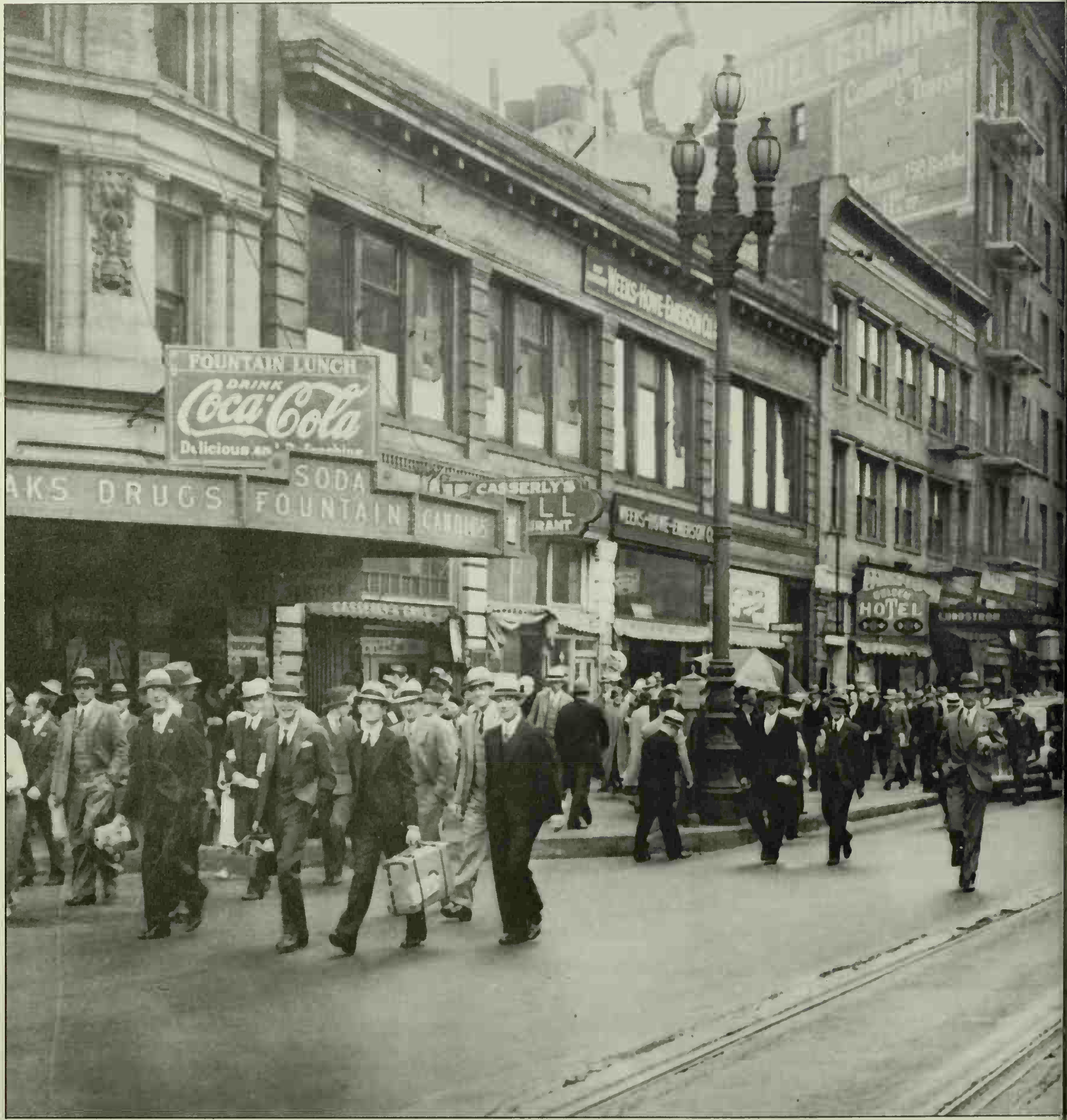
From the log-construction **Union Vedette** *office, Connor's Californians published a daily news sheet.*
CHS, San Francisco

mon Conflict, pp. 10-11; Eddins, Boyd L., "The Mormons and the Civil War" (unpublished thesis, Utah State University), pp. 41, 49-61; *Deseret News*, Jan. 8, 1862, p. 220; Jan. 15, 1862, pp. 225, 226.

46. "President Lincoln, Polygamy and the Civil War," *Lincoln Lore*, Feb. 1975, *passim*; *Deseret News*, Jan. 1, 1863, p. 212.
47. "President Lincoln, Polygamy and the Civil War," Feb. 1975, p. 1.
48. *Deseret News*, Mar. 4, 1863, pp. 284; War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, pp. 370-4; Eddins, "The Mormons and the Civil War," p. 62. The first names of Drake and Waite do not appear in the records.
49. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, pp. 373-4.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 371; Eddins, "The Mormons and the Civil War," pp. 83-4.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 85; *Journal of Discourses*, X: 107; *Deseret News*, Mar. 11, 1863, p. 292; War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, p. 370.
52. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, 357-8.
53. *Ibid.*, part 1, pp. 200-1, 206.
54. *Ibid.*, part 1, pp. 198-9; part 2, pp. 415, 314-5, 133.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 430, 453, 481.
56. Eddins, "The Mormons and the Civil War," pp. 91, 92n; "President Lincoln, Polygamy and the Civil War," Mar. 1975, pp. 3-4.
57. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, pp. 583-4.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 715-16.
59. Orton, *Records*, pp. 518-19; War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, p. 899; Eddins, "The Mormons and the Civil War," p. 116; *Union Vedette*, July 11, 1864.
60. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, pp. 901-2, 886, 904, 909-10, 916, 923.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 910.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 910.
63. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, p. 669; *ibid.*, vol. XLIII, part 1, p. 348.
64. Fox, "Patrick Edward Connor," pp. 48, 42; Peterson, *Utah*, p. 72; Eddins, "The Mormons and the Civil War," p. 102.
65. Arrington and Alexander, "The U.S. Army," pp. 331-2; *Union Vedette*, July 11, 1864, editorial; War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, p. 774.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 638-9, 845, 834, 846, 887.
67. *Ibid.*, part 1, pp. 1185-6; Connor, P. E. "Dictation and Biographical Sketch," California Biographies Reel 33, C-D 350, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, p. 30; *Union Vedette*, Nov. 20, 1863; Peterson, *Utah*, p. 46; War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, 990-1; Orton, *Records*, pp. 284-303, 522-594; *Union Vedette*, Oct. 11, 1864; War Dept., *WOR* , vol. L, part 2, pp. 996-7.
68. *Deseret News*, Dec. 16, 1891, p. 25; Eddins, "The Mormons and the Civil War," p. 113.
69. Larson, *The 'Americanization' of Utah*, p. 33; Connor "Dictation," p. 30.
70. War Dept., *WOR*, vol. L, part 2, pp. 1037, 1101, 1112; *ibid.*, vol. XLI, part 1, p. 908; *ibid.*, vol. XLIII, part 1, p. 329; *ibid.*, vol L, part 2, pp. 318, 429, 599.
71. *Ibid.*, vol. XLIII, part 1, pp. 348, 856, 1285; *ibid.*, vol. XLVIII, part 2, p. 646; *ibid.*, vol. L, part 2, pp. 1037.
72. Hunt, *The Army of the Pacific*, pp. 214, 219; Rogers, Fred B., *Soldiers of the Overland. . .* (San Francisco, 1938), pp. 184ff; Wyoming State Historical Society Roadside Marker on Rte. 14 in Ranchester; Orton, *Records of California Men*, p. 185.
73. Orton, *Records*, pp. 505, 168-171.

F I F T Y Y

THE DAY THE

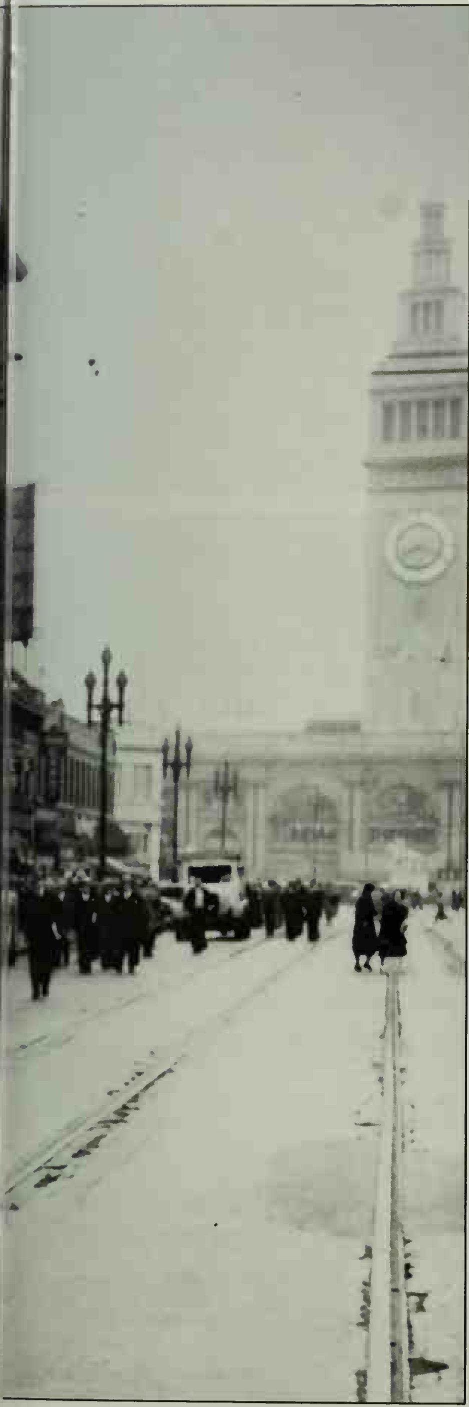


EARS AGO

CITY STOPPED

Memorable scenes from San Francisco's 1934 General Strike

by John Kagel



Commuters arriving at San Francisco's Ferry Building cheerfully hike up an almost empty Market Street during the General Strike.
San Francisco Archives

Although the weather report for July 16, 1934, was typical for a summer day in San Francisco—morning clouds and otherwise fair—that was all that was typical about that particular Monday a half century ago, the day the city stopped.

No street cars ran. Not a taxi could be found. Service stations had long since run out of gas, and there was virtually no car traffic on the streets. All but nineteen of the city's restaurants were closed, and no bars were open to serve beer or liquor or host a game of dice. Grocery stores were nearly out of food. The waterfront was being patroled by the National Guard. No one knew what to expect next. San Francisco's general strike was on.

The general strike from its start to its conclusion three days later was a sympathy strike intended to demonstrate organized labor's support for the already striking Longshoremen and off-shore maritime unions. These unions were demanding to be recognized as the collective bargaining agents on the West Coast for their members. They also insisted on abolition of the insidious "shape-up" hiring system, where a boss chose men who were reduced to beg or bribe for each day's work, and its replacement with a union-controlled hiring hall.

Against the wishes of their nominal leaders, but with the support of the rank and file led by Australian Harry Bridges, longshoremen had been out on strike since May 9, 1934. Within two days of that walk-out all the major ports on the West Coast, with the exception of Los Angeles, were affected by their strike. The offshore A.F.L. maritime unions struck in May, and on June 7, the Teamsters joined the strike by refusing to handle cargo placed on the docks by strikebreakers. The port of San Francisco was effectively closed to any kind of commercial traffic.

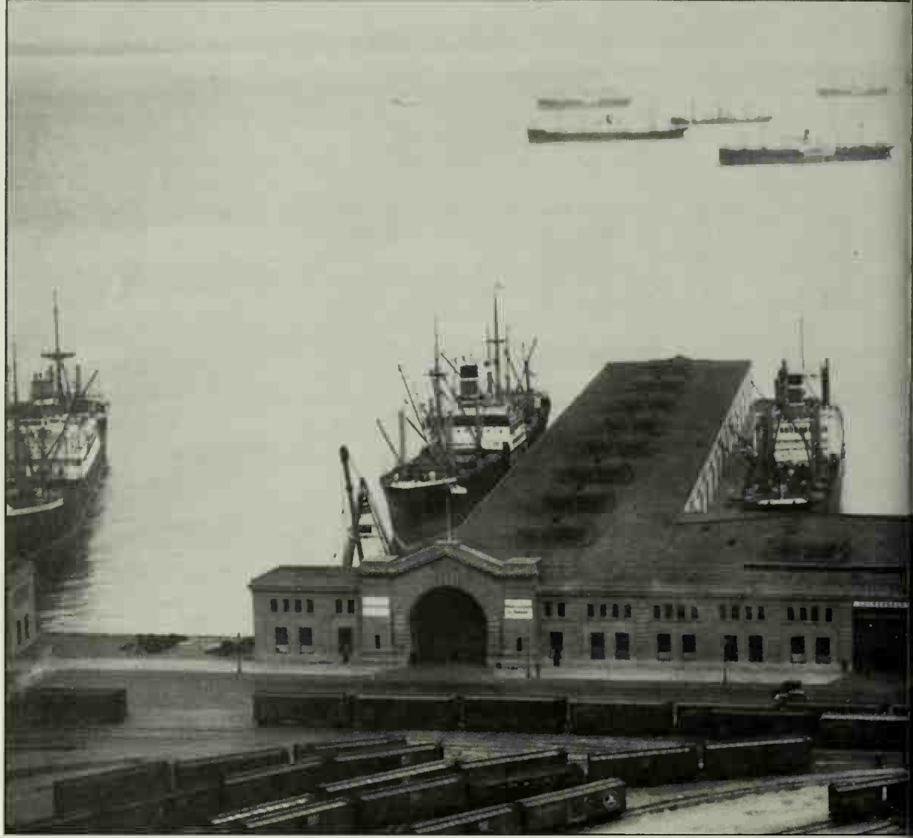
The president of San Francisco's Chamber of Commerce wrote a frantic letter to the Industrial Association of San Francisco, an employers' organization, urging that a quick resolution to this "intolerable" situation be found. When a National Longshoremen's Board appointed by President Franklin Roosevelt was unable to find one, employers decided to open the port by force.

On July 3 scab-driven trucks emerged from Pier 38 on San Francisco's Embarcadero accompanied by police, heading for a nearby warehouse. Violence erupted as strikers threw bricks and rocks, and the police retaliated with clubs and tear gas. When the confrontations of "Bloody Thursday" had ended, 109 strikers and police had been injured and 2 men had been killed: Longshoreman Howard Sperry, a veteran of World War I, and Communist Nick Bordoise, a cook. On July 5, the port was reopened with the assistance of the National Guard called up by Governor Frank Merriam.

The violence of Bloody Thursday attracted public interest and aroused sympathy for the striking workers and their slain companions. On the following Monday when the National Longshoremen's board began formal hearings to investigate the strike, public attention was instead focused on the funerals of the fallen Longshoremen. Tens of thousands of spectators witnessed the long procession. Paul Eliel of the employers' Industrial Association described this moving scene:

> *The caskets containing the bodies of the dead strikers were placed on open trucks, that of the veteran being draped with the American flag. Flowers were banked on these trucks, and three or four other trucks were also employed to transport the thousands of floral decorations. The procession was orderly and quiet. . . . Every marcher walked with head bared. Not a word was spoken. None smoked. The ranks were well formed, and the cadence of the marchers' feet was set by the slow music of a Beethoven funeral march played by a single band. . . .*
>
> *It was one of the strangest and most dramatic spectacles that had ever moved along Market Street. Its passage marked*

John Kagel, a U.C. Berkeley History Honors and Law graduate, is a San Francisco lawyer. He specializes in the arbitration and mediation of labor disputes and is a lecturer at Stanford Law School.

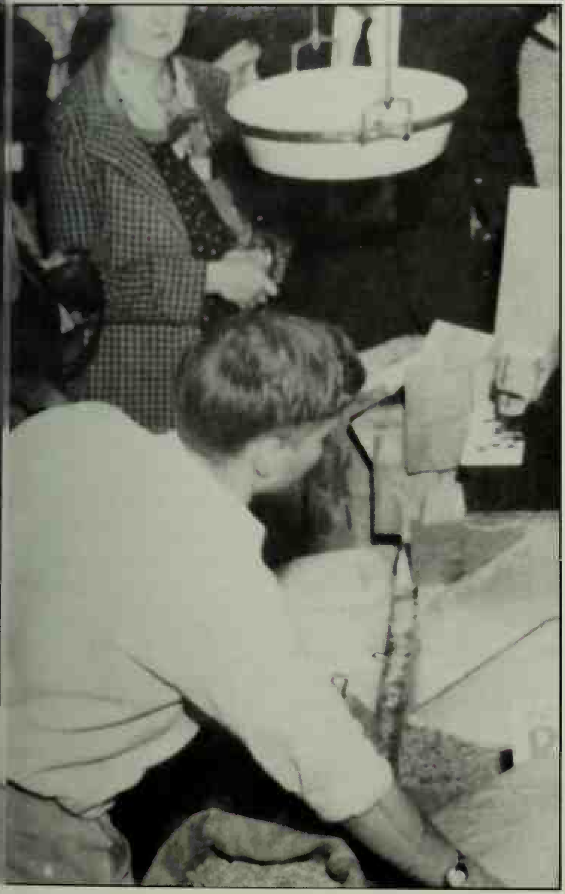


the high tide of united labor action in San Francisco. Its dramatic qualities moved the entire community without regard to individual points of view as to the justice and righteousness of the strikers' cause.[1]

With the Longshoremen driven from the docks by the National Guard, it was now incumbent upon the Teamsters to keep the strike alive. Rejecting the advice of their conservative leader, Michael Casey, to go slowly, they blockaded the southern land routes into San Francisco and allowed only milk and beer trucks (the latter later curtailed) to enter the city, thus paralyzing food deliveries. Fuel was also cut off except to hospitals and the police and fire departments, with dramatic impact. When the Maritime employers attempted to stave off a complete strike by agreeing to accept arbitration on the Longshoremen's issues, the Longshoremen refused to arbitrate the hiring hall issue and, in a show of solidarity, to yield unless the demands of the other maritime unions were also met.[2] Finally, on July 14, the city's Central Labor Council voted for a general strike.

Although far more extensive than any strike before or since in San Francisco, the strike which began on July 16 was not total. Electrical workers voted to remain at their powerhouses. The newspapers gave an eleventh-hour raise to keep their typographers on the job. The Milk, Ice and Bakery Wagon Drivers were ordered by the Labor Council to keep working. Employees of the Southern Pacific ferry boats continued on duty. The Strike Committee ordered nineteen restau-

continued on page 218



Ships line up to dock at San Francisco piers while striking Longshoremen refuse to unload cargo.
Bancroft Library

Before the rumored General Strike, shoppers crowd grocery stores, buying up quantities of dried foods including beans, rice and grains.

THE GENERAL STRIKE— REVOLUTION OR REACTION?

Police use tear gas to drive away striking demonstrators along the Embarcadero. San Francisco Archives

President Roosevelt's intemperate representative General Hugh Johnson called the San Francisco general strike a civil war; publisher William Randolph Hearst warned it heralded revolution. Some labor historians view general strikes as the epitome of class warfare.

But the San Francisco strike was none of these, and "uptown" Labor Council leaders not directly involved in the longshore or maritime strikes were reluctant warlords. George Kidwell, secretary of the general strike committee, and others knew of the precedents for general strikes: Seattle in 1919, Winnipeg shortly after, and Britain's national general strike in 1926. In each, labor emerged far weaker than before, and in each, government forces had actively suppressed the strikers.

San Francisco's labor leaders sought to avoid replaying this scenario, and their decision helped keep martial law out of San Francisco. Unlike the situation in Seattle, where labor's agenda called for larger societal changes, the original San Francisco maritime strike had limited goals: recognition of their union and the right to collective bargaining between shipowners and unions representing workers in the industry. The striking Longshoremen had two additional goals – an exclusively union-controlled hiring hall and no settlement of their strike without a concurrent settlement with the striking offshore maritime unions.

The maritime strike had been a long and bitter one. Violence was commonplace against strikebreakers and, eventually, strikers. To be sure, Communists were active in the strike, and their aid was readily accepted, but they failed to alter the strikers' goals or tactics.

What impelled the San Francisco general strike movement was primarily the passion of the moment: the use of police and National Guard troops to break the maritime strike; the flaunting of the law by employers; and, most importantly, the galvanizing drama of the funeral march for the dead strikers. Labor leaders realized that the limited life of that passion had to be gauged, and a means to allow it to be displayed without long-term damage had to be devised. The uptown labor leadership had a tiger by the tail.

The devices used to control that tiger have already been recounted. Harry Bridges was the only representative of the original strikers on the Labor Council's general strike executive committee. Acting conservatively, the Labor Council deliberately prevented a total strike, commanding ice, milk and bakery deliveries to continue, tolerating continued newspaper and utility operations, and issuing permits for restaurants and other basic operations. As each day passed, more and more permits were issued while certain types of employees, such as the streetcarmen, were ordered back to work. Internally in the Council, by close votes, arbitration of all strikers' issues were deemed to be a satisfactory outcome of the strike effort over the protests of the original strikers.

The dissipation of the general strikers' initial enthusiasm is revealed by the nature of the terms accepted for returning to work. Primary was the call for arbitration of all outstanding maritime strike issues with but a vague promise that all government agencies "would do everything in their power" to compel the employers to accept arbitration. As assurance to the rank-and-file strikers, the chair of the strike committee stated only that "delegates can take it . . . for what it is worth . . . ."

In reality this reassurance was worth almost nothing. Shipowners had steadfastly refused to deal with the offshore unions before the general strike, and by abandoning it, economic force could no longer be used to compel settlement.

Nonetheless, William Randolph Hearst's counsel John Francis Neylan had, ironically, been quarterbacking the publisher's anti-strike publicity while quietly seeking an end to the strike by enlisting the aid of some labor leaders, apparently primarily Teamsters led by Michael Casey. One method probably tried by Neylan was to marshall and apply pressure by non-shipowner employers on the recalcitrant shipowners in exchange for a pledge by strikers to return to work.[2] The day after the Labor Council dismantled the strike, Teamsters voted 1138–283 for a complete return to work in the city and on the docks. The same day Neylan forced the shipowners to accede to the demands for union recognition and collective bargaining. Neylan described the event:

> *I invited all the shipping magnates down to my place in the country, and we had an ice-water lunch, no cocktails or anything of that kind. And then I took them down in the open air where all the orators could blow off steam and so on, and we read the riot act to them; that the waterfront had been badly handled; that they had played right into the hands of the radicals by their atrocious neglect of the legitimate interests of labor down there; that they had to get on to themselves, and get in line and help us out on this thing. That went on all afternoon down there. Some of them were just, oh!*[3]

After the Labor Council and shipowners had acquiesced, the Longshoremen, with nowhere else to go, voted to accept arbitration of their dispute, including arbitration of the hiring hall issue, by a large margin.

Some historians have lamented the early end to the general strike as a missed opportunity for a long-overdue working man's revolt. Instead, if anything, the maritime strike and the resulting general strike were counterrevolutionary. The maritime strike had been caused by the employers not following the dictates of FDR's 1933 National Recovery Act which recognized for the first time the right of employees "to organize and bargain collectively through representation of their own choosing." The general strike came after official governmental support was given the employers, resulting in Bloody Thursday (see article). While there was nearly a general strike in Portland at the same time in conjunction with the maritime strike, no linkage between labor in the two areas has been recounted. No noticeable revolutionary content was apparent in the San Francisco strike, despite newspaper exaggerations which contributed to the excesses of the officially sanctioned illegal round-ups of suspected radicals. San Francisco's general strike was non-total, violence-free, and, from the outset, designed to be readily dismantled.

Viewed in light of its objectives, the San Francisco general strike was a labor victory on all but one count. The only issue lost was the Longshore union hiring hall, but a unanimous arbitration decision soon gave the union control of an employer-employee hiring hall. The Longshore and offshore maritime unions were officially recognized by employers and gained collective bargaining agreements. Secondly, and most importantly, the tiger of the general strike was successfully caged without greviously wounding labor first. Unlike previous general strikes in Seattle, Winnipeg, and Britain, the San Francisco general strike saw labor stronger as an institution *after* the general strike than before. ☐ *John Kagel*

NOTES

1. General Strike Committee Minutes, in possession of the author.
2. John Francis Neylan Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
3. Neylan Oral History, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

rants to remain open, and certain institutions such as hospitals were given permits enabling them to receive the supplies necessary to remain operational.

Nevertheless, on July 15 the city was virtually immobilized. The employees of the Market Street Railway, the Municipal Railway (civil service status notwithstanding) and the Key System streetcars, trains, and ferries all walked off the job, and taxis stopped running. East Bay unions also walked out.

San Francisco Bay Area newspapers in coordination with each other under the direction of publisher William Randolph Hearst's general counsel, John Francis Neylan, attempted to whip up passions against the strikers with a Red Scare. On July 14, the *Chronicle* printed an unsubstantiated story about alleged armies of radicals advancing from the Northwest which were scheduled to blow up railway bridges along the way. Spurious stories also circulated about the Labor Council's nonexistent plan to limit food distribution solely to union members and their families.

For the most part the public did not believe these stories. The funeral march for the slain strikers had no Communist overtones, by the strikers' agreement with the police, and there were no signs of an imminent Bolshevik revolt.

When the strike began, in fact, the atmosphere was more carnival-like than revolutionary. Golf courses tennis courts, art galleries, and museums reported above-average attendance. The few cars remaining on the streets were so over-crowded they resembled jitneys. With the shortage of gas, horses were pressed into service. Leading citizens were seen arriving at work on roller skates, and members of the plush downtown clubs were forced to take over their own waiter and bartender chores. Cigarettes were rationed to one package per purchase.

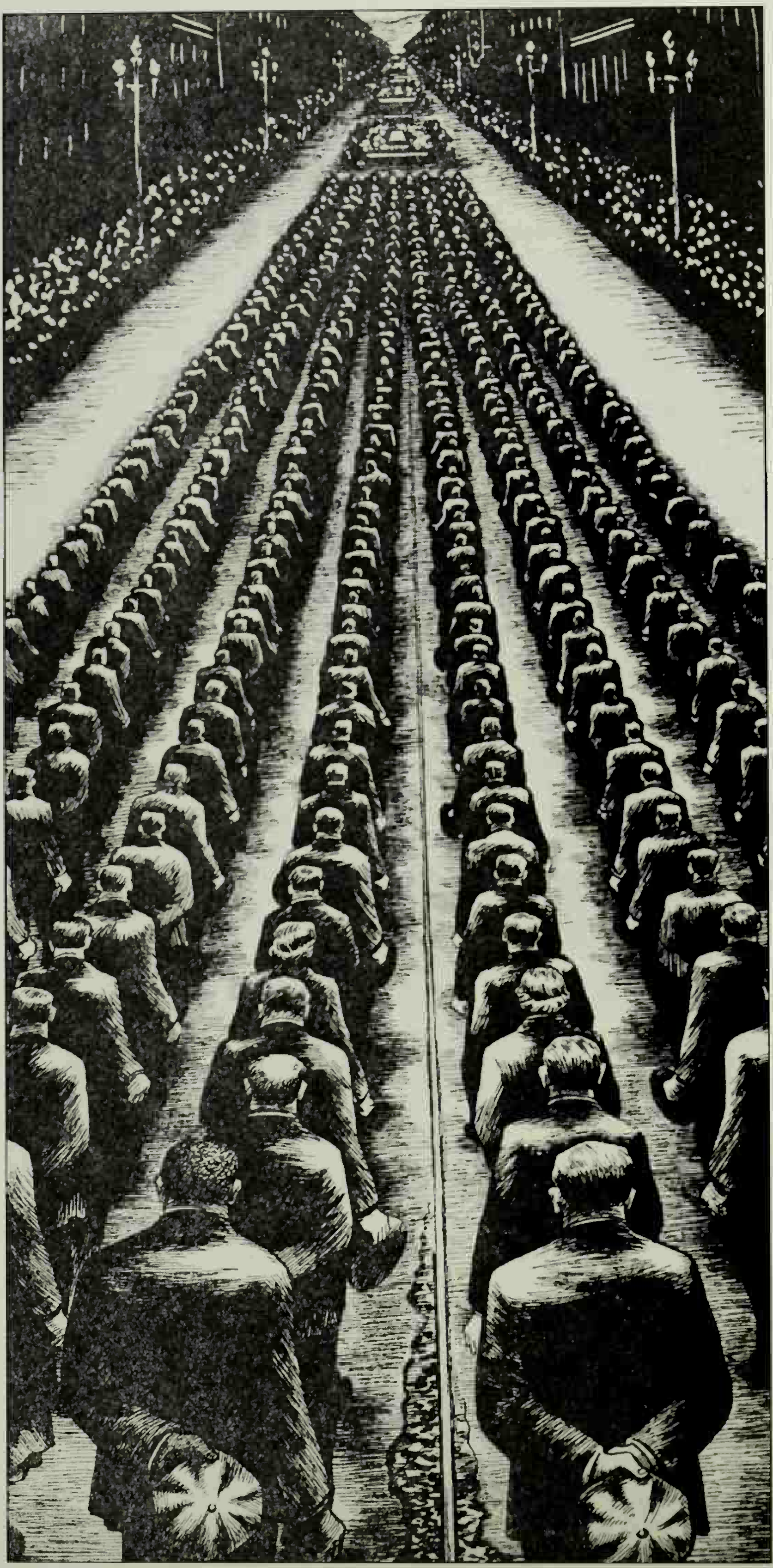
Hotels limited their dining rooms to permanent residents, prompting some businessmen to take vacant rooms to secure meal privileges. According to one account, younger men and women found the first day of the strike "a welcome break in the daily round. Clerks, cashiers, in some cases whole office forces, were billeted in downtown hotels. Their scurrying up and down corridors and from room to room resembled nothing so much as a night before the Big Game."

Canned tuna became a popular meal, and sugar and flour were voluntarily rationed. One East Bay grocery store was the scene of a minor riot because of an alleged attempt at profiteering. The *New York Times* reported that the food shortage was potential, rather than actual, however, because the public had been forewarned of possible shortages the prior week.

"The situation amounts to a thrill," wrote *News* food columnist Martha Lane on the day of the strike. "It's an opportunity to show what one can do. The resourceful housewife has her chance! Old-fashioned conditions prevail, but that's the fun."

While Ms. Lane gaily suggested corned beef and ham for supper, many others who normally dined at the city's 3,000 restaurants were vying to be served at the city's 19 restaurants now open in the city. Lines stretched more than a block at lunchtime when some 200,000 customers backed up behind lunch-

Following the General Strike, an arbitration decision replaced the hated "shape-up" hiring system with an employer-employee hiring hall.
Drawing by Bits Hayden in Mike Quin, The Big Strike *(1949)*



Assigned to open the port, San Francisco police battle strikers with clubs and tear gas, resulting in the deaths of two men. The funeral march on Market Street galvanized public support for the General Strike.
CHS, San Francisco; drawing by Bits Hayden, in Mike Quin, The Big Strike *(1949)*

counter seats. "Normal appetites doubled and trebled as a pure matter of psychology," and record candy bar sales were noted by newsstands. Soup kitchens were reduced to serving only beans, but they had a plentiful supply. Finally, seeing a potential danger in trying to control the public's stomachs, the Labor Council issued permits to 32 more restaurants to operate the next day, and dropped all restrictions thereafter.

If the public's attitude toward the strike was tolerant, official response was less charitable. Governor Frank W. Merriam ordered 3,000 additional troops to the waterfront, and Mayor Angelo Rossi assumed emergency powers granted him under the city's charter and threatened to request a declaration of martial law. A crackdown by police or by police-tolerated vigilante groups resulted in the arrest of hundreds of suspected "radicals" for vagrancy, and though these charges were more than dubious, people were held in jail without trial and convicted without pleas. The lines of National Guardsmen were extended around the produce market area, and the California Highway Patrol began to open commerce lanes by escorting produce trucks into the city. As pressures against the strike increased, the Labor Council's general strike committee, over opposition from the original strikers, voted that all the outstanding issues go to arbitration.

The Longshoremen's Board with the Roosevelt administration's General Hugh Johnson fronting for the employers insisted that nothing could be done to resolve the issues until the general strike was called off. Accordingly, the Labor Council lifted its embargoes on restaurants, butcher shops, and fuel deliveries.

Reflections on three days that shook San Francisco

Activist Elaine Black Yoneda participated in the San Francisco general strike. She was district secretary of the International Labor Defense (ILD), which provided bail, attorneys, and community support for people arrested in labor, unemployed, and political struggles in the Thirties. For her efforts, the Hearst press labeled her "Tiger Woman," but to ILD defendants she was the "Red Angel."

The following interview, conducted in 1980 by Richard Bermack, is from a book in progress titled, "Winter Soldiers: Portraits of Older Radicals," based on interviews from the Radical Elders Oral History Project.

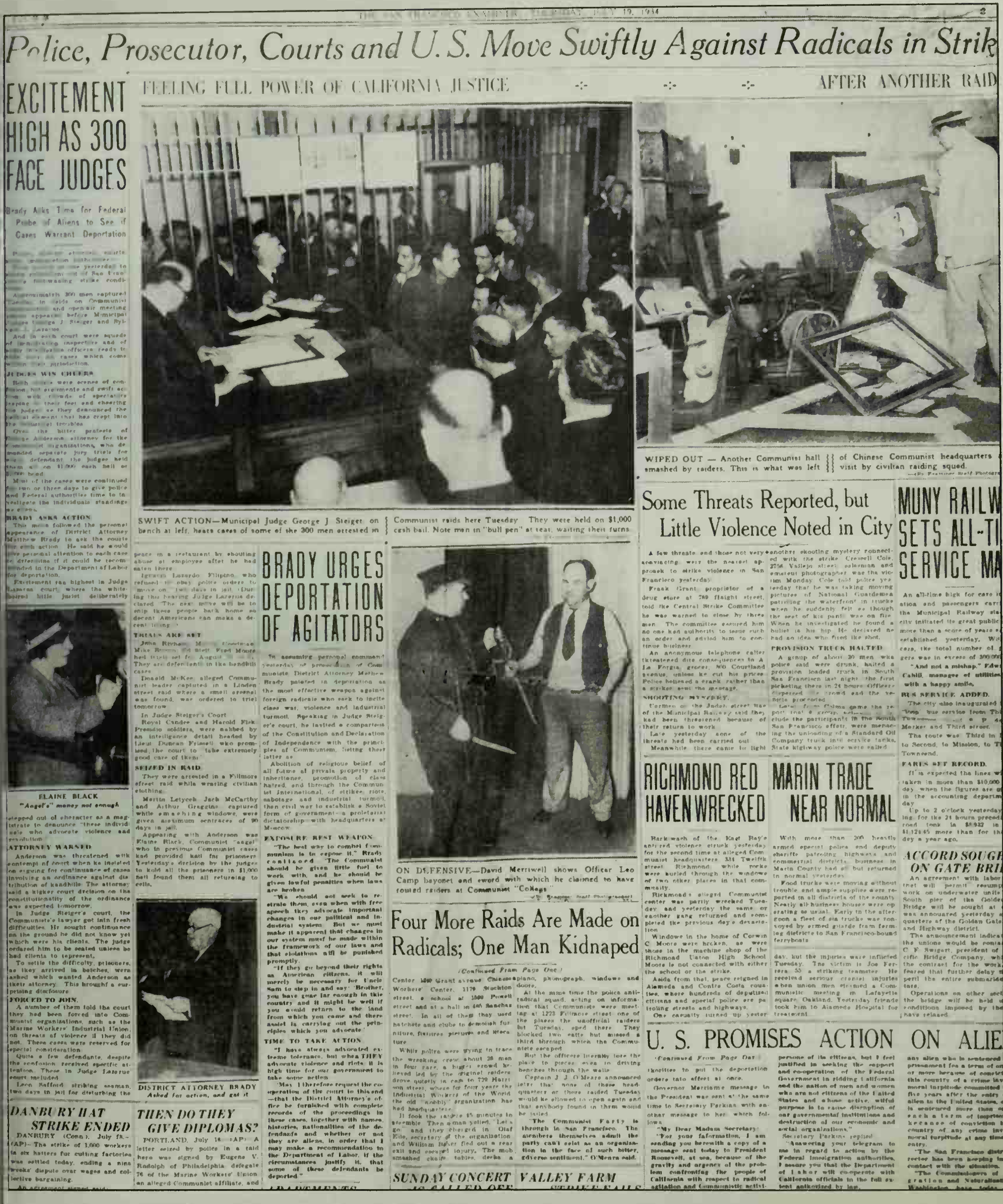
It was the height of the depression and the main organizing going on was of the unemployed—unemployed councils. When people were evicted we would help bring the furniture back into the house, turn back on the lights and the gas, especially if there were children so that they wouldn't freeze. And arrests resulted. . . . Social Security and Unemployment Insurance all came about from people getting their heads busted in these demonstrations.

With Roosevelt came the right to organize unions. The turning point for the San Francisco labor movement was the maritime strike, which led to the General Strike. The maritime strike started on May 9, 1934, with a great big rally at Civic Center. Somebody sabotaged the loudspeaker system, but they could hear my bellowing voice when I spoke, offering them the services of the ILD. I told them we would do everything in our power to see that their rights were preserved, and that should there be arrests, we had this little pamphlet, "What To Do If Under Arrest."

On July 3, the employers tried to run in some scabs, and a battle ensued. Everything was quiet on July 4 because of the patriotic holiday; then on July 5 the police attacked the pickets. In the ensuing battle two men were killed, and many were wounded and arrested. One of those killed was a member of the ILD, Nick Bordoise, an uptown cook. I had the very unpleasant task of having to go down to the morgue and identify the body. There was a big funeral march—over 50,000 attended. In one limousine rode [labor martyr] Tom Mooney's family, Bordoise's widow, and myself. There were innumerable speakers. I also addressed the services saying, "This must never happen again. We have to close our ranks and maintain our rights under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The powers that be have no right to trample on that. That is why a good many of us and our parents came here [United States], and those rights have to be extended to all people regardless of race, color or religious beliefs."

The murders touched off a general strike, and on July 16 the entire city of San Francisco was shut down. On July 17 a reign of terror started, led by the police and the American Legion. They broke into the ILD and [Communist] Party offices, smashing all belongings and arresting the people there. I was arrested that night on $1000 Vag. [vagrancy]. They used that a lot—vagrancy was usually $10 or $20. I was arrested several times on that charge, even though I was employed by the ILD. At one point I was in the Hall of Justice with $2000 in my purse going upstairs to bail out two people, and I was stopped by the [Police] Red Squad and arrested on $1000 Vag. This was in the Hall of Justice! I defended myself in court, and we won an appeal. As a result of that case, $1000. Vag is no longer used.

The strike ended with the longshoremen winning a hiring hall and union recognition. Before they had been worse than the lowest of the low, because of the shape-up system where they were forced to pay bribes to get work. Now they won a hiring hall where a worker could apply for work with dignity. . . .



THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, THURSDAY, JULY 19, 1934

Police, Prosecutor, Courts and U. S. Move Swiftly Against Radicals in Strik

EXCITEMENT HIGH AS 300 FACE JUDGES

Brady Asks Time for Federal Probe of Aliens to See if Cases Warrant Deportation

[illegible] yesterday to [illegible] of San Francisco [illegible] strike conditions.

Approximately 300 men captured Tuesday in raids on Communist [illegible] and open-air meeting [illegible] appeared before Municipal Judges George J. Steiger and Sylvain Lazarus.

And in each court were squads of immigration inspectors and of [illegible] officers ready to [illegible] cases which come within their jurisdiction.

JUDGES WIN CHEERS

Both [illegible] were scenes of confusion, hot statements and swift action, with crowds of spectators leaping to their feet and cheering the judges as they denounced the [illegible] element that has crept into the industrial troubles.

Over the bitter protests of George Anderson, attorney for the Communist organizations, who demanded separate jury trials for each defendant, the judges held them all on $1,000 each bail or [illegible] bond.

Most of the cases were continued for two or three days to give police and Federal authorities time to investigate the individuals' standings as aliens.

BRADY ASKS ACTION

This move followed the personal appearance of District Attorney Matthew Brady to ask the courts for such action. He said he would give personal attention to each case to determine if it could be recommended to the Department of Labor for deportation.

Excitement ran highest in Judge Lazarus' court, where the white-haired little jurist deliberately stepped out of character as a magistrate to denounce "these individuals who advocate violence and revolution."

ELAINE BLACK
"Angel's" money not enough

ATTORNEY WARNED

Anderson was threatened with contempt of court when he insisted on arguing for continuance of cases involving an ordinance against distribution of handbills. The attorney said a higher court decision on the constitutionality of the ordinance was expected tomorrow.

In Judge Steiger's court, the Communists's lawyer got into fresh difficulties. He sought continuance on the ground he did not know yet which were his clients. The judge ordered him to be seated unless he had clients to represent.

To settle the difficulty, prisoners, as they arrived in batches, were asked which wanted Anderson as their attorney. This brought a surprising disclosure.

FORCED TO JOIN

A number of them told the court they had been forced into Communist organizations, such as the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, on threats of violence if they did not. These cases were reserved for special consideration.

Quite a few defendants, despite the confusion, received specific attention. These in Judge Lazarus' court included:

Leon Safford, striking seaman, two days in jail for disturbing the peace in a restaurant by shouting abuse at employes after he had eaten there.

Ignacio Lazardo, Filipino, who refused to obey police orders to move on, two days in jail. (During this hearing Judge Lazarus declared: "The next move will be to ship these people back home so decent Americans can make a decent living.")

TRIALS ARE SET

John Rycham, M[illegible] Goodman, Mike Brown, Ed Stelt, Fred Moore had trials set for August [illegible]. They are defendants in the handbill cases.

Donald McKee, alleged Communist leader captured in a Linden street raid where a small arsenal was found, was ordered to trial tomorrow.

In Judge Steiger's Court

Royal Candee and Harold Fisk, Presidio soldiers, were nabbed by an intelligence detail headed by Lieut. Duncan Frissell, who promised the court to "take extremely good care of them."

SEIZED IN RAID

They were arrested in a Fillmore street raid while wearing civilian clothing.

Martin Letyeck, Jack McCarthy and Arthur Gragging, captured while smashing windows, were given maximum sentences of 90 days in jail.

Appearing with Anderson was Elaine Black, Communist "angel" who in previous Communist cases had provided bail for prisoners. Yesterday's decision by the judges to hold all the prisoners in $1,000 bail found them all returning to cells.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY BRADY
Asked for action, and got it

FEELING FULL POWER OF CALIFORNIA JUSTICE

SWIFT ACTION—Municipal Judge George J. Steiger, on bench at left, hears cases of some of the 300 men arrested in Communist raids here Tuesday. They were held on $1,000 cash bail. Note men in "bull pen" at rear, waiting their turns.

BRADY URGES DEPORTATION OF AGITATORS

In assuming personal command yesterday of prosecution of Communists, District Attorney Matthew Brady pointed to deportation as the most effective weapon against foreign radicals who seek to incite class war, violence and industrial turmoil. Speaking in Judge Steiger's court, he invited a comparison of the Constitution and Declaration of Independence with the principles of Communism, listing these latter as:

Abolition of religious belief, of all forms of private property and inheritance, promotion of class hatred, and through the Communist International, of strikes, riots, sabotage and industrial turmoil, then civil war to establish a Soviet form of government—a proletarian dictatorship with headquarters at Moscow.

EXPOSURE BEST WEAPON

"The best way to combat Communism is to expose it," Brady continued. "The Communist should be given little fuel to work with, and he should be given lawful penalties when laws are broken.

"We should not seek to restrain them, even when with free speech they advocate important changes in our political and industrial system. But we must make it apparent that changes in our system must be made within the framework of our laws and that violations will be punished promptly.

"If they go beyond their rights as American citizens, it will merely be necessary for Uncle Sam to step in and say: 'Brother, you have gone far enough in this country and it might be well if you would return to the land from which you came and there assist in carrying out the principles which you advocate.'

TIME TO TAKE ACTION

"I have always advocated extreme tolerance, but when THEY advocate violence and riots it is high time for our government to take some action.

"May I therefore request the cooperation of the court to this end—that the District Attorney's office be furnished with complete records of the proceedings in these cases, together with names, histories, nationalities of the defendants and whether or not they are aliens, in order that I may make a recommendation to the Department of Labor, if the circumstances justify it, that some of these defendants be deported."

DANBURY HAT STRIKE ENDED

DANBURY (Conn.), July 18.—(AP)—The strike of 1,000 workers in six hatters fur cutting factories was settled today, ending a nine weeks' dispute over wages and collective bargaining.

An agreement signed said:

THEN DO THEY GIVE DIPLOMAS?

PORTLAND, July 18.—(AP)—A letter seized by police in a raid here was signed by Eugene V. Radolph of Philadelphia, delegate 76 of the Marine Workers' Union, an alleged Communist affiliate, and

ON DEFENSIVE—David Merriwell shows Officer Leo Camp bayonet and sword with which he claimed to have routed raiders at Communist "College."
—By Examiner Staff Photographer

Four More Raids Are Made on Radicals; One Man Kidnaped

(Continued From Page One)

Center, [illegible] Grant avenue; Chinese Workers' Center, 1179 Stockton street; a school at [illegible] Powell street and at a hall in [illegible] Sanchez street. In all of them they used hatchets and clubs to demolish furniture, fixtures, pictures and literature.

While police were trying to trace the wrecking crew about 20 men in four cars, a bigger crowd believed led by the original raiders drove quietly in cars to 720 Harrison street, where for four years the Industrial Workers of the World, the old "Wobbly" organization, has had headquarters.

It took the raiders 15 minutes to assemble. Then a man yelled, "Let's go," and they charged in. Olaf Eide, secretary of the organization, and William Baker fled out a rear exit and escaped injury. The mob smashed chairs, tables, desks, a piano, phonograph, windows and doors.

At the same time the police anti-radical squad, acting on information that Communists were meeting at 1223 Fillmore street, one of the places the unofficial raiders hit Tuesday, [illegible] there. They blocked two exits but missed a third through which the Communists escaped.

But the officers literally tore the place to pieces, even to driving benches through the walls.

Captain J. J. O'Meara announced later that none of these headquarters or those raided Tuesday would be allowed to open again and that anybody found in them would be jailed.

"The Communist Party is through in San Francisco. The members themselves admit the party can't exist as an organization in the face of such bitter, adverse sentiment," O'Meara said.

SUNDAY CONCERT

VALLEY FARM

AFTER ANOTHER RAID

WIPED OUT — Another Communist hall smashed by raiders. This is what was left of Chinese Communist headquarters visit by civilian raiding squad.
—By Examiner Staff Photographers

Some Threats Reported, but Little Violence Noted in City

A few threats and those not very convincing were the nearest approach to strike violence in San Francisco yesterday.

Frank Grant, proprietor of a drug store at 780 Haight street, told the Central Strike Committee he was warned to close by three men. The committee assured him no one had authority to issue such an order and advised him to continue business.

An anonymous telephone caller threatened dire consequences to A. La Forgia, grocer, 800 Courtland avenue, unless he cut his prices. Police believed a crank rather than a striker sent the message.

SHOOTING MYSTERY

Carmen on the Judah street line of the Municipal Railway said they had been threatened because of their return to work.

Late yesterday none of the threats had been carried out.

Meanwhile there came to light another shooting mystery connected with the strike. Creswell Cole, 2756 Vallejo street, salesman and amateur photographer, was the victim Monday. Cole told police yesterday that he was taking moving pictures of National Guardsmen patrolling the waterfront in trucks when he suddenly felt as though the seat of his pants was on fire. When he investigated he found a bullet in his hip. He declared he had no idea who fired the shot.

PROVISION TRUCK HALTED

A group of about 30 men who police said were drunk, halted a provision loaded truck in South San Francisco last night, the first picketing there in 24 hours. Officers dispersed the crowd and the vehicle proceeded.

Later from Colma came the report that a group, believed to include the participants in the South San Francisco affair, were menacing the unloading of a Standard Oil Company truck into service tanks. State highway police were called.

MUNY RAILW SETS ALL-TI SERVICE MA

An all-time high for cars in ation and passengers carri the Municipal Railway sin city initiated its great public more than a score of years a established yesterday. Wi cars, the total number of gers was in excess of 200,000

"And not a mishap," Edw Cahill, manager of utilities with a happy smile.

BUS SERVICE ADDED

The city also inaugurated "loop" bus service from Th Town[illegible] Market and Third street.

The route was Third to to Second, to Mission, to T Townsend.

FARES SET RECORD

It is expected the lines w taken in more than $10,000 day when the figures are in the accounting departm day.

Up to 2 o'clock yesterday ing for the 24 hours preced road took in $8,922 in $1,121.45 more than for the day a year ago.

ACCORD SOUGH ON GATE BRI

An agreement with labor that will permit resump work on underwater unit South pier of the Golde Bridge will be sought at was announced yesterday quarters of the Golden Gate and Highway district.

The announcement indicat the unions would be conta C. F. Swigart, president of cific Bridge Company, wh the contract for the work feared that further delay peril the entire submarine tate.

Operations on other sect the bridge will be held conditions imposed by the have relaxed.

RICHMOND RED HAVEN WRECKED

Backwash of the East Bay's anti-red violence struck yesterday for the second time at alleged Communist headquarters, 331 Twelfth street, Richmond, while rocks were hurled through the windows of two other places in that community.

Richmond's alleged Communist center was partly wrecked Tuesday and yesterday the same or another gang returned and completed the previous day's devastation.

Windows in the home of Corwin C. Moore were broken, as were those in the machine shop of the Richmond Union High School. Moore is not connected with either the school or the strike.

Aside from that, peace reigned in Alameda and Contra Costa counties, where hundreds of deputized citizens and special police are patrolling streets and highways.

One casualty turned up yesterday, but the injuries were inflicted Tuesday. The victim is Joe Ferrera, 35, a striking teamster. He received serious cranial injuries when union men stormed a Communistic meeting in Lafayette square, Oakland. Yesterday friends took him to Alameda Hospital for treatment.

MARIN TRADE NEAR NORMAL

With more than 200 heavily armed special police and deputy sheriffs patrolling highways and commercial districts, business in Marin County had all but returned to normal yesterday.

Food trucks were moving without trouble and ample supplies were reported in all districts of the county. Nearly all business houses were operating as usual. Early in the afternoon a fleet of six trucks was convoyed by armed guards from farming districts to San Francisco-bound ferryboats.

U. S. PROMISES ACTION ON ALIE

(Continued From Page One)

thorities to put the deportation orders into effect at once.

Governor Merriam's message to the President was sent at the same time to Secretary Perkins with another message to her, which follows:

"My Dear Madam Secretary:

"For your information, I am sending you herewith a copy of a message sent today to President Roosevelt, at sea, because of the gravity and urgency of the problem confronting the people of California with respect to radical agitation and Communistic activi- persons of its citizens, but I feel justified in seeking the support and co-operation of the Federal Government in ridding California and the nation of men and women who are not citizens of the United States and whose active, wilful purpose is to cause disruption of our governmental institutions and destruction of our economic and social organizations."

Secretary Perkins replied:

"Answering your telegram to me in regard to action by the Federal Immigration authorities, I assure you that the Department of Labor will co-operate with California officials in the full extent authorized by law.

any alien who is sentenced prisonment for a term of on or more because of convict this country of a crime inv moral turpitude committed five years after the entry alien to the United States, is sentenced more than on such a term of imprison because of conviction country of any crime inv moral turpitude at any time entry.

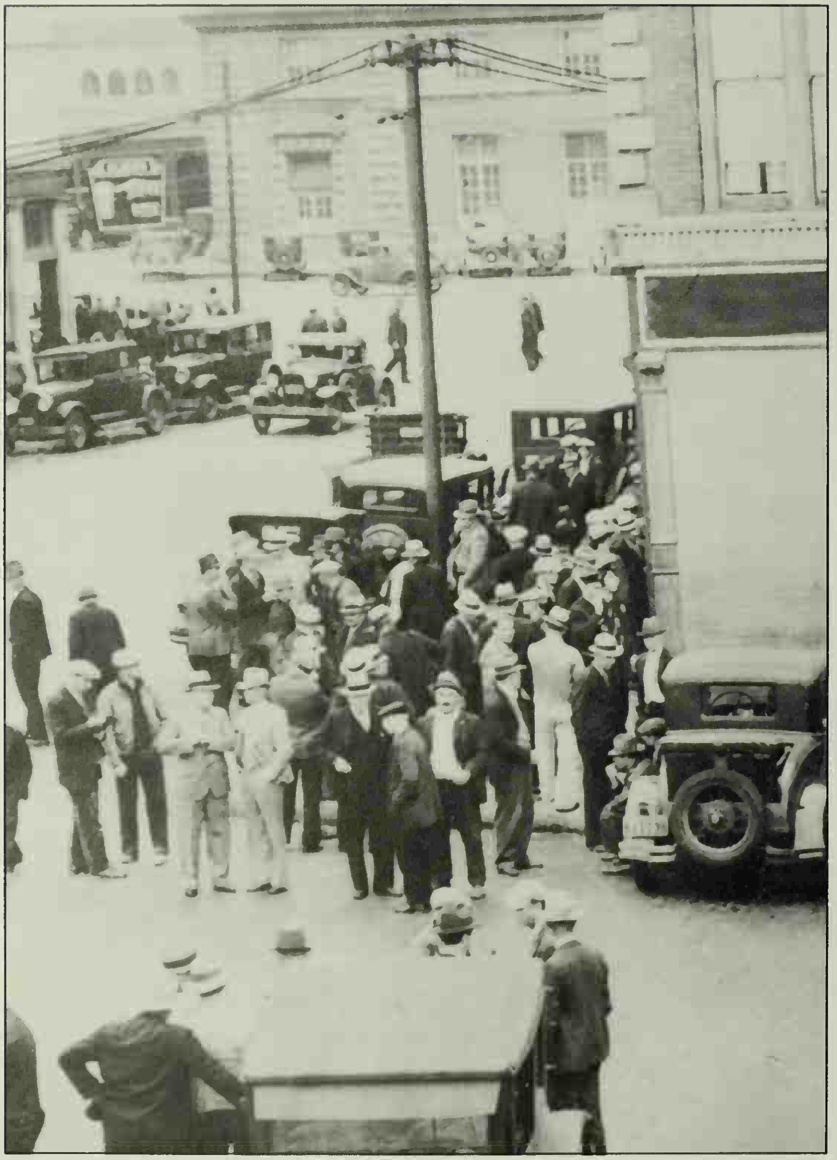
"The San Francisco distr rector has been keeping in contact with the situation.

"The Commissioners of gration and Naturalizat Washington have today

On July 19 William R. Hearst's San Francisco Examiner *reports approvingly the raids of police and vigilante squads on suspected agitators.*
John Kagel Collection

On July 18, by a close vote, it ended the general strike altogether even though no assurances on settlements had been given by the employers to the off-shore unions. Within an hour taxis were back on the streets, and the Teamsters had returned to work. The shipowners, under extreme pressure by other employers, arbitrated all the maritime issues with the striking unions,[3] and in the end, the Longshoremen effectively won the hiring hall issue in arbitration. The union gained other provisions which continue to this day.

When the three-day strike ended, life in San Francisco returned to normal. Threats of similar strikes along the coast dissipated because the San Francisco settlement applied to maritime union locals up and down the coast, and striking workers in other ports returned to work. San Francisco's general strike had been won, setting the scene for important gains by labor in Northern California for years to follow. ☐

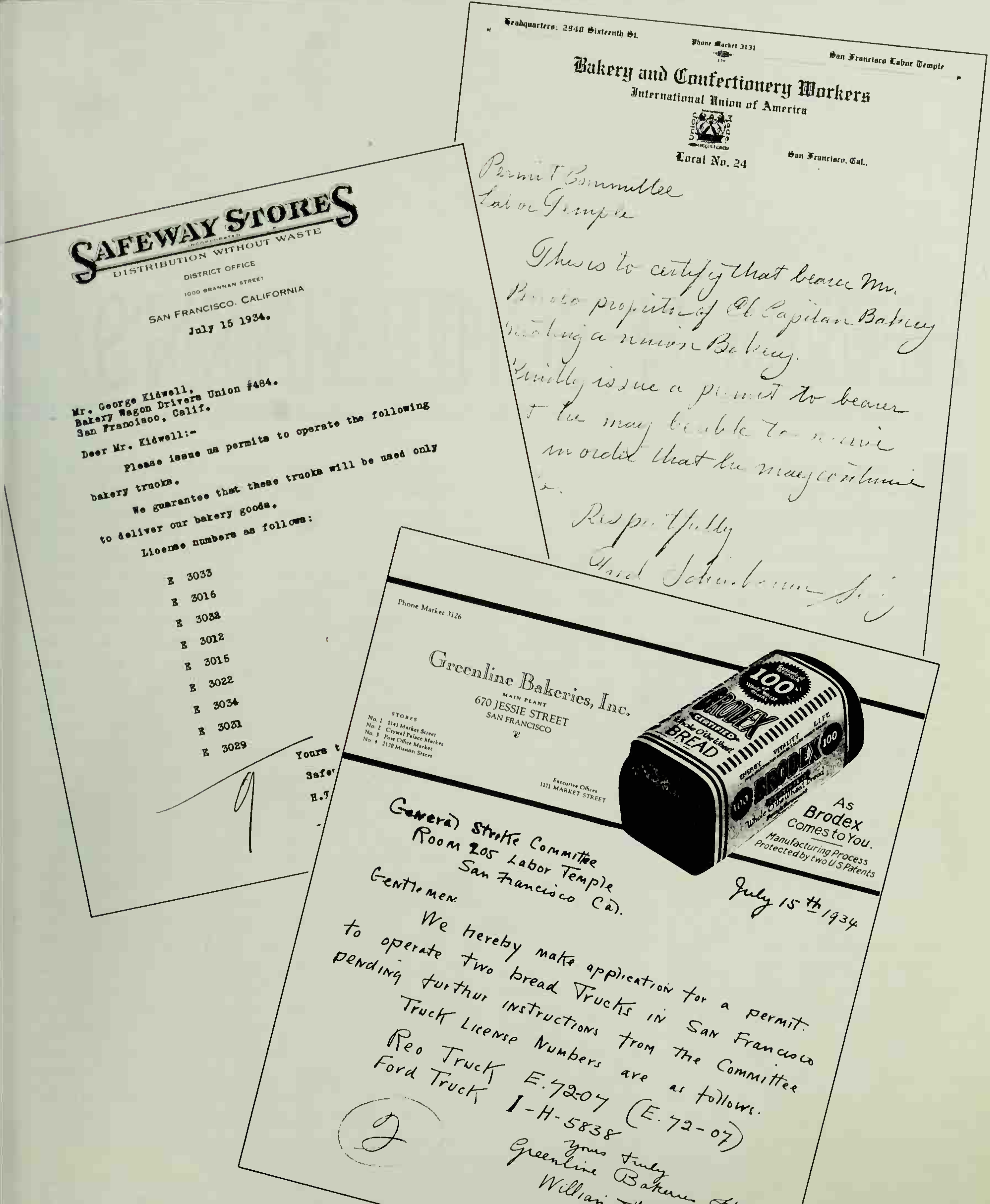


Clusters of Longshoremen gather outside union headquarters to discuss their strike settlement.
San Francisco Archives

(Facing page) Businesses apply to the General Strike Committee for permits to conduct essential food deliveries.
John Kagel Collection

Notes

1. Paul Eliel, *The Waterfront and General Strikes, San Francisco, 1934* (San Francisco, 1934), pp. 127-128.
2. Ibid., 132.
3. J. Paul St. Sure, "Some Comments on Employer Organizations and Collective Bargaining in Northern California Since 1934, an Interview Conducted by Corine Gilb for the [University of California, Berkeley] Institute of Industrial Relations Oral History Project" (1957), pp. 79-80.



SAFEWAY STORES
INCORPORATED
DISTRIBUTION WITHOUT WASTE
DISTRICT OFFICE
1000 BRANNAN STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

July 15 1934.

Mr. George Kidwell,
Bakery Wagon Drivers Union #484.
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. Kidwell:-

Please issue us permits to operate the following bakery trucks.

We guarantee that these trucks will be used only to deliver our bakery goods.

License numbers as follows:

E 3033
E 3016
E 3038
E 3012
E 3015
E 3022
E 3034
E 3031
E 3029

Yours t
Safe
H.T

1

Headquarters: 2940 Sixteenth St.
Phone Market 3131
San Francisco Labor Temple

Bakery and Confectionery Workers
International Union of America
Union Made
REGISTERED
Local No. 24
San Francisco, Cal.,

Permit Committee
Labor Temple

This is to certify that bearer Mr. Brooks propietor of El Capitan Bakery is running a union Bakery.

Kindly issue a permit to bearer so he may be able to move in order that he may continue in.

Respectfully
Fred Schonbaum

Phone Market 3126

Greenline Bakeries, Inc.
MAIN PLANT
670 JESSIE STREET
SAN FRANCISCO

STORES
No. 1 1143 Market Street
No. 2 Crystal Palace Market
No. 3 Post Office Market
No. 4 2170 Mission Street

Executive Offices
1171 MARKET STREET

As Brodex Comes to You.
Manufacturing Process Protected by two U S Patents

General Strike Committee
Room 205 Labor Temple
San Francisco Ca.

July 15th 1934

Gentlemen.

We hereby make application for a permit to operate two bread Trucks in San Francisco pending further instructions from the Committee.

Truck License Numbers are as follows.
Reo Truck E.7207 (E.72-07)
Ford Truck I-H-5838

Yours truly
Greenline Bakeries Ltd
William H. Brooks
President

2

by John F. Wilhelm

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN'S

The gold of California helped finance the dream of Heinrich Schliemann to discover the ancient city of Troy. Inspired by his father's stories of the Trojan War, Schliemann determined at the age of eight to prove that the city of Troy existed, that there had been a Trojan War, and that the Homeric epic, *The Iliad,* was based in actuality on historical fact.

The fifth child of a Protestant minister, Schliemann was born in a German village in 1822. Apprenticed as a grocery clerk at the age of thirteen, he nevertheless mastered all the European languages, including English, Arabic, Turkish, Greek and Persian. As an adult he eventually amassed a fortune of $18 million, about $2 million of it in the city of Sacramento during the Gold Rush.

Schliemann arrived in San Francisco on the steamer *Oregon* in early April 1851, after a harrowing journey across the Isthmus of Panama, a common route for travel to California during the Gold Rush. He came to America to settle the estate of his younger brother Louis, who had died tragically of fever in Sacramento in May 1850, after urging Heinrich insistently to come to California to share in the new prosperity of the area.

Schliemann brought with him a successful background in commercial enterprise. An accredited agent of the House of Rothschild in London, he was also possessed of considerable wealth, on deposit with Baring Brothers & Co. of London. He had earned his modest fortune as a representative of the German trading firm of B. H. Schroder & Co. in Russia, where his facility with the language and his cosmopolitan manner enabled him to be a social and financial success.

Not one to jump into a business venture impulsively, Schliemann carefully investigated the prospects of the area's economy before resolving to invest his capital in Sacramento. To this end he took a tour through the gold mining country, visiting among other places Nicolaus, Marysville, Grass Valley and Nevada City. In his diary he described with enthusiasm the fact that "gold was glimpsing [sic] everywhere. [E]ven in the mud which clung to my boots I saw many particles of the precious metal."[1]

Having satisfied himself as to the potential wealth of Sacramento, Schliemann opened a banking house on the corner of Front and J Streets for the purchase of gold dust and for the sale of exchange. He hired two clerks, and he purchased a fire and theft-proof safe from a recently failed banking firm, Barton Lee and Co. The safe took twenty men and twelve yokes of oxen an entire day to haul across the street.

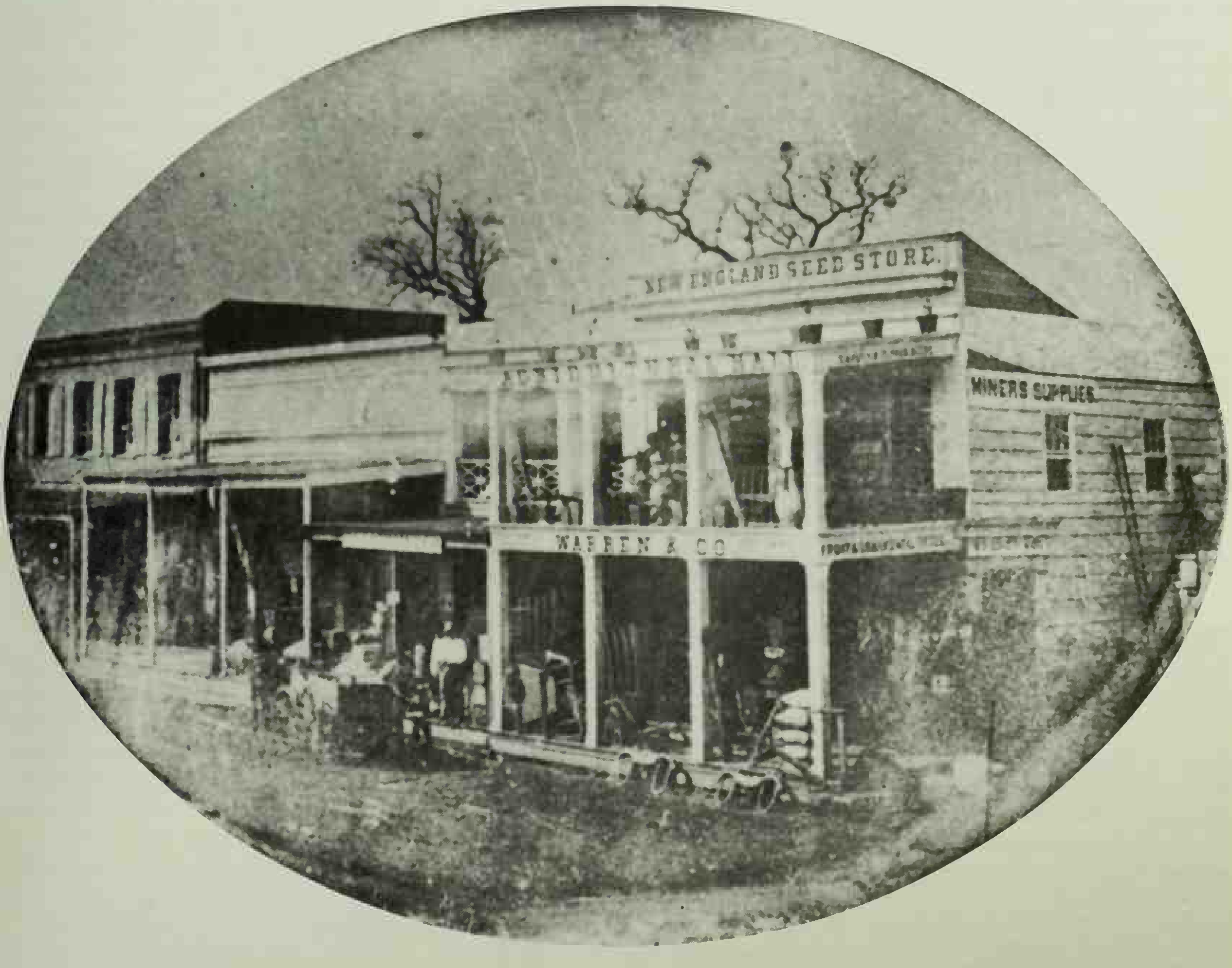
Schliemann prospered. He advertised in the *Sacramento Union* for "3000 ounces of fine clean gold wanted immediately at $17 per ounce, either in exchange for Gold Coin or drafts on par on San Francisco. . . ."[2] He sent the gold dust to the San Francisco branch of Rothschild every day by the night steamer in exchange for minted gold. "My business is now on an enormous scale and my profits are large," he wrote at the time.[3] On a typical day he rose at 5:00 A.M., took a bath in the Sacramento River, breakfasted at the Orleans Hotel, and opened his office which, in his words, was "constantly jammed, crammed and rammed full of people from all nations. I have to speak all day long in eight languages." He remained at work usually until 10:00 in the evening.[4]

Schliemann's optimism was tempered by his constant fear of theft and robbery. "Whilst here in Sacramento I can every moment expect to be murdered or robbed."[5] He and his two clerks therefore went night and day armed with Colt pistols and long Bowie knives. Nevertheless, Schliemann found Sacramento to be an exciting place, and one which appealed to his competitive instinct.

Schliemann set up his successful banking house in Sacramento's Tehama Block at Front and J streets. The office is at the extreme left in this 1851 photograph, which may be the earliest Sacramento view ever made.
Sacramento County Historical Society

SACRAMENTO CONNECTION

The discoverer of Troy finds Sacramento not to his liking



He admired the industry and energy of the "California yankees," notwithstanding the fact that he saw himself surrounded by scoundrels and swindlers "full of abominable falsehood, fraud and humbug."[6]

Schliemann found Sacramento especially refreshing in comparison to the cramped European cities with their narrow, crowded streets. He described Sacramento as a city still in its infancy with a population of only about 10,000 people. The town, he wrote, has "55 immense streets commencing northward by A and terminating southward at Y; beginning westward by 1st and terminating eastward by 31," yet still having many meadows and trees and "an inexhaustible supply of rabbits and quails."[7]

At this time there were also disadvantages to living in Sacramento, including frequent floods and pestilence. In the flood of March 1852, caused by a break in the levee, Schliemann wrote that he was assisting in filling the break when the ground gave way under him and he was "taken away with the current for a considerable distance." He escaped with only "a most disagreeable bath of muddy water and some bruises and contusions."[8]

Schliemann's decision to leave Sacramento and return to Europe after a stay of only one year was based on his fear of contracting yellow fever an additional time and on the ever-present threat of cholera, the scourge of the Sacramento Valley during the 1850s. After suffering three bouts of yellow fever between November 1851 and March 1852, he decided he could no longer remain in "the poisonous climate of Sacramento."[9] He felt certain he would not survive another attack, and would die as his brother had.

Schliemann saw himself surrounded by scoundrels and swindlers, "full of abominable falsehood, fraud and humbug."

John F. Wilhelm is Professor Emeritus of English at California State University, Sacramento.

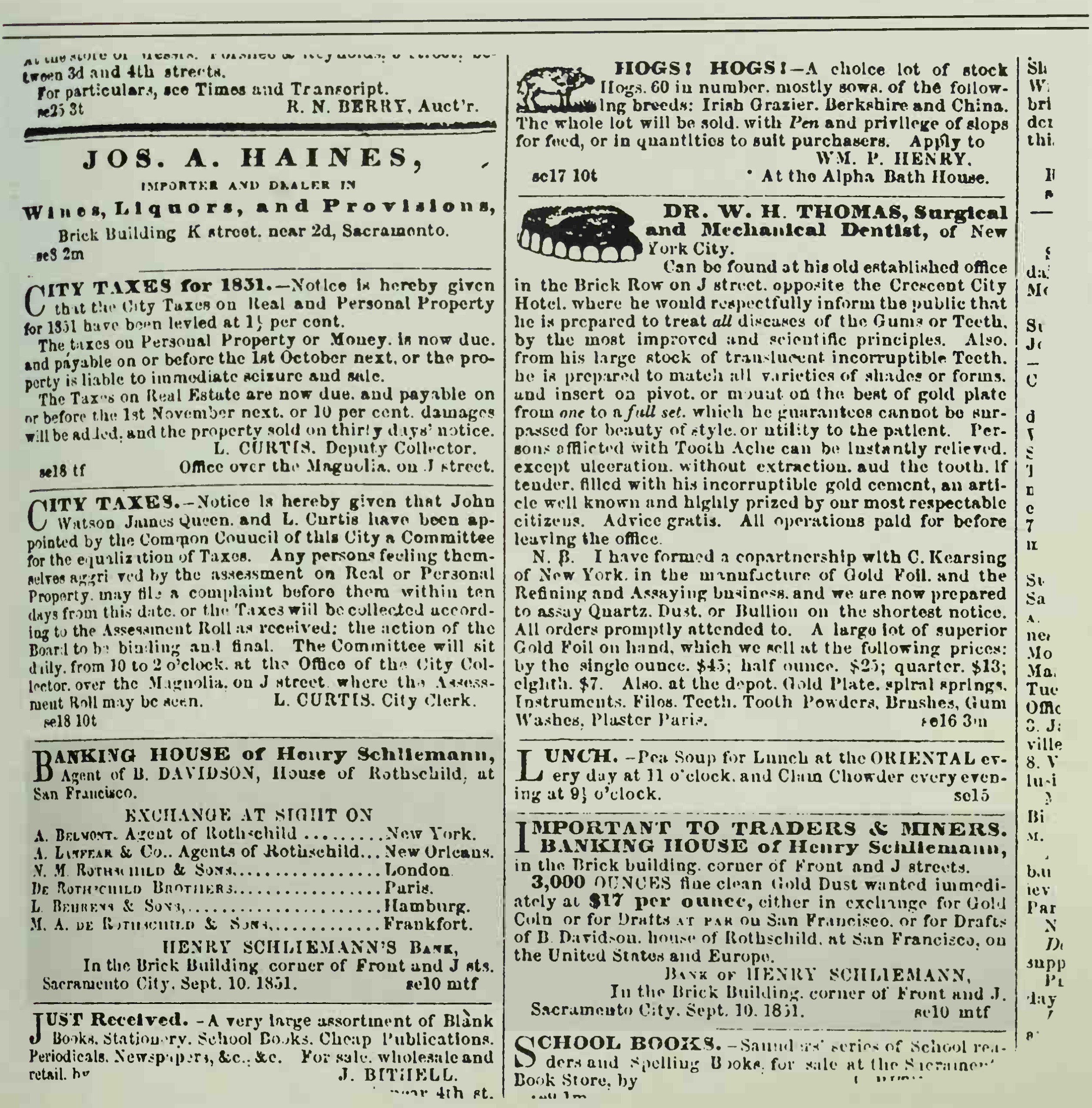
In April 1852, he turned his business over to Mr. B. Davidson, the Rothschild representative in San Francisco, and on April 8, 1852, he left San Francisco for Panama City on the United States mail steamer *Golden Gate*. He carried away with him a fortune estimated by one of his biographers at $2 million.[10]

Schliemann's interest in the affairs of Sacramento did not end with his departure, for he was kept well informed by reports he periodically received from Mr. Grim, one of his former clerks. On January 3, 1853, he received one such report, which had appeared in the *Sacramento State Journal*, describing the fire of November 2, 1852. Though most of the city had been destroyed, Schliemann's former place of business in the Tehama Block was undamaged. Another dispatch informed him that the fire was followed in January by a flood: "The whole city was again under water and the loss of goods has been most tremendous."[11] On March 2, 1853, he wrote in his diary of the arrival of the "cheerful news" that the flood had subsided and that the city had resumed its economy with "increased vigor."[12] His former business site withstood a number of fires and floods until it was torn down in the 1920s.

In the next few years, Schliemann traveled extensively in Europe and in Asia. He married, became a naturalized American citizen, and even returned to Sacramento for a brief period in September 1865, in a final, but futile effort to locate the body of his brother so that it could be returned to Europe. He found the city so changed that "it is impossible to recognize. . . ; not a single house seems to stand of those which were here fourteen years ago."[13]

As his fortune steadily increased through speculation in real estate, tea, indigo, and cotton, Schliemann decided to retire from business and pursue the dream of his youth. In 1868, now a multi-millionaire, he began his search for the city of Troy, and a year later he published *Ithaca*, the first of seven books about his excavations of the ancient world.

Using the topography described by Homer in *The Iliad* as a guide,



tween 3d and 4th streets.

For particulars, see Times and Transcript.

se25 3t R. N. BERRY, Auct'r.

JOS. A. HAINES,

IMPORTER AND DEALER IN

Wines, Liquors, and Provisions,

Brick Building K street, near 2d, Sacramento.

se8 2m

CITY TAXES for 1851.—Notice is hereby given that the City Taxes on Real and Personal Property for 1851 have been levied at 1½ per cent.

The taxes on Personal Property or Money, is now due, and payable on or before the 1st October next, or the property is liable to immediate seizure and sale.

The Taxes on Real Estate are now due, and payable on or before the 1st November next, or 10 per cent. damages will be added, and the property sold on thirty days' notice.

L. CURTIS, Deputy Collector.

se18 tf Office over the Magnolia, on J street.

CITY TAXES.—Notice is hereby given that John Watson James Queen, and L. Curtis have been appointed by the Common Council of this City a Committee for the equalization of Taxes. Any persons feeling themselves aggrieved by the assessment on Real or Personal Property, may file a complaint before them within ten days from this date, or the Taxes will be collected according to the Assessment Roll as received; the action of the Board to be binding and final. The Committee will sit daily, from 10 to 2 o'clock, at the Office of the City Collector, over the Magnolia, on J street, where the Assessment Roll may be seen. L. CURTIS, City Clerk.

se18 10t

BANKING HOUSE of Henry Schliemann, Agent of B. DAVIDSON, House of Rothschild, at San Francisco.

EXCHANGE AT SIGHT ON

A. Belmont, Agent of Rothschild	New York.
A. Lanfear & Co., Agents of Rothschild	New Orleans.
N. M. Rothschild & Sons	London.
De Rothschild Brothers	Paris.
L. Behrens & Sons	Hamburg.
M. A. de Rothschild & Sons	Frankfort.

HENRY SCHLIEMANN'S Bank,
In the Brick Building corner of Front and J sts.
Sacramento City, Sept. 10, 1851. se10 mtf

JUST Received.—A very large assortment of Blank Books, Stationery, School Books, Cheap Publications, Periodicals, Newspapers, &c., &c. For sale, wholesale and retail, by J. BITHELL.

near 4th st.

HOGS! HOGS!—A choice lot of stock Hogs, 60 in number, mostly sows, of the following breeds: Irish Grazier, Berkshire and China. The whole lot will be sold, with *Pen* and privilege of slops for feed, or in quantities to suit purchasers. Apply to

WM. P. HENRY,

se17 10t At the Alpha Bath House.

DR. W. H. THOMAS, Surgical and Mechanical Dentist, of New York City.

Can be found at his old established office in the Brick Row on J street, opposite the Crescent City Hotel, where he would respectfully inform the public that he is prepared to treat *all* diseases of the Gums or Teeth, by the most improved and scientific principles. Also, from his large stock of translucent incorruptible Teeth, he is prepared to match all varieties of shades or forms, and insert on pivot, or mount on the best of gold plate from *one* to a *full set*, which he guarantees cannot be surpassed for beauty of style, or utility to the patient. Persons afflicted with Tooth Ache can be instantly relieved, except ulceration, without extraction, and the tooth, if tender, filled with his incorruptible gold cement, an article well known and highly prized by our most respectable citizens. Advice gratis. All operations paid for before leaving the office.

N. B. I have formed a copartnership with C. Kearsing of New York, in the manufacture of Gold Foil, and the Refining and Assaying business, and we are now prepared to assay Quartz, Dust, or Bullion on the shortest notice. All orders promptly attended to. A large lot of superior Gold Foil on hand, which we sell at the following prices: by the single ounce, $45; half ounce, $25; quarter, $13; eighth, $7. Also, at the depot, Gold Plate, spiral springs, Instruments, Files, Teeth, Tooth Powders, Brushes, Gum Washes, Plaster Paris. se16 3m

LUNCH.—Pea Soup for Lunch at the ORIENTAL every day at 11 o'clock, and Clam Chowder every evening at 9½ o'clock. se15

IMPORTANT TO TRADERS & MINERS. BANKING HOUSE of Henry Schliemann, in the Brick building, corner of Front and J streets.

3,000 OUNCES fine clean Gold Dust wanted immediately at **$17 per ounce,** either in exchange for Gold Coin or for Drafts AT PAR on San Francisco, or for Drafts of B. Davidson, house of Rothschild, at San Francisco, on the United States and Europe.

Bank of HENRY SCHLIEMANN,
In the Brick Building, corner of Front and J.
Sacramento City, Sept. 10, 1851. se10 mtf

SCHOOL BOOKS.—Saunders' series of School readers and Spelling Books, for sale at the Sacramento Book Store, by

Schliemann, using the Americanized first name "Henry," advertised his services as an agent of the House of Rothschild in the Sacramento Union, *September 27, 1851.*
California State Library

VIEW OF THE FIRE IN SACRAMENTO CITY
on the night of 2d & 3rd of November 1852, *taken from the Levee.*

Bouts with what Schliemann diagnosed as yellow fever, as well as the city's frequent fires and floods, led to his decision to leave Sacramento after a stay of only one year.
Sacramento County Historical Society

Schliemann decided that the place to excavate was in a hill called Hissarlik, the Turkish word for citadel. The location was strategically situated overlooking the Dardanelles (Hellespont), the strait between Europe and Asia Minor and the point of intersection of the trade routes between Europe and Asia. It seemed probable to Schliemann that many wars, including the famed Trojan War, had been fought for control of this junction of sea and land routes, and that this was more likely the cause of the Trojan War than the romantic story narrated by Homer of the abduction of Helen by Paris. Upon excavation, nine levels of human occupancy—"cities," as Schliemann called them—were ultimately discovered on this site dating back to 3000–2500 B.C.

Schliemann's method of conducting archaeological excavations was crude and unsophisticated by modern standards, and he often inadvertently destroyed what he was looking for in the process. His impetuosity caused him then to publish his findings prematurely, and this invited the ridicule of established arm-chair antiquarians. Subsequent work by modern archaeologists, however, substantiated the claim that Schliemann did indeed discover Troy. Ironically, though, in his enthusiasm for the first five levels of excavation, Schliemann gave scant attention to the sixth, which later archaeologists Wilhelm Dorpfeld and Carl W. Blegen identified as Troy VIIA, the site of the Trojan War.

Heinrich Schliemann, amateur archaeologist who later discovered the ancient city of Troy, amassed a fortune of about $2 million in Sacramento during the Gold Rush.
Mansell Collection, London, England

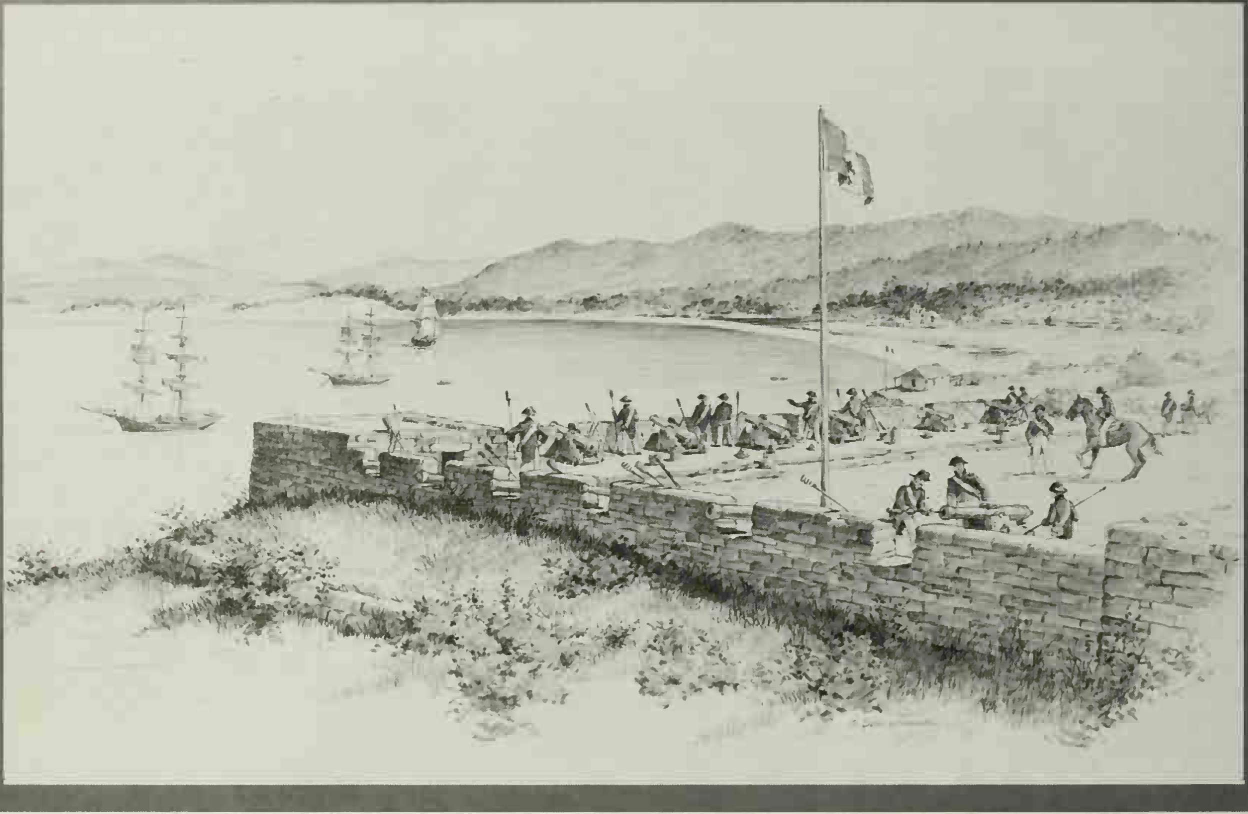
Nevertheless, Schliemann was indisputably a pioneer in the field of archaeology. His work was the beginning of a profession. In his later years his work was finally recognized, and many honors were awarded him, among them a doctoral degree from Oxford, where he was given an honorary fellowship at Queen's College, and a *Pour le Mérite*, the highest honor awarded by the German Government.

After his death in Naples, Italy, on Christmas Day, 1900, Schliemann was given a state funeral by the Greek government. He was buried near the site of the realization of his lifelong dream, the excavations of the ancient city of Troy.

When the news of Schliemann's death reached Sacramento, a former acquaintance, Lloyd Tevis, remembered him "as a painstaking young fellow who dealt fairly with all who sold or bought gold dust," and one who "made a good sum of money" in the process. Tevis recalled too that on Schliemann's second visit to Sacramento, he was particularly enthusiastic over the growth of the Pacific Coast and the prophecy of great prosperity for California.[14] ☐

Notes

1. Schliemann's *Diary*, ed. Shirley H. Weber, *Schliemann's First Visit to America, 1850–1851* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 60.
2. *The Sacramento Union*, September 27, 1851.
3. Weber, *Visit*, 67.
4. Ibid., p. 68.
5. Ibid., p. 67.
6. Ibid., p. 56.
7. Ibid., p. 55-56.
8. Ibid., p. 7.
9. Ibid., p. 74.
10. William G. Niederland, "An Analytic Inquiry into the Life and Works of Heinrich Schliemann," in Karl C. Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations.* (Chicago: Ares Publishers, Inc., 1974), p. xvii.
11. Weber, *Visit*, 93.
12. Ibid., p. 93.
13. Niederland, *Excavations*, xvii.
14. *The Sacramento Bee*, December 30, 1900.



At the close of the eighteenth century, the nations of Europe were engaged in a headlong scramble for territorial possessions on a scale previously unknown in the arena of global politics. Alliances between nations shifted like quicksand in the international race for land, and among the most vulnerable of the participants in this international sweepstakes was Spain.

Spanish land claims in North America alone were enormous—ultimately ranging from the Gulf of Mexico to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Within this vast area, Spain's lines of occupation, supply, and defense stretched like a spiderweb across the little-explored wilderness. It seems unlikely, therefore, that Spain would have attempted to extend her sparsely-settled domain northward into Alta California and beyond without the threat of Russian exploration far to the north and the possibility that England, Spain's age-old enemy, might revive sea-raiding activities in the Pacific Basin.

Throughout the 1760s, 1770s, and 1780s, Spain replied to these challenges with exploratory expeditions and colonial settlement. By 1783 four presidios and several missions had been established in Alta California to deter encroachment by the world's major powers.[1] Only in the last decade of the eighteenth century, however, did the Spanish government decide that even more stringent protective measures were needed to hold this territory. Acting in response to increased international political pressure and more specifically in response to an incident in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the Spanish government set out to improve coastal defenses by establishing naval batteries at California's four major ports and presidios: San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco.

Perhaps the most important of these Spanish fortifi-

(Above) "El Castillo de Monterey, the Old Spanish Fort Overlooking Colonial Monterey, c. 1833" by Olof Dahlstrand. El Castillo, whose setting is intact, is the last of four harbor defense installations in Alta California.
© Colonial Monterey Foundation 1984

EL CASTILLO DE MONTEREY

FRONTLINE OF DEFENSE

Uncovering the Spanish presence in Alta California

by Diane Spencer-Hancock and William E. Pritchard

cation efforts resulted in a structure known today simply as "El Castillo."[2] Perched on a hillside overlooking Monterey, the provincial capital of Alta California, at the southern end of Monterey Bay, El Castillo lent credence to Spain's vow to defend its territories against all invaders. Indeed, the little naval battery did defend the Port of Monterey on at least three occasions.

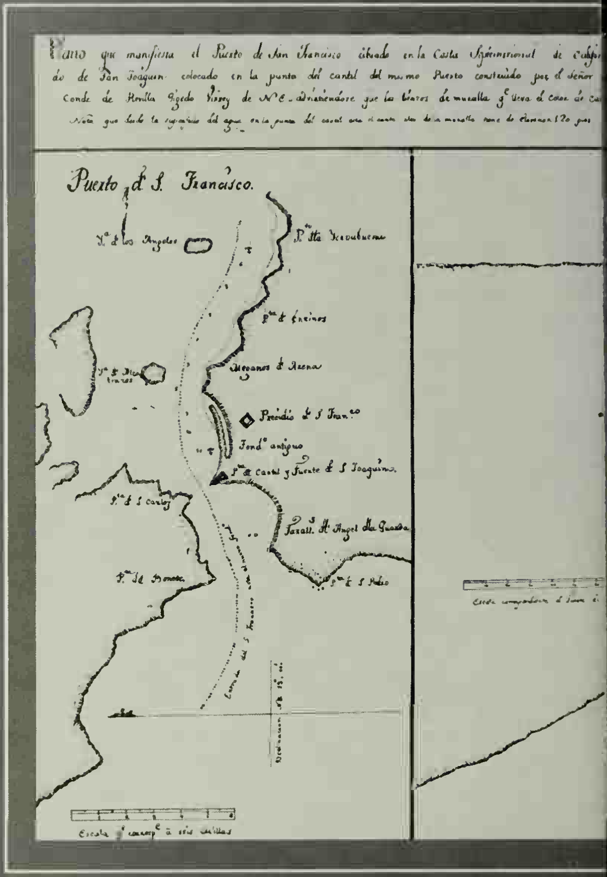
El Castillo's official life began sometime in 1792 when initial plans for the fortification were conceived. Viceroy Revilla Gigido informed Governor Jose Arrillaga on February 16, 1793, that he had approved fortification plans for all four of Alta California's presidios. Furthermore, he reported, he had ordered artillery and materials sent to Arrillaga in Monterey. This artillery was clearly an augmentation for the existing garrison in the capital for in November 1792, British sea captain George Vancouver noted the presence of seven mounted and four unmounted cannons at the entrance to Monterey's royal presidio. Despite the fact that Vancouver was English and obviously making military observations of Spanish defenses in California, he was privy to the official plan for El Castillo, for he noted in his journal:

> *The four dismounted cannon, together with those placed at the entrance into the presidio, are intended for a fort to be built on a small eminence that commands the anchorage [of Monterey]. A large quantity of timber is at present in readiness for carrying that design into execution.*[3]

An astute observer, Vancouver also commented on El Castillo's eventual strengths and weaknesses with remarkable foresight.

> *When completed, [El Castillo] might certainly be capable of annoying vessels in that part of the bay which affords the greatest security, but could not be of any importance after a landing was accomplished as the hills behind it might be easily gained, from when the assailing party would soon oblige the fort to surrender. . . .*

The battery was probably constructed in early 1794. That same year George Vancouver once again tested Spanish hospitality in the provincial capital and noted that the cannons located in 1792 near the entrance to



the presidio were now at El Castillo. Vancouver saw nothing about the fortification, however, that might deter invaders:

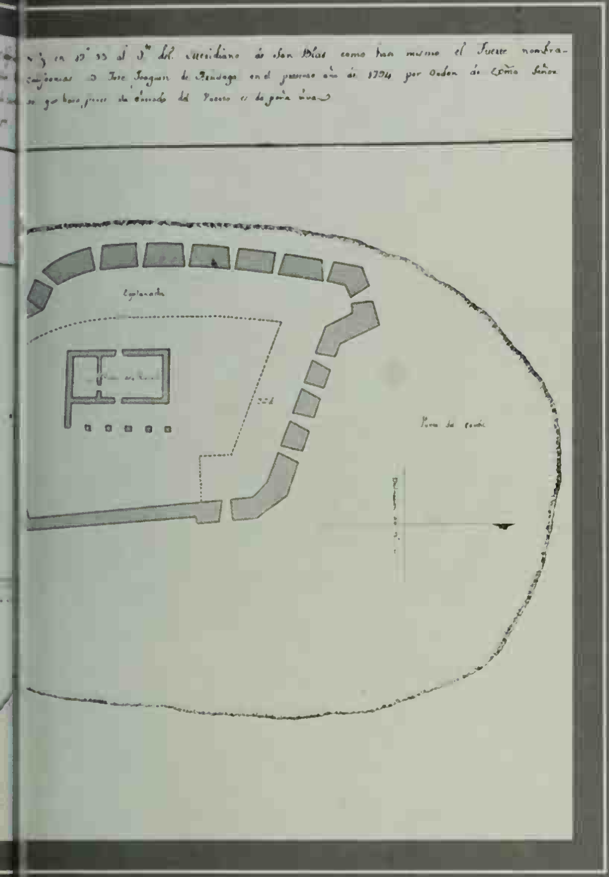
Here is now erected a sorry kind of barbet battery, consisting chiefly of a few logs of wood irregularly placed; behind which those cannon, about eleven in number, are opposed to the anchorage, with very little protection in the front, and on their rear and flanks intirely [sic] exposed.[4]

Diane Spencer-Hancock, former chief historian for the State Lands Commission, serves on the executive board of the California Committee for the Promotion of History and is Acting Chair for the newly-formed California Council for Living History. She is the author of numerous articles on California history, several co-authored by Mr. Pritchard, which have appeared in recent issues of *California History*.

William E. Pritchard is Supervisor of the Interpretive Planning Section of the California Department of Parks and Recreation. Long associated with historic archeology in California, Mr. Pritchard is the author of many papers dealing with the archeology of Spanish, Russian and early American California sites.

Gigido's successor as viceroy, the Marquis de Branciforte, maintained Gigido's policy of strengthening California's defenses. On July 13, 1795, in answer to Branciforte's request for a report on current conditions, a trio of experts including the well-known engineer Miguel Costanso recommended specific defensive improvements. Branciforte acted upon several of these suggestions; most crucial for California was the immediate dispatch of talented engineer Alberto de Cordoba to California with direct responsibility for organization of the province's defenses.[5]

Cordoba spent some months in San Diego before presenting himself to the governor in Monterey and starting work on El Castillo de San Joaquin, the fortification near the mouth of San Francisco Bay. In September 1796 Cordoba forwarded to the viceroy a report on Monterey's castillo which reiterated Vancouver's earlier criticisms of the battery site. Cordoba also appended a drawing of the changes he considered necessary to improve the structure.[6] Unfortunately, this sketch has not been found in either Mexican or Spanish



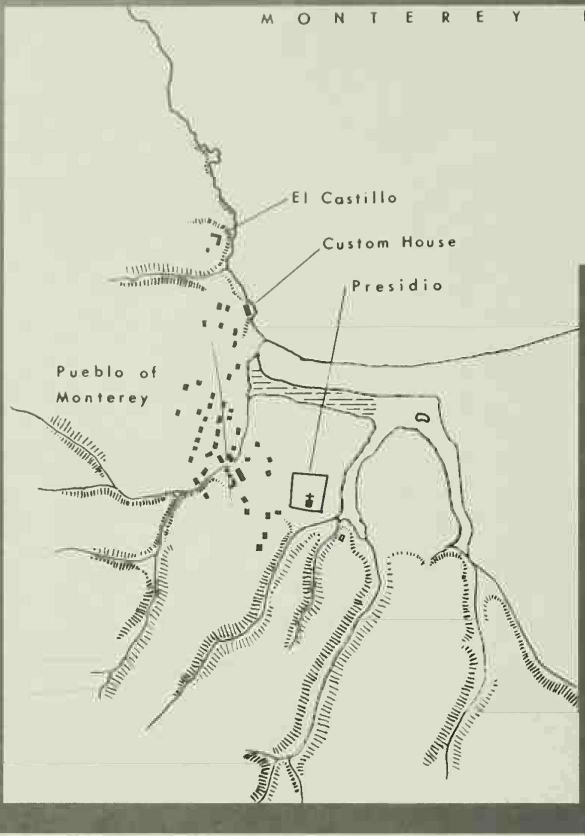
(Above) Roughly contemporary with El Castillo de Monterey, El Castillo de San Joaquin sat near the mouth of San Francisco Bay. Engineer Alberto de Cordoba strengthened San Joaquin in 1796.
Reproduced from Irving Richman, California Under Spain and Mexico *(1911)*

> "The men of the presidial company bore themselves at the battery with an unspeakable serenity despite the balls that were falling around them."

archives. The efficient Spanish bureaucracy did, however, preserve financial records which detail changes almost certainly initiated by Cordoba. From these documents the date of certain structural modifications noted during the 1967 archeological investigation of El Castillo can be pinpointed. That survey uncovered approximately seventy-five per cent of El Castillo's underlying structures and documented many architectural changes that apparently occurred during its lifespan.

The open, v-shaped structure exposed in 1967, which was interpreted to be the earliest portion of El Castillo, indicates that the irregularly-shaped log battery seen by Vancouver in 1792 was subsequently modified by Cordoba. This v-shape is formed by two sixty-foot-long wings built to overlook the main anchorage in the port below. These wings, which still exist *in situ*, form a massive platform built of well-made adobe bricks clearly laid by an expert mason. A crenelated protective wall designed to mount ten to twelve cannon of various caliber originally overlaid the outside edge of these platforms. In addition to the gun platforms, Spanish documents describe the construction of a rough cobblestone esplanade which excavations revealed stretched entirely across the open end of the "v"shape, a powder magazine near the apex of the platforms, and a 1½-story adobe barrack to house the artillerymen. This more formal defensive configuration was built "quite economically" for approximately $450. Late in 1796 an additional $381 was authorized for unspecified repairs.[7]

The appearance and condition of El Castillo throughout its early years directly reflected Spain's changing international situation and after 1821, Mexico's lack of



(Above) The landscape and buildings of Old Monterey c. 1835. Map by Olof Dahlstrand

The dark lines and disturbed soil visible between the parking lot and the street below in the aerial photograph are trenches made during the 1967 archaeological investigation. William Pritchard Collection

concern for the defensive posture of its northernmost capital. It is not surprising, therefore, that the battery was generally in a condition of semi-ruin and fair game for denigrating descriptions of its appearance and capability by occasional visitors. Typical is an 1804 account by American seaman William Shaler, who was clearly more accustomed to the massive Spanish fortifications of St. Augustine and Manila Bay: "There is a miserable battery on a hill that commands the anchorage, but it is altogether inadequate to what it is intended for."[8] It is all the more amazing, then, that El Castillo figured prominently in one revolution and two invasions, and was mute witness to the final coup de grace of American occupation.

Although a frontier province far removed from the center of international tensions, California was not totally immune to occasional breezes, if not winds, of change, particularly the revolutionary movement of Spain's colonies in Central and South America. In 1817 General Jose de San Martin's fight for Chilean independence triggered an "invasion" of Monterey by the Argentine insurgent Hippolyte Bouchard.

As early as 1816, the inhabitants of Alta California feared that South American revolutionaries would view their lands as ripe for "liberation" and Governor Pablo Vicente de Sola therefore took immediate steps to renew and improve California's neglected defenses. Munitions were particularly needed, and in October 1816 a ship from San Blas laden with "warstores" landed in Monterey. These stores included eight 8-pound cannon, 800 cannon balls, 100 English muskets with bayonets, twenty cases of powder, 1000 flints, 20,000 one-ounce musket balls, and 20,000 cartridges.[9]

But war is often a waiting game, and Bouchard's voyage to California was delayed until 1818. Jose de la

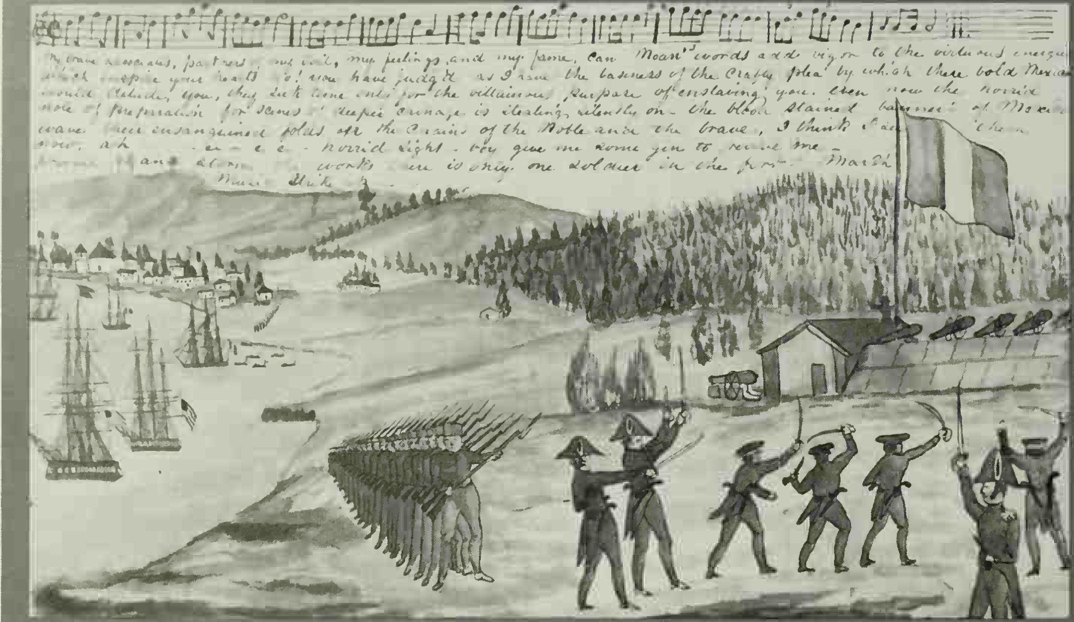
"When completed, El Castillo might certainly be capable of annoying vessels in that part of the bay which affords the greatest security, but could not be of any importance after a landing was accomplished, as the hills behind it might be easily gained, from when the assailing party would soon oblige the fort to surrender."

Guerra, commandant of the presidio at Santa Barbara, was the first Californian to learn of Bouchard's intentions when Captain Henry Gyzelaar of the brig *Clarion* arrived from Hawaii ahead of Bouchard on October 6, 1818. De la Guerra immediately ordered a number of steps taken for defense of the province. Included were some hasty repairs to El Castillo, although none was substantial enough to alter the basic configuration of 1796, and most seem to have been confined to the interior.

More than twenty years had elapsed since the pine-plank gun platforms had been laid, undoubtedly with poorly seasoned wood. Between the weight of the guns and exposure to the elements these floors had deteriorated badly over the years. This seems to have been true of the gun trucks and carriages as well. Without repair, it seems unlikely that the guns of El Castillo could have been fired without causing mayhem among the Spanish gunners.

To complete the preparations, ammunition was located, serviceability of the guns tested, and attempts made by the few who knew how to train those detailed to the battery who did not. Luckily for Alfereces Manuel Gomez and Jose Estrada, commandants of the battery garrison, Bouchard did not arrive for another six weeks. The battery garrison—indeed the entire settlement—undoubtedly profited greatly by the delay.[10]

On November 20, 1818, Bouchard's invasion force arrived in two ships: the *Argentina*, carrying thirty-eight guns and two howitzers, and the *Santa Rosa*, armed with twenty-six guns. Governor Sola's report of the battle to the viceroy noted the surprisingly valiant role played by those who manned the guns of El Castillo: *At dawn, November 21, the Santa Rosa opened fire on the shore battery. The eight Spanish guns, six and eight pounders, were not all serviceable, but returned fire, and with so much skill and good luck were they aimed by the veterans and amateurs under Gomez, that after a two-hour battle during which they kept up a constant and effective fire, they did*



much damage to the frigate [Santa Rosa]. They were aided by the men of the presidial company who bore themselves at the battery with an unspeakable serenity despite the balls that were falling around them. The insurgents lost five men, many more were wounded and transferred to the Argentina before a cease-fire was requested and [they] lowered their flag.[11]

Toward evening the *Argentina* wisely anchored outside the range of El Castillo's guns. Despite the fact that Bouchard's heavily armed force had somehow suffered the greater loss, he sent an officer under flag of truce to demand surrender of the province. Governor Sola refused.

It is not clear why Bouchard and Peter Corney, English captain of the *Santa Rosa*, subjected their force to this barrage of fire from El Castillo. Corney had visited Monterey during the summer of 1815, and whether or not he was actually spying, he was certainly familiar with both the configuration and capability of the castillo and undoubtedly aware it could easily be captured from behind. Thus, the first day's battle between the castillo and the *Santa Rosa* may have been either a simple display of machismo or a careful probing of Spanish defenses. In any case, the next morning Bouchard sent four hundred men ashore in two groups to capture El Castillo and the city of Monterey.

One group proceeded directly to the presidio, the other climbed the hillside and stormed El Castillo from the rear, spiking guns, burning the artillerymen's barracks, and wreaking havoc on the little naval battery that had acquitted itself so valiantly in the ship-to-shore battle the day before.[12] Bouchard captured Monterey and remained in the capital for several days before setting fire to the presidio and slipping away into the night to terrorize Santa Barbara.

In the ensuing years, El Castillo once again sank into semi-ruin, and by 1827, according to visitors, it was entirely useless for defense:

Arrived at Monterey [anchored] opposite a little hill on which are seen the remains of a fort . . .[13] *The presidio [of Monterey] is in better condition than that at San Francisco; still as a place of defense it is quite useless. The [naval] fort is not much better, and its strength may be judged of from its having been taken by a small party of seamen who landed from a*

(Above) William H. Meyers, gunner on the U.S.S. Cyane, *made a watercolor sketch of the taking of El Castillo de Monterey by U.S. marines in 1842. Meyers may not have actually entered El Castillo, however, for several details of this drawing do not match the archaeological evidence.*
Bancroft Library

El Castillo de Monterey is the last remaining harbor defense installation built by the Spanish government in Alta California. It sits on a small knoll within the U.S. Army Presidio at Monterey, overlooking present-day Fisherman's Wharf and the busy, boat-filled harbor. The old fort is not visible on the surface at this time, but archeological investigation by the Central California Archeological Foundation in 1967 revealed that about 75 percent of the original Spanish and Mexican structure is intact under a shallow overburden of soil.

This startling discovery led Paul Schumacher, National Park Service archeologist, to describe El Castillo as "the most comprehensive Spanish military base remains west of Saint Augustine, Florida." As a result of these findings, the Colonial Monterey Foundation and other local organizations as well as the State of California Department of Parks and Recreation have tried to protect the site and restore the old fort. Unfortunately, these efforts have been unsuccessful to date, and El Castillo is now once again directly threatened by new development proposals.

The City of Monterey is considering a street-widening project that could undermine the site or leave it perched precariously on the edge of a man-made cliff. Moreover, the city is also studying the possibility of cutting a new road directly through the site. Meanwhile, even though the U.S. Army has officially determined that the site should be used for historical preservation purposes, the Reagan administration (specifically the Federal Property Review Board) is considering the possibility of declaring the site surplus and selling it.

Preservation of El Castillo can be brought about through the cooperation of the state and federal governments. Present and future generations deserve the opportunity to see for themselves what "the front line of defense" looked like in this part of the world just one hundred and fifty years ago. *Editor*

> *Buenos Ayrean pirate in 1918 [sic] destroyed the greater part of the guns, pillaged and burnt the town.*[14]

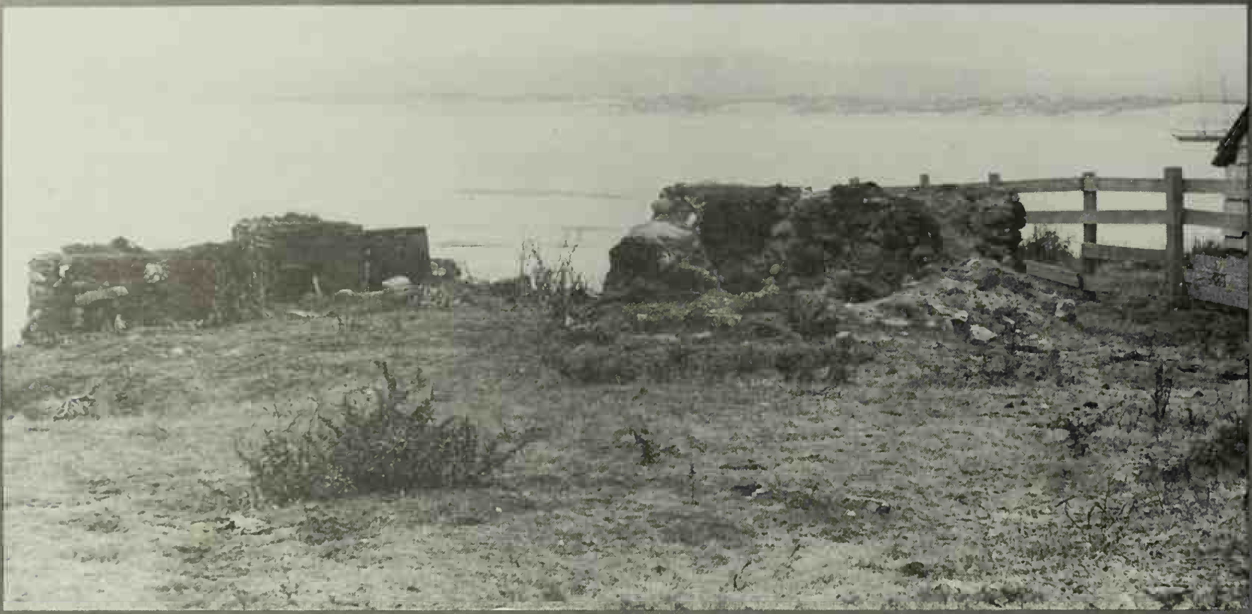
In 1836 El Castillo was partially rescued from the ignominy into which it was rapidly sinking by the beginning of a more active phase in Alta California revolutionary politics. In the years following Mexican independence, Californians had endured a variety of laws and rules made, they believed, with little or no consideration for the province's needs. Many Californios came to hold strong feelings against central rule by Mexico. Although most Californios did not favor absolute independence, they did believe they should be consulted about decisions affecting their activities. In 1836, with the appointment of Nicholas Gutierrez, yet another governor from Mexico, leaders of a home-rule faction staged a popular uprising.

On November 3, 1836, "revolutionary" forces under Jose Castro entered Monterey, captured El Castillo, and trained its guns upon the presidio commanded by Gutierrez. From that vantage point, the revolutionaries demanded that Gutierrez surrender the town. When an answer was delayed, Castro ordered a shot from the battery fired to remind Gutierrez that his bargaining position was somewhat precarious. By sheer luck, the cannon ball went through the roof of the governor's residence, sending his supporters in all directions and eventually resulting in his surrender.

The apparent dash and heroism of this event is somewhat qualified by the following: (1) the revolutionaries captured El Castillo because it was not defended, although it could have been—and devastatingly so at close quarters; (2) the cannon ball that hit the presidio was the only one in the castillo that fit any of its guns; and (3) gunners Balbino Romero and Cosime Pena fired the cannon after taking fifteen minutes to read up on artillery practice. Following the shot that brought down a government, the instigators of this sensible little revolution took possession of the presidio, exiled Governor Gutierrez, appointed Juan Bautista Alvarado governor, and properly celebrated the entire fiasco with a series of fiestas.[15]

The sad physical condition of El Castillo may have gained some official attention following this incident, but not enough to impress visitors. Perhaps the best description of El Castillo during this period is from the pen of British sea captain Edward Belcher in 1837:

> *The adobe or mud-brick battery remained [from a previous visit] and has been newly-bedaubed during the late ebullition of independence. The fortification, of which plans must not be taken, consisted of a mud wall with three sides, open in the rear, with breast-works about three feet in height; with rotten platforms for seven guns, the discharge of which would annihilate their remains of carriages.*[16]



Another 1837 account suggests that any attention given El Castillo had been merely cosmetic:

This battery was originally designed to cover the roadstead and to prevent landings. Today its delapidated condition renders it useless. It hardly serves to render the customary salutes. The guns of different calibers with which it is armed are in an unbelievable state of deterioration and the mountings, like the platform, are entirely rotten.[17]

Unlike El Castillo's role in the Bouchard affair of 1818, the battery's role in the American invasion of Monterey under Thomas ap Catesby Jones in 1842 is difficult to assess. Jones, the commander of America's Pacific fleet, was under orders to "conquer" and occupy California the moment that hostilities broke out between the United States and Mexico to avoid preemption of the territory by England. Due to a lack of communication, Jones believed the two countries were at war when he sailed for Monterey in early October. The USS *United States* and *Cyane* entered Monterey Bay on October 19, and although the situation between the two countries remained murky, Jones decided it was better to be safe than sorry and therefore sent an officer ashore to demand surrender of the post to the United States.

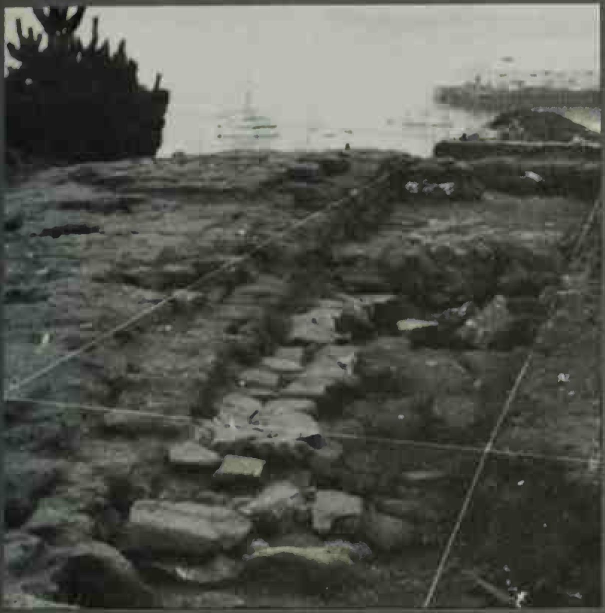
Governor Alvarado, given until 9:00 A.M. on October 20 to consider the demand, requested a report on existing defenses from Mariano Silva, commandant of the presidio. Silva tartly replied that the defenses "were of no consequence, as everybody knows." Indeed, the capital's entire defense apparently consisted of twenty-nine soldiers, twenty-five militia, eleven cannon—all nearly useless and lacking ammunition—and 150 muskets.[18] Clearly, defense of the colony was impossible, and terms of surrender were quickly arranged. At 11:00 A.M., Jones sent a troop of men to occupy the town and raise the American flag over the abandoned castillo.

At least two Americans witnessed the event, however, and they later indicated that things were more lively at the castillo than Jones reported. Richard Maxell, a physician with the fleet, accompanied the group of marines detailed to the castillo:

We were landed from boats at the foot of a ravine about twelve feet wide, leading up directly to the fort about four hundred yards distant and marched up six abreast. On reaching the summit of the hill, about twenty yards from the fort, we found nine lone brass guns, concealed by green branches of trees, put in order of threes, above each other, commanding the whole ravine, these guns loaded with copper grapeshot

(Above) This image of El Castillo c. 1885, which is the only known photograph of the fortification, reveals its extensive harbor view.

William Pritchard Collection



El Castillo figured prominently in one revolution and two invasions, and was mute witness to the final coup de grace of American occupation.

and escopette balls, all primed, and the matches burning within a few inches of the powder and the linstocks lighted and at hand, burning within a few inches. . . .[19]

This description contrasts so sharply with Silva's report to Alvarado that it might be dismissed as the exaggeration of an excited filibusterer. But there is corroborating evidence from the irreverent gunner of the *Cyane*, William H. Meyers, who wrote:

The fort mounted 13 guns and one not good for much, making 14. Plenty of powder, iron and copper shot, round, grape and canister. . . .[20]

Evidence from the archeological excavations of 1967 indicate that El Castillo was considerably enlarged some time after Bouchard's depredations, although it is unclear exactly when these improvements were made. Nevertheless, very substantial stone foundations were discovered in 1967 that suggest, when viewed with the excellent watercolor sketch by eyewitness Meyers in mind, that the battery's two gun platforms had been extended more than thirty feet in each direction—undoubtedly to mount more firepower toward the bay anchorage. Two other additions were clearly indicated: several small stone magazines or storerooms had been built along the platforms at strategic locations and, perhaps most notable of all, an adobe wall had been constructed to close off the notoriously vulnerable rear approach.

It would seem, therefore, that although the fort was reviled by most observers, in peak condition and adequately manned, El Castillo de Monterey possessed a destructive potential of note among Spain's frontier fortifications.

It is thus possible that Monterey's defenses were considerably stronger than Silva reported, and it may well be that Alvarado simply did not choose to oppose the charade of American invasion and occupation.

El Castillo de Monterey never saw further action. In the summer of 1844 Governor Manuel Micheltorena had all serviceable cannon, powder, and munitions moved inland to Mission San Juan Bautista for the long-expected war between the United States and Mexico. Those armaments may well have been abandoned there, for several cannon were later recovered by American troops at that site.[21]

In 1846 during the final American takeover of long-coveted California, El Castillo stood empty. Having played a brave but futile role in previous invasions, it was now one more casualty of American expansionism under the banner of Manifest Destiny. El Castillo's final humiliation came soon afterward when the U.S. Army

(Above) In this view of the excavated northeast wing of El Castillo, the gun platform and the beginning of the cobblestone esplanade are clearly visible. An expert mason laid the well-made adobe bricks.
William Pritchard Collection

bypassed the Spanish site to construct star-shaped Fort Mervine, the American naval fortification, at a location higher on the hillside.

Constructed of the simplest adobe brick and already in a state of general ruin, little was left of El Castillo by 1880 and few remembered its early role in guarding the interests of Imperial Spain. ☐

Notes

1. Three excellent sources detailing Spain's international situation are Charles E. Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California* (New York: McMillan, 1916); C. Alan Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement in Mexican California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), and Warren L. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).
2. Of the four permanent naval artillery fortifications built in Alta California, only the names of two are known. These are El Castillo de San Joaquin (San Francisco), built in 1794, and Fort Guijarros (San Diego), constructed about the same time. The castillo at Monterey was built c. 1794. No information about the Santa Barbara battery has come to light, although it has been assumed that the battery was built by Alberto de Cordoba and was thus contemporary with the other three. Santa Barbara historian Richard Whitehead argues convincingly that it was not built until around 1830.

   At least two semi-permanent brush batteries were also built along California's shoreline. One at Bodega Bay was constructed by Bodega y Quadra during his stay in October 1775. The other seems to have been constructed on the order of Governor Sola around 1817 in Monterey, probably in preparation for Bouchard's arrival.
3. Marguerite Dawson, ed., *Vancouver in California* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1953), p. 82.
4. Ibid, 82-3.
5. Janet Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1977), p. 119.
6. Provincial State Papers, MX, XIV, 83; see also "Informe sobre fuertes," Monterey, September (n.d.) 1796, BL, California Archives, 8.
7. Provincial State Papers, MX, XXI, p. 267-8; *Ibid.*, MX, XVII, II; see also State Papers, Sacramento, MX, VI, p. 91; viii, pp. 76-77; ix, p. 34.

   For a detailed report on the archeological excavations at El Castillo de Monterey, see William E. Pritchard, "Preliminary Archeological Investions at El Castillo, Presidio de Monterey, Monterey, California" (Sacramento: Central California Archeological Foundation, 1968).
8. William Shaler, "*Journal of a Voyage Between China and the Northwestern Coast of America Made in 1804*" (photostatic copy, California State Library, Sacramento), p. 157.
9. Provincial State Papers, MX, XX, 133.
10. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, II (Santa Barbara: Wallace Hibbard, 1970), pp. 221-225.
11. Ibid., p. 228; Pablo Vicente de Sola, "Noticia de lo acaecido en est Puerto de monterey con does fragatas pertencientes a los Rebeldes de Buenos Ayres," December 12, 1818, Provincial State Papers, XX, p. 70.
12. Peter Corney, captain of the *Santa Rosa*, described El Castillo's role in the capture differently: "We halted at the foot of the hill where it [El Castillo] stood, beat a charge and marched up. . . . The Spaniards mounted their horses and fled. . . . We then turned the guns on the town, where they [the Spanish] made a stand, and after firing a few rounds, the Commodore [Bouchard] sent me with a party to assault the place while he kept possession of the fort." Peter Corney, *Early Voyages in the North Pacific 1813–1818* (Fairfield, CA: Ye Galleon Press, 1965), p. 218.

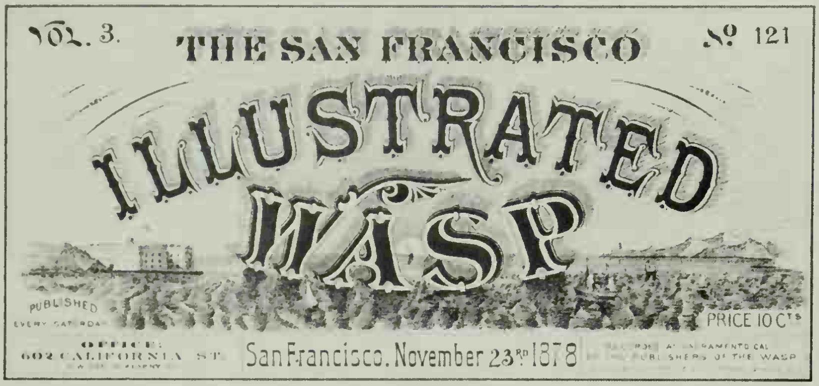
    Bancroft in Volume II., note 19, p. 229, discusses the possible role of the temporary brush shoreline battery. According to several witnesses, including Mariano Vallejo and Juan Alvarado, the battery which caused so much damage to the *Santa Rosa* was not the castillo but a "new" one of three guns commanded by Jose de Jesus Vallejo, and Vallejo's 18-pounders fired both grape and roundshot effectively. After the *Santa Rosa* lowered her flag, Sola feared treachery and wished to continue firing. However, castillo commandant Gomez ordered Vallejo to cease. Vallejo refused, and Gomez ordered the guns of the castillo turned on the battery, although the men refused to fire upon their comrades. Gomez then instructed Sergeant Ignacio Vallejo to attempt to influence his son to follow orders, which witnesses stated, apparently worked. The battery fell silent.
13. Charles Franklin Carter, trans., "Duhaut-Cilly's Account of California in the Years 1827–28," *California Historical Quarterly* 8 (June 1929): 154.
14. F. W. Beechy, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific . . . .* (London: Henry Colburn, 1831), p. 85-6.
15. Bancroft, III: 549.
16. Belcher, *Narrative*, 136.
17. Abel du Petit-Thouars, *Voyage of the Venus: Sojourn in California* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1965), p. 9.
18. House Exec. Doc. 166, 27th Cong., 21 sess., p. 21.
19. R. T. Maxwell, John Haskell Kemble, ed., *Visit to Monterey in 1842* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1955), p. 25.
20. Charles Roberts Anderson, Ed., *Extracts from Ms Journal of a Three Years' Cruise, By William H. Meyers Aboard Cyane* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1937), p. 104.
21. Dorothy F. Regnery, "An 1801 Russian Cannon" (San Francisco: The Westerners, 1972), p. 16.

THE USUAL DEFENSE OF CRIME

Now a days when a culprit commits a murder under circumstances of such unpardonable atrocity that even the unlimited cheek of the Police Court "shyster" backs down from the task of justifying the act, the usual and ordinary course of law is to proclaim the blood stained scoundrel "crazy."

"Charity," it used to be said, "covereth a multitude of sins," but charity will have to enlarge her wings if she means to compete with insanity in the covering business. Carlyle once observed that the people of England were mostly all fools, and judging from the criminal records of this country for the past twenty years or so, it is not unfair to assume that the greater number of its people are insane. The number of lunatics who are at this moment moving around in the full possession of their liberty, to all outward appearances in the complete enjoyment of all their faculties, able to cheat, and lie, and defraud, with the best of us, would appal an arithmetician. And strange to say, their insanity will never be discovered until, for purposes of revenge, or robbery, or some other impelling motive, they have taken the life of a fellow-being. Then a dozen or more willing tongues will bear testimony to the fact that the culprit was insane. The ideas of these witnesses as to what constitutes insanity will, in the majority of instances, be found to be as unsatisfactory and vague as a Feejee Islander's views regarding the doctrine of evolution. One will say he considered the prisoner "a little off," because he parted his hair in the centre of his head; another will have it that the violent brute "was not all there," because he drank coffee without saccharine condiments. And the result will be that the murderer will be consigned to an insane asylum for a few months and then turned loose upon society as an illustration of one of the remarkable freaks of "emotional insanity." Behold "the majesty of the law!" ☐

***The San Francisco Illustrated WASP,* November 23, 1878**



VOL. 3. THE SAN FRANCISCO No 121

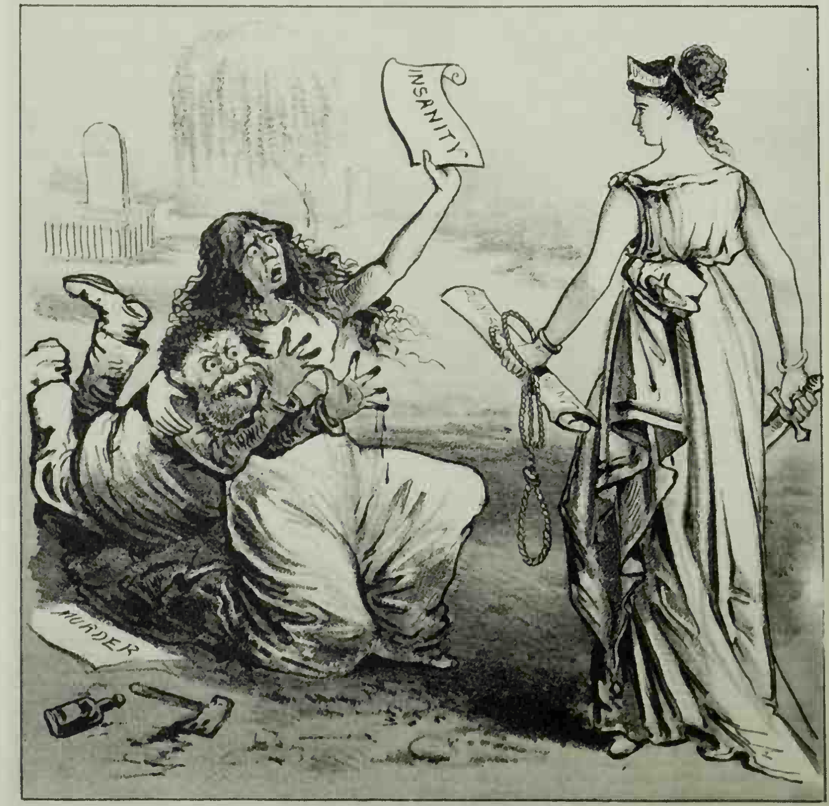
ILLUSTRATED WASP

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

PRICE 10 CTS

OFFICE: 602 CALIFORNIA ST.

San Francisco. November 23RD 1878



THE USUAL DEFENCE OF CRIME

AN IMAGINATIVE HISTORY OF SAN FRANCISCO:

by Pamela Seager

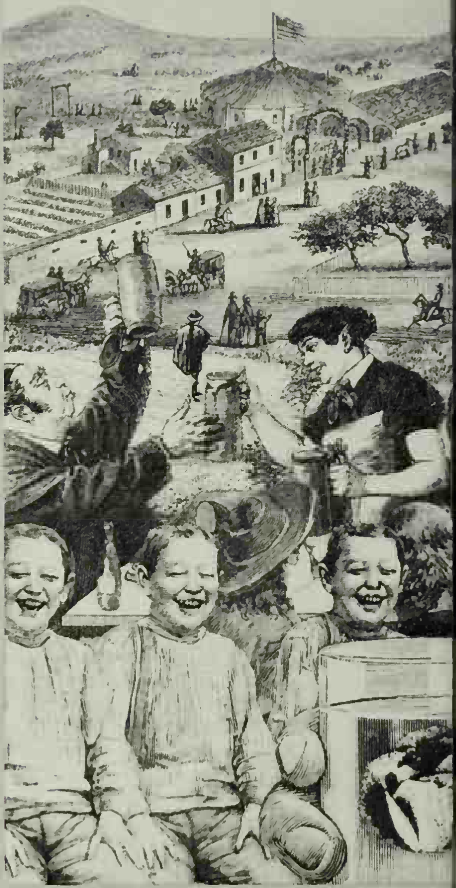
A city commanding world attention and curiosity as the center of the rush for California's gold, San Francisco by the 1860s had been depicted in hundreds of engravings, woodblock prints, line drawings, etchings, lithographs, and paintings. These scenes of life in that gaudy, rambunctious Pacific metropolis were published in newspapers, magazines, and books. Like photo-journalists of the twentieth century, the artists who created these views of San Francisco were attracted to the most dramatic, even exotic events and circumstances of life in The City—that burgeoning place renowned for its devastating fires, sinful nightlife, and wildly entrepreneurial business opportunities. These visual records have been so commonly used to illustrate books about San Francisco that they have become an integral part of the historian's and the public's awareness of nineteenth-century San Francisco.

These commonly held images of the city's first decades were not enough for the artist Satty (1939–1982), born Wilfried Podriech in Germany. For him the legends and robust adventures of those exuberant times deserved an interpretation, an evocation not to be found even in the diaries, letters, newspapers, and books which mirrored San Francisco's youthful epoch.

In 1961 Satty began to collect illustrations from magazines and other sources. Through the years he gathered and selected what became his "image-bank" of line drawings. By 1977 he was ready to give reality to the intensity of his own vision of San Francisco during the turbulent years 1880 to 1910. He superimposed images, one upon another, to create an eerie and haunting depiction of actual historic places and events—San Francisco as a tent city in 1849, the waterfront crowded with decaying ships, streets teeming with people, licentious gatherings of men determined to find pleasure in drink and drugs and women.

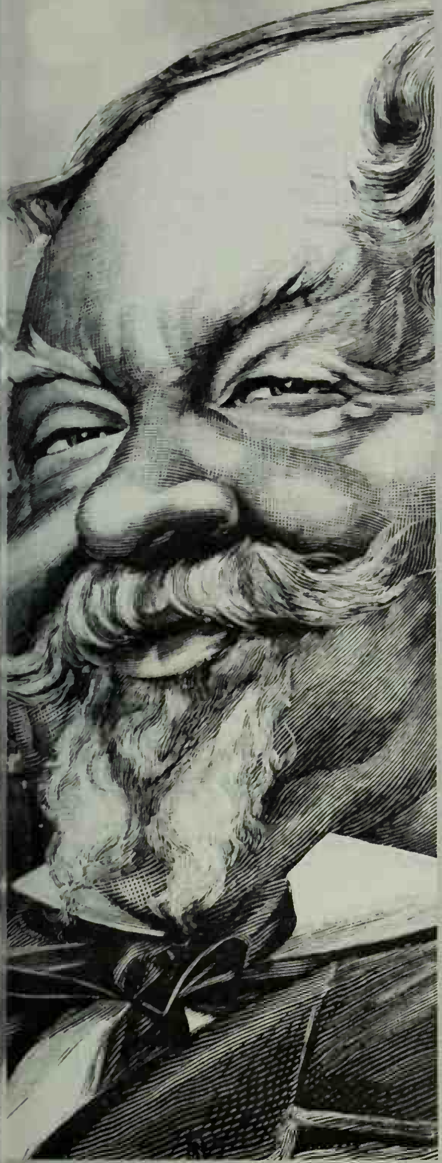
Satty luxuriated in bizarre imagery. Not satisfied with the traditional visual record of San Francisco, Satty set his creative spirit free to invent a dream-like record of the city, a compound of many parts and pieces taken from the works of artists, etchers, lithographers, and engravers. He used his knowledge of collage, overlays, paint, and offset lithography to achieve a visual imagery that is at once dramatic, powerful, and persuasive in its ability to convey the sense of a city reckless in its voracity for life and yet ultimately tamed toward order.

Satty died in San Francisco in 1982 at the age of forty-three, leaving plans for a book of interpretive collages and historical text. (Excerpts from *The Annals of San Francisco*, first published in 1855, complement Satty's graphic visions reproduced here.) With the cooperation of his friend, Walter Medeiros, the material from the book serves as the basis for an exhibition at CHS headquarters in San Francisco, ending September 30, 1984. The exhibition stands as a tribute to Satty's passionately experimental vision. ☐

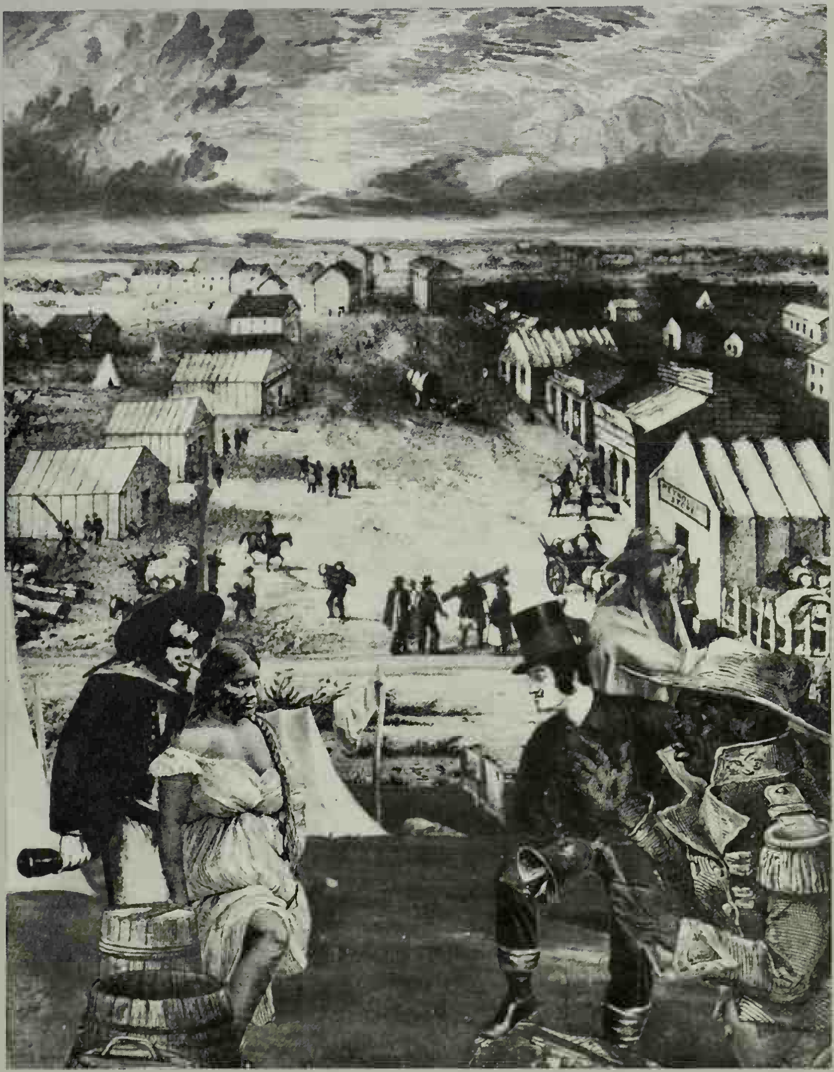


Russ's Garden, a short distance from the thickly populated portion of the city, is one of the most beautiful spots and popular places of resort in the vicinity. Hither celebrations, excursions, and the like rejoicings are held by societies and coteries on their various anniversaries and fête-days; while continually gay carriage loads or cavalcades, or solitary individuals, mounted or on foot, wend their way thither and amuse themselves about the pleasant grounds with games, athletic feats, or merry feasting. In the spacious amphitheatre at this place, sundry interesting public exhibitions are occasionally given to amuse the crowds that here assemble.

THE COLLAGES OF SATTY



May-day was celebrated by a large number of our German citizens in the cheerful and imposing style observed in the Fatherland. . . . About eighteen hundred persons of German blood participated in the different enjoyments of the day. They leaped, balanced and twirled, danced, sang, drank, smoked and made merry, as only such an enthusiastic race of mortals could. The weather happened to be very fine, and the grounds seemed beautiful beyond all expression of praise from the full heart that could only enjoy, while it knew not and cared not why. ☐



[San Francisco is] a feverish tent-town, with buildings of all kinds, begun or half-finished, and the greater part of them mere canvas sheds open in front and covered with signs in all languages. . . .

The scattered houses spread out below me and the crowded shipping in the harbor, backed by a lofty line of mountains, made an imposing picture. The restless, feverish tide of life in that little spot, and the thought that what I then saw and was yet to see, will hereafter fill one of the most marvellous pages of all history, rendered it singularly impressive. . . .

One knows not whether he is awake or in some wonderful dream. Never have I had so much difficulty in establishing, satisfactorily to my own senses, the reality of what I saw and heard. ☐

To vary amusements, occasionally a fancy-dress ball or masquerade would be announced at high prices. There the most extraordinary scenes were exhibited, as might have been expected where the actors and dancers were chiefly hot-headed young men, flush of money and half frantic with excitement, and lewd girls freed from the necessity of all moral restraint.

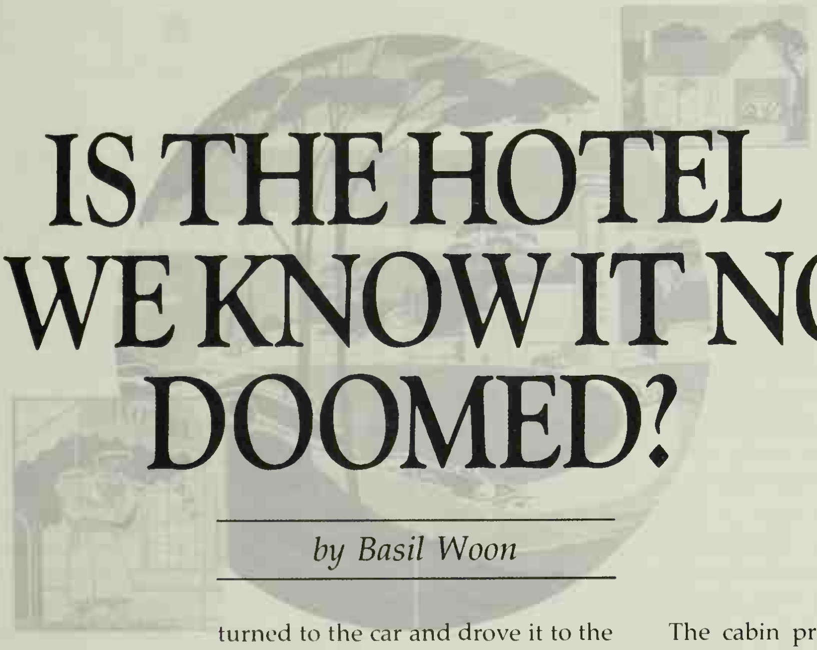
It is dark, the hour nine; the rain drizzles outside, and the quaker-grey out-doors, wet, chill, mud, gloom of the rainy season, drive the lonesome, the hilarious, and the dissipated to the door where the ticket-taker admits the pleasure-seeker.

By the private entrance come the maskers, male and female. The Spanish bandit, with his high tapering hat, ornamented with ribbons; the gipsy, with her basket and cards; the Bloomer, bountiful in short skirts and satin-covered extremities; the ardent young militaire, *with a borrowed uniform and sparse moustache . . . the flaunting Cyprian, not veiled by domino or mask; and the curious, but* respectable *lady, hidden by cloak and false visage. There is the Frenchman in a fantastical dress; a Gallic count imitating the Yankee; the Yankee affecting "Aunty Vermont"; and men already feeling the force of their libations, affecting sobriety.*

Now the band commences, and domino and mask are whisked about into the midst of the dizzy maze. . . . Away they whirl through the waltz, or dash along the mazourka, or crash away promiscuously in the gallopade. ☐

The very thought of that wondrous time is an electric spark that fires into one great flame all our fancies, passions and experiences of the fall of the eventful year, 1849. The remembrance of those days comes across us like the delirium of fever; we are caught by it before we are aware, and forthwith begin to babble of things which to our sober Atlantic friends seem more the ravings of a madman, than plain, dull realities. The world had perhaps never before afforded such a spectacle; and probably nothing of the kind will be witnessed again for generations to come. Happy the man who can tell of those things which he saw and perhaps himself did, at San Francisco, at that time. He shall be an oracle to admiring neighbors. ☐

Pamela Seager is Associate Director of CHS.



IS THE HOTEL (AS WE KNOW IT NOW) DOOMED?

by Basil Woon

During the summer of 1935, two automobiles of popular make halted outside a motor lodge, or tourist camp, on the edge of a western town. They were occupied respectively by couples whom we shall call Mr. and Mrs. Smith and Mr. and Mrs. Brown.

Smith got out and walked to the other car. "You're not going to stop here?" he asked.

"Sure—why not? It's a Grade-A camp." Brown indicated a list of motor lodges issued by the Automobile Club of Southern California.

"Not for me," demurred Smith. "We'll go to a hotel."

So the Browns drove into the tourist camp and the Smiths continued on downtown to a hotel.

The Smiths alighted from their car at the hotel entrance and a porter took their overnight bags, depositing them before the desk. For this service Smith tipped him fifteen cents. While Mrs. Smith fidgeted a little under the curious stares of the lobby loungers (she was dishevelled and dirty and she knew it) Smith found that a room with bath would cost them $3.50, and registered. While a bell-boy, carrying the bags, showed Mrs. Smith to the room—for which Mrs. Smith tipped him another fifteen cents—Mr. Smith returned to the car and drove it to the hotel garage, around the corner.

By the time the Smiths had made themselves presentable it was nearly ten o'clock. They would have liked to luxuriate in a hot bath and then crawl into bed, but they were hungry. The hotel dining-room had long since closed, leaving the Smiths the alternative of sending a bell-boy out for sandwiches or of going to a restaurant for dinner. They decided on the latter, and their modest meal, with tax and tip, came to $1.50. Back at the hotel they sent a bell-boy for ice-water, and tipped him a dime. Breakfast in the morning cost them $1.25, and when they checked out—after contributing a further thirty cents to bell-boy and porter for bag-carrying—they found an additional seventy-five cents added to the bill marked "garage." The Smiths' night in the hotel, with supper and breakfast, had cost them all told $7.70.

In the meantime the Browns had avoided the experience of having to walk, tired and mussed, through a populated lobby, for the night clerk of the motor lodge had simply jumped on the running board of their car and directed them to a vacant cabin, bringing with him a registration card which Brown signed, and on which he wrote down his address and the number of his license. Then Brown paid the rent—$2.00 in advance.

The cabin proved to be a three-roomed affair of bed-sitting room, kitchen, bathroom and toilet, with adjoining garage. The bed-sitting room had a rug on the floor and was furnished with a good bed, two chairs, a wardrobe, a table and a bed-light.

The cabin and kitchen were heated by gas. While Brown washed off travel stains and got into his pajamas, Mrs. Brown carried a picnic case into the kitchen and took from it a compact cooking outfit and coffee, bread, butter, salt, pepper, and eggs. In a few minutes she had prepared toast, coffee and a poached egg apiece—total cost twelve or thirteen cents. In the morning she added a few strips of bacon and an additional egg apiece, bringing the cost of breakfast to twenty-eight cents. By the time the Smiths arrived from downtown the Browns were packed and ready for the road, their night having cost them less than $2.50.

"We were chumps," said Smith, after he had looked over the cabin. "After this when we're motoring we'll stay in camps."

This little story is told in detail because it explains one of two factors that doom the so-called "modern" hotel—which in fact is no longer modern at all. The other factor is the top-heavy percentage of hotel earnings paid out in taxes, interest on

mortgages, and depreciation.

Before the widespread use of the automobile it was necessary to build hotels near railway stations and centers of population in zones where land values were high and taxes equally elevated.

Only ten years ago a majority of travelers arrived in a city by train. Now, except in New York, Chicago and possibly Philadelphia, a majority arrives by automobile or motorbus. During the past year bus travel has increased 60 percent and many bus travelers have acquired the habit of spending the night in outlying tourist camps, taking the bus on into town in the morning.

These facts go far toward explaining why, although business as a whole during 1935 was decidedly on the upgrade, the hotel industry still languishes in the doldrums and shows no immediate prospect out of them.

Another reason for the crisis in the hotel industry is, of course, over-expansion, but while this may be an important factor in New York City, where it is reckoned there are 8,000 hotel rooms too many, such is not the case in such cities as Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New Orleans or Detroit, where new hotels of the first class have been comparatively few.

More than five billion dollars is invested in the American hotel industry. Unless all indications are wrong a good half of this stupendous sum is forever lost.

It is self-evident, then, that the hotel situation is bad—couldn't in fact, be much worse. All experts admit it. Where the experts differ is in causes and means of cure.

None of the reports by experts and hotel executives that I have read even mention the change in the trend of travel from train to automobile, which is the real, underlying cause of the whole trouble.

What we are watching, in effect, is an evolution in the very nature of the hotel, an evolution brought about by the automobile and express highways.

Hotel men must realize that if they themselves do not enter the motor lodge field, the present motor lodges will expand of themselves into first-class and deluxe hotels, and the stubborn conservatives in the hotel ranks will be left to cater to the increasingly few travelers who do not travel by automobile or motor-bus—or by airplane, for, as all air terminals are of necessity in the suburbs, a comfortable motor lodge near one will certainly be preferred by air travelers to the hotel in the city.

The hotel of the future, as I picture it, will be managed by experienced, competent—but progressive—hotel men. The evils attacking the hotel certainly have not been caused by mismanagement, and hotel men as a class are exceedingly efficient.

This future hotel will be situated within a block of a main highway, but not on the highway because of nocturnal truck noise. It will contain several hundred cabins for one or two persons, each with private bath, toilet and garage but without kitchen, for persons preferring to take their meals in the restaurant or to order them from room-service. There will be a hundred or so larger cabins, some of two stories, with two or more bedrooms and parlors, comparable to the hotel suites of today. Finally there will be a group of cabins with kitchens. There will be built-in ice boxes, steam or electric heat, and each cabin will have a sun porch and an individual strip of garden or lawn. There will be circulating hot, cold and ice water. The furniture will be the equal in comfort to any now found in a good hotel, but more adapted to the needs of the traveling motorist. Besides the restaurant and bar there will be a store in which provisions and articles for motorists will be stocked, also a laundry, a garage and repair-shop, and a private motor-bus service to town and airports. There will be positively *no* public lobby.

Service should be optional. That is to say, if a traveler chooses to avoid tips by unloading his own car and running his own errands, there should be no obstacle placed in his way. But to satisfy persons accustomed to being waited upon there must be, naturally, a staff of room-waiters, porters and bell-boys. Thus the man who wishes to avoid tipping expense will do so without remark, and the man who likes service will be gratified. A well-organized room-service will provide complete meals, if desired, to occupants wishing to eat in privacy.

Prices—I say this flatly—will and must be lower in the hotel of the future than in the hotels of today. With excessive overhead in the shape of high taxes and large payrolls eliminated, there is no reason why a cabin for two people should not cost a minimum of $2.00, or, in a lodge pretending to the deluxe class, $5.00.

Hotel men, when they read this, may call it a dream and say "God forbid!" But it is no dream. The hotel I have described is coming in the near future as surely as the future itself. ☐

© 1935 Automobile Club of S. California, courtesy *Westways*.

YEE AH CHONG REMEMBERS VACAVILLE CHINATOWN

An oral account of life in a town-within-a-town

Yee Ah Chong's recollections about life in Vacaville's Chinese community during the first decades of the century offer a revealing look at an almost forgotten segment of California history. He was interviewed at length by Professor of History Ronald Limbaugh for the Vacaville Bicentennial history project which resulted in the publication, Vacaville: The Heritage of a California Community. *The original tapes of the interview are at the Holt-Atherton Pacific Center for Western Studies, University of the Pacific, Stockton.*

Yee Ah Chong, a California native, died at the age of seventy-six in 1978 soon after these interviews were recorded.

Limbaugh: When did your family first come to the United States?

Yee Ah Chong: *My grandfather came to America in the 1850s to look for gold. He wanted $200 to buy some more land in China. So he came to California, stayed a year or so, earned his money, and went home. He had a family there, you know. When they asked for more recruits to come to finish the railroad in about 1866 or 1867, my grandfather told my dad: "That's a wonderful country. You go over." My father was just a young man eighteen years old when he came. It was in 1867.*

L: Your father came early then?

Y: *Yes. He worked here until he had enough money to go home and pick his wife in 1889 or 1890. They were married, and he brought her to San Francisco in 1891. My little sister was born there, and they later moved to Sebastopol. They stayed there for only a couple of months and then moved to Vacaville. Here we are. All these long years.*

L: When were you born?

Y: *I was born in 1901. I was the next to the youngest.*

L: You say that your family was the first [in Vacaville]?

Y: *Yes, we were the first to come here. Of course there have been only three Chinese families in Vacaville. Two were Fongs and our Yee family.*

L: Are the Yees all related?

Y: *Yes, we're Yee related. If we intermarry, well then it's incest. But they're breaking away from that now, not only the Yees but all the Chinese.*

L: Did your father ever tell you about your Chinese heritage?

Y: *No, my father wasn't too much a man to talk. We had an old man who came from the same village that my father did. He was about the same age, and he was knowledgeable. He told us all about our little village. You see, that village that my father came from was very prosperous. There were only four persons to come from the village to the United States. He told us: "Anytime you kids want to go back to claim your share of the property, you can." He's the only one that told us.*

L: What area of China was it that the Yees came from?

Y: *It was not too far from Canton City.*

L: Southern China?

Y: *Oh, yes. It's in the province of Fong Tong. That's where most of the Chinese usually came from in the old days, ninety percent of them.*

L: Can you describe what Chinatown looked like when you were in Vacaville in the twenties?

Y: *There were tin houses. They were all covered with tin, the sides and the roofs, all tin, except where the firehouse is now. In the summertime they were really hot. Across the street was the same way. They were all tin buildings. They were all close together.*

L: Were the average houses pretty much the same?

Y: *You might put in a wall or knock one out, but they were pretty much the same. They looked awfully big when I was a kid, but they weren't that big. They had a big yard in back and a little garden. You could raise a few chickens.*

L: How many rooms were there in a house?

Y: *Well, we had a parlor where we sold lottery tickets, and my mother and father had their room. My older sister had a room in back by herself, and the rest of us kids were piled into one room. We slept on wood bunks of course.*

L: I've been reading the Vacaville papers from the eighties and nineties, and there are a lot of editorials about the Chinese living too close together, that Chinatown was a fire hazard, that it was not very sanitary, and so on.

Y: *Well what can you do if you can't speak English? You come in here, a foreigner. You do it for protection. They all clustered around in a little place there. It was unsanitary, but they lived that way back in China. Nobody gave them anything any better. We lived in squalid conditions compared to what they are today.*

L: Did Chinatown have running water in the houses?

Y: *We were the first to have running water and a water toilet. I remember when I was a kid we used to have an old outhouse in back, and then finally we got a water toilet. It wasn't inside the house, but right out the back door. We had running water and electric lights.*

L: What did your family do for a living?

Y: *Well, my father had a little restaurant. He came here, and there were quite a few Chinese, and he thought he'd make a kind of a little Chinese restaurant. It wasn't like restaurants now, but he made noodles and he made noodle-like tidbits, snacks. Of course at that time there were quite a few Japanese starting to come in, and most of his business was with them. The most he made was what he earned selling lottery tickets to the Japanese.*

L: Did the Chinese and the Japanese live in the same area?

Y: *Yes, it was all Japanese on the west side of First Street. On the east side of the street there was my family's house, an old Chinese laundryman, the original Gum Moon restaurant, and an old Chinese man's home.*

L: Were the Japanese houses about the same as the Chinese houses?

Y: *They were the same thing. There was no difference. It was all they had to live in you know. It was a shelter. Of course a lot of those Japanese places were boarding houses. They had little cubicles they rented out for people coming from the ranches in the wintertime.*

L: Did the Chinese and Japanese get along pretty well?

Y: *They had difficulty over in the homeland, but that didn't come over this far.*

L: Was there intermarriage between the Chinese and Japanese?

Y: *No, not in Vacaville. The Chinese didn't believe in intermarriage. Even in those days a prostitute who would take a white customer was looked on with contempt. The Chinese are very racially conscious, more than anyone else. They claim they were the first and the best, and nothing can break that tradition. When they came to this country with their funny dress and the pigtails in the gold rush days, they were abused, they were tied together, and they were jerked around. But they never cut those pigtails off until the 1911 Revolution. Up until that time, if you were a Chinaman you wore that pigtail, and nothing would ever make him cut it off. You can abuse him, laugh at him, but he's Chinese and he's going to stay Chinese.*

L: Was there any religious significance to the queue (braid)?

Y: *Just obedience to the emperor. He wanted them to wear pigtails and they wore them. That's it. They got so attached to them that some cried when they cut them off. My father had his up until the time of the Revolution. My mother used to keep the tangles out and braid them*

At the time of Yee Ah Chong's birth in 1901, Chinese men like this vegetable peddler in Sutter County frequently worked in California in order to send money home to China.

CHS, San Francisco

Some Chinese men never married or returned to China as they had originally planned. This group settled near Hercules in Contra Costa County.
CHS, San Francisco

for him. The Revolution ended the emperor's control, the dynasty ended, and then they cut their pigtails off.

L: You mentioned that your father sold lottery tickets to the Japanese?

Y: *Yes, those were legal. Well it wasn't legal, but nobody paid any attention to the thing.*

L: Was it a local lottery?

Y: *Oh yes, it was a regular old Chinese lottery you know.*

L: And your father ran one?

Y: *No, he just sold the tickets. He was an agent. There were two companies that ran it. There really weren't any names to them. Maybe four or five fellas would get together and form a corporation, maybe put in a hundred dollars apiece or so.*

L: Tell me a little about the Chinese lotteries.

Y: *It's sort of like Keno, but it is absolutely honest. There's no way to cheat, you know. You got a little sheet of paper, and there were eighty characters on it, forty at the top and forty at the bottom. On an average ticket you might have ten marks, anyway you care to mark it. When they had the drawing, if you got five of your ten marks, you get paid, you get money back. You have to get five to win, and if you get six then the price goes up. If you get ten out of ten, you break the bank.*

L: Did anybody really break the bank?

Y: *Oh yes, occasionally. There was a Yee family who had a store in town, a grocery store. His grandson came over here in maybe 1918. I don't know how old he could have been, but anyway, he had my sister mark the ticket for him. She's just a little girl fifteen or sixteen years old, and by gosh he broke the bank for a thousand dollars. Of course he had come to this country to make a fortune. He gave my sister a hundred dollars. The next week he was gone back to China. He had his money.*

L: Who played the lottery here in Vacaville?

Y: *Everybody played, the ranchers and the whites. Before my father got too crippled up, I used to walk with him to these ranches and sell tickets. When he could find a buck he'd hire a horse and cart from the livery stable. I remember when I was a little kid, maybe five or six, I'd walk up to a few of the bigger ranches where there were Chinese camps. Every ranch in Vacaville would have a few Chinese on it all year round. You give them a cabin to live in and a little place to raise their garden, and they'd work for you.*

L: How long did the lotteries operate here in Vacaville?

Y: *They were still going when I left in the Depression. They still have it in San Francisco.*

L: How often did they draw the lottery?

Y: *Twice a day, once in the afternoon and once in the evening.*

L: Tell me about Josh houses. Was that an old Chinese tradition?

Y: *That's a million years old. It's a place of worship.*

L: What religion is worshipped in Josh houses?

Y: *Well it's universal, really. Some of the Josh houses may have a shrine for Buddha and you tolerate it. The Chinese religion is not like the American religion where your Catholics are all together, and this and that are together. It's open to the public. If you want to go in and worship, you can, or a lot of people go in there to ask their god for luck to see whether it's a propitious time to go into business. He goes into a Josh house and he buys a packet of incense. That helps keep the place going. He lights the incense, gets down and prays, and throws down something that shows him how to shake the little sticks out, and refers to the book.*

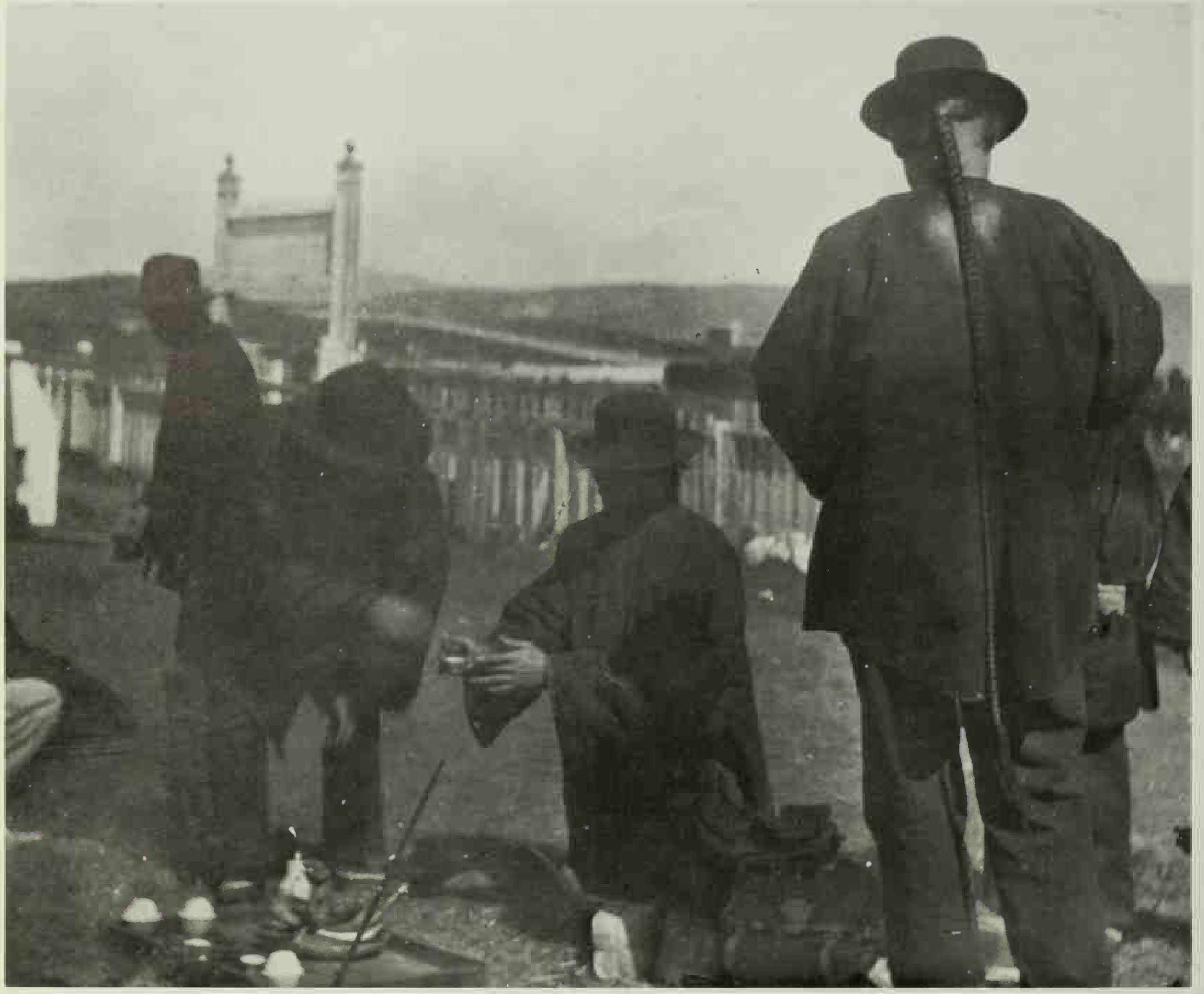
L: Well I don't know about the sticks. How does that work?

Y: *It's a bamboo stick, and each one is numbered with a page in that book. You read that page and it shows you whether this is a propitious day to do something or not.*

L: Who built the Josh house in Vacaville?

Y: *The town did it. Whether you were Buddhist or Taoist, as long as you were Chinese you made a contribution. In most small towns a place like a Josh house was also an old men's home. You go there to die. I've seen so many old men in my days pack up and move down in the basement of the Josh house in Vacaville. They couldn't work anymore, and before long they starved to death. They called it the benevolent society. Every town of any size had one.*

L: Do you remember the inside of



Chinese men wearing traditional queues marked the departure of a countryman in a San Francisco cemetery c. 1904.
CHS, San Francisco

the Josh house and what it looked like?

Y: *It was as dark as the ace of spades, no light. One carbon globe burning, but so dirty that it might as well have been nothing. There was a shrine with an altar in front. The altar was quite fancy, with a picture in the middle of a god. It was a universal god.*

L: How did one worship?

Y: *You buy incense and light it, bang your head on the floor, make your prayers, and that was it. If you had a few dollars to spend, you burned papers. You went to the store, bought a few of those, rolled them up, and burned them. You just paid homage.*

L: When you say bang your head on the floor, you bow deep three times?

Y: *Yes, you just bowed down the best way you could and touched the floor three times. Just like the Moslems, but you didn't do it three times a day.*

L: Were there special gods that you prayed to?

Y: *The Chinese homes were full of gods. The main one is the parlor god, but it isn't as important as the kitchen god because it watches over the kitchen and sees that you get food and things like that. Homage was paid to those gods about once a month. Certain families had a special god, almost a patron saint. Maybe a certain district in China would pick out that god as a patron saint. Other districts respected it, but this wasn't their god.*

L: Was this special to any particular religion?

Y: *This was a Taoist religion. The Buddhists didn't have them. There weren't too many Buddhists around this country. The only things that the Chinese had against the Buddhists was that when they were serving the monks, they would go beg for food. They didn't like that because food was pretty scarce, and they felt that they should work for it like everybody else.*

L: Did you say any special prayers?

Y: *My mother did. I know I heard her time and time again pray that there would be peace in the world and that no* *sickness would come to our little family. That's all she ever said. She never asked for anything else.*

L: What happened to the Josh house in Vacaville?

Y: *They tore it down when they put the housing in after the war. Of course the Chinese were gone by then you know. It's a parking lot now mostly. If you'd come in a few more years, you wouldn't know anything about it. Nobody but me knows about it.*

L: Did you have an actual doctor here in town that the Chinese all went to?

Y: *Well yes, but the Chinese didn't believe in him very much, except my family. They don't believe in doctors. They'd go down and get the herbs, and the doctor themselves, which was all right too. There was one old Chinaman I remember who saw an advertisement in the San Francisco paper, a Chinese paper, that a certain kind of herb added to medicine would rejuvenate him. So the old man thought it would be good tonic, so he bought some and drank it, and he got his eyelids closed on him. He got scared, thought he was going blind, and hanged himself. That's the inscrutable Chinese. If he had gone to an American doctor, why maybe they could have saved him or something. Maybe they could have given him an antidote or something. But no, he thought he was going blind. My father always used American doctors, except in the [earlier] years when they had to believe in [herb doctors]. There wasn't anything else.*

L: Did you have a Chinese herb doctor in town?

Y: *We never had an herb doctor, but we had two herbalists that sold herbs. They did it better than doctors. You tell them what's wrong, and they would give you the right kind of herb. My father and my mother were brought up that way.*

L: Did you ever have to go to San Francisco to an herb doctor or Chinese doctor there?

Y: *I remember my oldest brother, playing at school, fell off of a teeter-totter and broke his arm. They had to send to San Francisco for an herb doctor. He packed a bunch of herbs on it and wrapped it. I can still smell it. Every time I smelled it I kind of got nauseous. That bone never set straight, but if he had gone to an American doctor he could have set it so it would be straight.*

Every ranch in Vacaville would have a few Chinese on it all year round. You gave them a cabin to live in and a little place to raise their garden, and they'd work for you.

L: Were there any books or things that described these herbs and what they were good for?

Y: *Yes, an herbalist knew what was good for you because he looked it up in a book. The Chinese never lost one person with herbs.*

L: Was there quite a bit of opium in town?

Y: *Oh, yes. All the [Chinese] merchants in town had it. The Chinese smoked opium moderately. They didn't do it like these guys today and get stoned on it.*

L: Did everyone do it pretty much? Did all the Chinese do it?

Y: *I would say in Vacaville maybe fifty or sixty percent smoked it.*

L: Were they all men that smoked or did the women smoke?

Y: *Oh, women too, that is the prostitutes, but not any regular family woman.*

L: In the Josh houses, when elderly Chinese went there to die, who took care of them?

Y: *Nobody, if he is an old man and if he can still get around. People like my mother used to give this old fellow two or three dollars once in a while to buy groceries with. Of course, after he dies he's never buried in a pauper field. The Chinese aren't. The book comes out and everybody in town contributes to his funeral.*

L: What is the book?

Y: *It's called the book. You write your name down and how much you want to give, maybe fifty cents, or maybe a dollar. The Yee family usually gave a couple of dollars or something like that. If that isn't enough, then the county takes care of him.*

L: Who kept the book?

Y: *The man in the Josh house. He was the caretaker. He arranged for things for Memorial Day to take out to the cemetery. He didn't get any pay, but he got to live there free.*

L: After they collected the money to bury the elderly people, who conducted the ceremony?

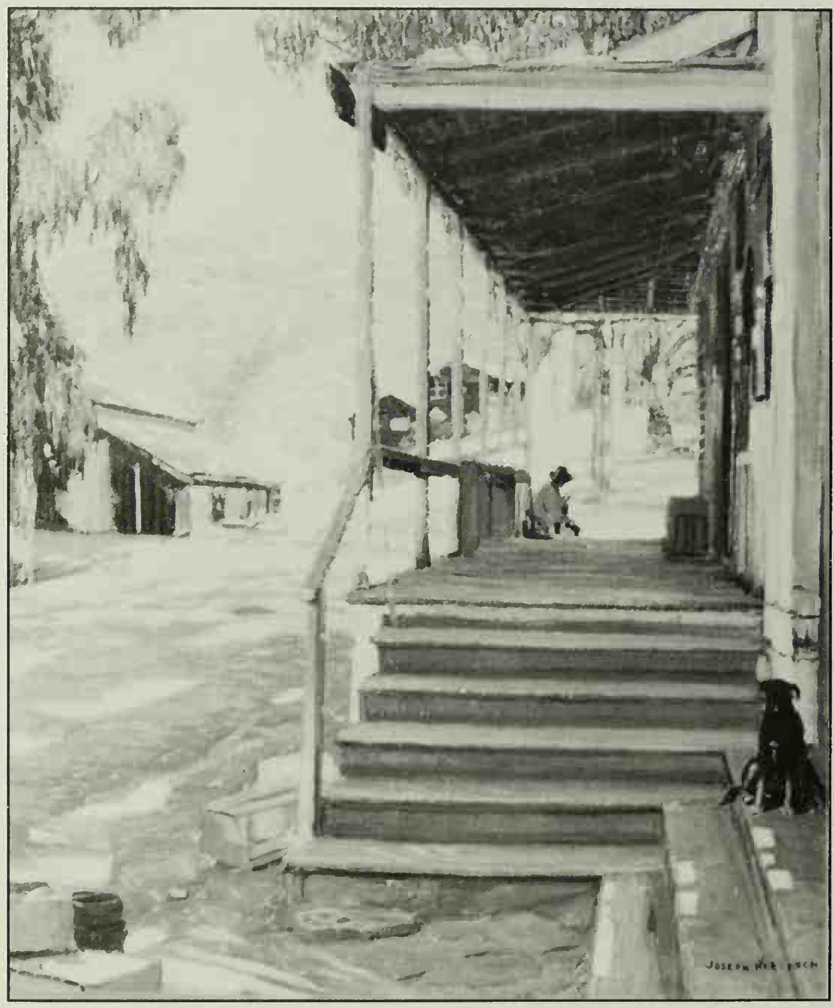
Y: *Well there really wasn't any. Some old fellow in town would accompany him down there, go out with them with a dead wagon, take a little basket with an offering, and burn it up. That old Yee fellow I was telling you about that took care of us, he's the one in town who did that chore for years. The Chinese always keep care of their own some way.* ☐

A REGIONAL RESPONSE TO THE

PAINTERS OF LAGUNA BEACH, 1900–1940

by Robert M. Frash

Southern California's natural sirens tempt regional artists



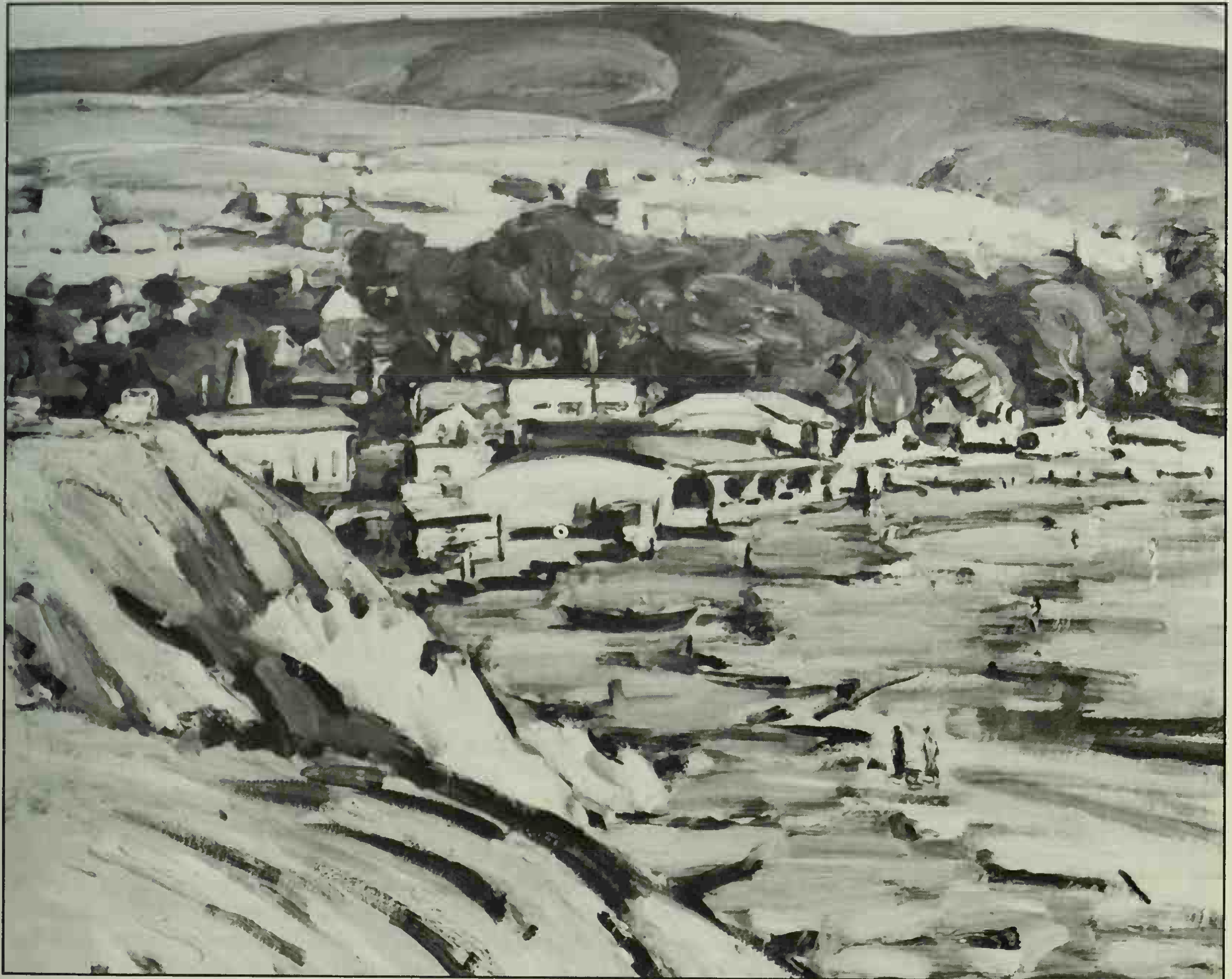
Joseph Kleitsch, "The Old Post Office, Laguna Beach," 40 × 34"

Laguna Beach, seven miles to the north of the Mission San Juan Capistrano, has always sent forth its own particular siren songs. There are, of course, many different songs, but they need not stem from such destructive elements as those that tempted Ulysses. Here the allure is visual—natural elements, light and shadow. Though mindful of another place and time, T. S. Eliot says with spare perception:

> *. . . The sea is all about us;*
> *The sea is the land's edge also, the granite*
> *Into which it reaches, the beaches where it tosses*
> *Its hints of earlier and other creation:*
> *The starfish, the hermit crab, the whale's backbone;*
> *The pools where it offers to our curiosity*
> *The more delicate algae and the sea anemone.*
> *It tosses up our losses, the torn seine,*
> *The shattered lobsterpot, the broken oar.*[1]

Laguna Beach has always reflected a unique, rather isolationist character. Originally situated on "ungranted" land between the vast

IMPRESSIONISTIC CHALLENGE

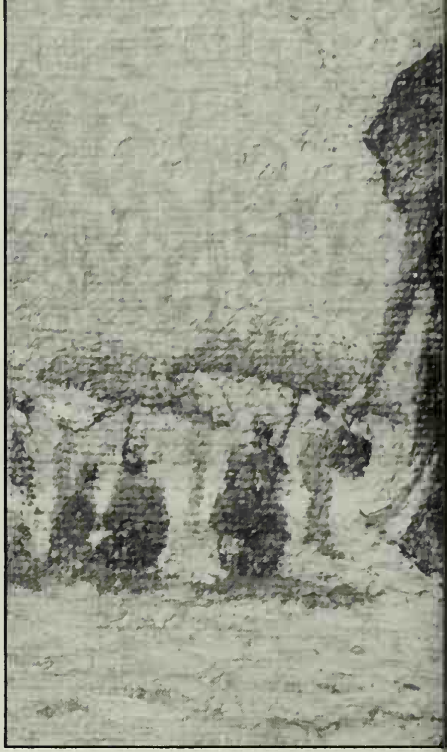


Clarence Hinkle, "Laguna Beach," 30 × 36"

land grants of Rancho San Niguel and Rancho San Joaquin, the relatively modest unclaimed parcel was first inhabited by Indians until it was settled by Jose Antonio Maria Acuna and his family. However, by the time the first white man, William H. Brooks, came upon the land in 1876, the Spanish had moved on, and Laguna was quickly settled by homesteaders. Most of the coastal land was settled by 1880, the first stage route was established in 1888, and by the 1890s the tiny community had stabilized. Toward the turn of the century the town's character as a charming "summer interlude" had become apparent. The number of year-round residents listed in the 1900 Directory of Orange County numbered only ten, but the annual influx of summer visitors set a pattern of development that continues today.

By 1915 the inveterate "art colony" character of Laguna Beach was evident, and its painters included, among others, William Wendt, Anna A. Hills, Frank W. Cuprien, and Edgar Payne. At about this time the Laguna Beach Art Association was formed at the suggestion of Edgar Payne, and the first Laguna

George Brandriff, "White Water," 30 × 36"



Beach Art Gallery was opened in 1915. Four artists—Benjamin C. Brown, Hanson Puthuff, F. Clark Schmidt, and William Wendt—exhibited in the initial Laguna Beach gallery show, and their work is also represented in the current exhibition presented by the California Historical Society, in cooperation with the Laguna Beach Museum of Art, at El Molino Viejo, San Marino (exhibition dates September 11-November 25, 1984).

The particular manner of painting, later to be termed Impressionism, began in France about 1865 and had as its major apostles Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, and Pierre Auguste Renoir. Impressionism was an aesthetic revolt against the academic, objective, and structured insistence that the earlier Barbizon School took toward painting.

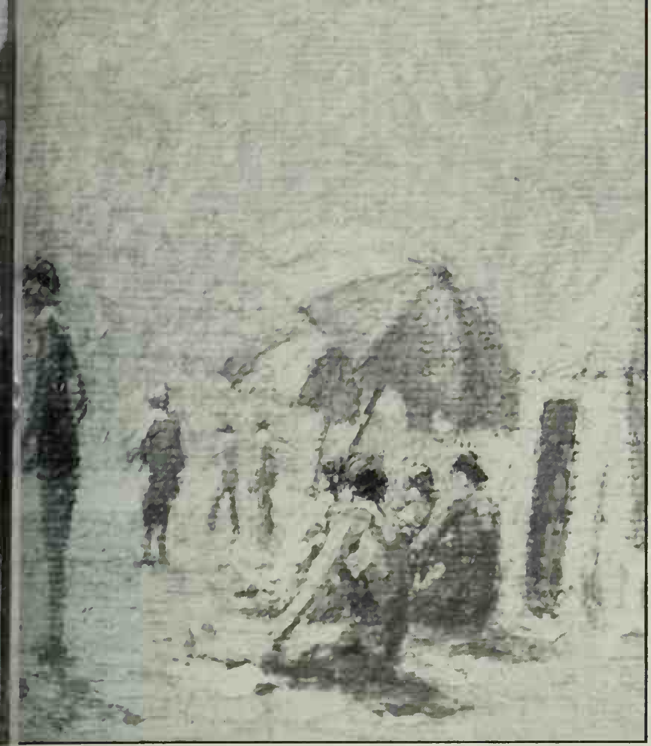
The new style was far from labored. It had an "instant" character and attempted to record specific objects—mostly from nature—as they were directly and quickly observed. The elements of space, perspective, and the diagonal were given fresh and original attention. Color became an element in its own right: only primary unmixed colors were used in order to record reflected light. The "dabbing" technique of paint application provided a vibrant "impression" and texture quite different from the carefully formalized canvases of the earlier decades.

Though as a specific "school" in France, Impressionism began to languish in the early 1890s, its influence and subsequent exposure were soon felt in this country. During the early years of the twentieth century, the Impressionist character was evidenced in museums, galleries, and art schools in the East and Midwest. Regardless of travel difficulties, many California artists such as Brown, Hinkle, Wendt, and Redmond went abroad at the turn of the century for schooling and experience.

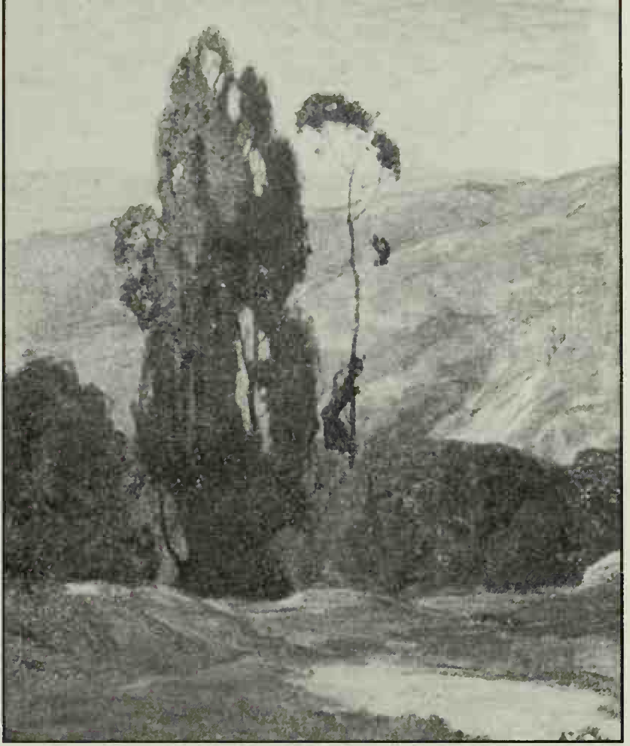
For Californians at home, the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition provided the first extensive exposure to the Impressionist style. Hundreds of works from France and America were included, and similar exhibitions followed at the Museum of History, Science and Art in Los Angeles (1917) and the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego (1916). The Modern Art Society held Impressionist and Post-Impressionist exhibitions in 1916 and 1918, and a few years later examples of American Impressionist works from the East given to the Los Angeles Museum by William Preston Harrison were put on permanent display.

No works in the current exhibition at El Molino truly reflect the dicta of the French Impressionist School, which embraced a specific objectivity, a revolutionary sense of structure, and the use of colors in a manner that was new and dazzling. Yet the concern with the representation of light became an element in the California "plein air" aesthetic experience. In California, too, there was the challenge of a new, vast, and intimidating kind of landscape. Its abrupt and astonishing character was in direct antithesis to that of France. Here, the sea and sky appeared limitless—coastal ranges and canyons projected awesome, silent presence, and their shadows, with no apparent effort, could

Robert Frash is Curator of Special Exhibitions at the Laguna Beach Museum of Art.



Granville Redmond, "Talk on the Beach," 9 × 12"



Dana Bartlett, "Eucalyptus," 29 × 19"

stretch for miles. The California light was everywhere.

Clarence Hinkle's *Laguna Beach* is an open and joyous work, with color that is clear and assured. In George Brandiff's *White Water*, the Impressionist insistence on "instant observation" is evident in the exuberant recording of the dazzling light and the force of the sea. Seconds later none of this, including the accurate color variants, would have been the same.

In addition to the visual arts, the Impressionist movement was reflected in music. It was of fascinating interest to Debussy, and he explored it in his music. His *String Quartet in G Minor* has the unpretentious weight and movement of Granville Redmond's *Talk on the Beach*. This work owes much to the Pointillist School in which the paint is applied to canvas not as brush strokes but as small dots or "points." Its controlled and brilliant color and its elegance are paralleled in many sections of the string quartet.

The grandeur and awe of the California landscape is captured in William Wendt's *Landscape, 1912*. A timeless quality and silences pervade the work, and it is devoid of any "mannered" or rebellious influence. The broken horizon line to the upper right suggests a mountain far more vast than the base we see. Consistent color values imply the slightest suggestion of the arid nature of the landscape.

Beginning in the 1930s, criticism drew attention to the eclecticism that seemed to attend the work of the later Impressionist period. The inference was clear: while certain Impressionist influences were still evident, the quality of work appeared to have thinned. Experimentation and adventure seemed to have lessened, and the images became mundane.

A style, known as the Eucalyptus School, flourished between 1915 and 1930. Popular and yet described by the art critics as pale, decorative, thin, and indecisive in form, Eucalyptus School works lack the mandatory element of undisputed creativity.

Dana Bartlett's *Eucalyptus* exemplifies something of this school's credo that a painting whose subject is nature must be faithful to what the eye sees—and little more. Thus, images are appropriately balanced and perspectively positioned in a *natural* manner that allows for little or no variant or exuberant experimentation. Colors appear modest and withdrawn, and brushwork lacks vigor.

Forecasting the still future movement toward the Cubist and Abstract schools, Frank Cuprien's *Study for My Citadel* explodes with bold diagonals, flattened edges and marvellously executed massing in the foreground. The painters were no longer solely concerned with the play of light, but had moved on to bold angles, mass and linear forms, free from the necessity to faithfully represent what the eye could see.□

This article emanates from an exhibition of twenty-seven works of the period of the 1900s–1940s by regional painters from the Laguna Beach area. The paintings are all drawn from the permanent collection of the Laguna Beach Museum of Art.

Notes

1. From "The Dry Salvages," in *Four Quartets*, copyright 1943 by T. S. Eliot, (renewed 1971 by Esme Valerie Eliot). Reprinted by permission of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

THE NEW ANATOMY

by James D. Houston

During California's first hundred years, books such as **The Land of Sunshine: Southern California** *(1893), published by the Southern California World's Fair Association, promoted the state with enthusiasm.*
CHS, San Francisco

The publication in 1978 of James Hart's *A Companion to California* (Oxford University Press) signalled a shift in perception about this region of the world. The book did not promote the California legend, as have so many dozens of books during the past 140 years or so, nor did it belabor the state's notorious excesses, as was the fashion from the early 1960s through the mid-1970s. In a very straightforward manner—what could be more straightforward than alphabetical order?—Hart documents the range of California life, past and present, providing brief, succinct descriptions of people, places, plants and animals, natural calamities, battles, baseball stadiums. It is an almanac, a thorough catalogue, yet eminently readable and usable. William Saroyan said of it, "I read the whole work as if it were an American novel."

It is one of a growing list of works I have come to think of collectively as The New Anatomy of California, a list that includes titles as diverse as *The Klamath Knot*, the *Coastal Access Guide*, and the much praised *California Water Atlas*. Taken together they suggest that we may now have entered a third phase in the image history of this state.

Phase One

For the first hundred years or so, the prevailing tone in books about California was high enthusiasm for its various resources and fresh opportunities. During the late nineteenth century the most influential book on the subject was Charles Nordhoff's *California, For Health, Pleasure and Residence*, published by Harper Brothers in 1872. Financed by

OF CALIFORNIA

the Southern Pacific Company, this book attracted more people to the West Coast than any other volume of its day. Here is a typical passage:

> *It is generally acknowledged that some very respectable people live in California; but we who live on the Atlantic side of the continent are sorry for them, and do not doubt in our hearts that they would be only too glad to come over to us. Very few suspect that the Californians have the best of us, and that, so far from living in a kind of rude exile, they enjoy, in fact, the finest climate, the most fertile soil, the loveliest skies, the mildest winters, the most healthful region in the whole United States.*

The title itself tells a story. It joins numerous others, before and after, to recount the first version of the California legend, titles such as *The Golden State* (first used in 1856), *The Empire Beautiful* (1899), *The Land of the Sun* (1914), *The Golden Empire* (1956), *The Land of Promise* (1962).

This phase lasted until just about the time the nineteen millionth person arrived—entering, as it happened, by way of Nevada—to make California the most populous state in the union. On September 25, 1962, *Look* magazine devoted an issue to California. "Hope or Horror?" was the question West Coast editor George Leonard asked in the opening article. But the answer was already there on the cover, which showed the Golden Gate Bridge with an enormous sun setting into the Pacific. Inside, introducing the articles that followed, a fan palm came vaulting out of the words, "A Promised Land for Millions of Migrating Americans."

Phase Two

By the middle 1960s the message had changed dramatically. A prolonged age of innocence seemed coming to an end. The dream was turning sour. The thrill was gone. The pace-setting book, still the most luminous from this era, is Joan Didion's collection of essays, *Slouching Toward Bethlehem* (Farrar Straus, 1968). That title joins a chorus of others which, again, tell a kind of story: *The Destruction of California* (1965), *Eden in Jeopardy* (1966), *Big Wayward Girl* (1968), *The Last Days of the Late Great State of California* (1969), *Our First Para-Fascist State* (1971), *The Vanishing Dream* (1972).

In March 1970 *Esquire* devoted most of an issue to life on the West Coast. Coming right at the end of the 1960s, this issue followed hard upon the Watts Riots, the Manson killings, the Robert Kennedy assassination, the debacle of the Flower Generation, and a resurgence of witchcraft. On the cover we saw an enormous, larger-than-life photo of Lee Marvin casting a sideways, pernicious glance at the camera. The caption said: *Evil Lurks in California—Lee Marvin Is Afraid.*

In 1973 Oxford University Press published Kevin Starr's *Americans and the California Dream: 1850–1915.* He focuses on the minds and lives of bold figures such as John Muir, Jack London, David Starr Jordan, exploring the period of settlement, dissecting their dreams in a way that resonates right into the 1970s and '80s. It is a powerful and evocative and life-affirming book. But when it was published, the prevailing tone was still the one conveyed by that *Esquire* cover—alarm, or outrage, or ridicule. When *The New York Times* reviewed Starr's book, the accompanying illustration showed Mickey Mouse wearing a wizard's hat. They grouped it with a book by Peter Briggs called *Will California Fall into the Sea?*, a question reviewer John Seelye answered this way: ". . . Though it won't, it isn't because the damned place doesn't deserve to."

That kind of complaint became a loud outcry after the mass suicides of the People's Temple disciples in Guyana in the fall of 1978. Though Jim Jones hailed from Indiana and the event itself occurred in South America, California took the entire rap. "Lost Horizon" was the title of Lewis Lapham's denouncement of the state in *Harper's* that November. "Who has brought evil into paradise?" he wanted to know.

But the backlash was already lashing back the other way. That same month, another magazine ran a special section with a title recalling years gone by. "California: A Golden State of Mind," were the words on the cover of *The Saturday Review*. During that same season John Gregory Dunne published his fine collection of essays, *Quintana and Friends* (E. P. Dutton, 1978), ending his book with a piece that celebrates his transplanted life out west. These are the book's closing lines:

It is the last stop.
It is the end of the line.
Eureka!
I love it.

This essay, entitled "Eureka," was featured in the January 1979 *New West*. The cover illustration showed a fertile valley broken into its fields and vineyards, with foothills and the Sierra rising high and snow-covered in the distance. The painting was stylized, idealized, walking the edge of parody; yet if you wanted to fall in love again with California, it worked that way too.

Phase Three

It was about this time that Oxford brought out Hart's *Companion to California*. And a few months later *The California Water Atlas* was published by the State, in cooperation with the Department of Water Resources. Based upon an idea by Stewart Brand, and edited by William Kahrl, this book re-examines the delicate balance between water systems and the full range of life in this region.

"Water," say the editors, "lies at the basis of the modern prosperity of California, and the history of the state is in large part the history of water development . . . yet water remains probably the least popularly understood of our natural resources."

The researchers digested an enormous amount of data from wide-ranging sources to give us an informed and inspired overview of what is surely this state's most controversial topic. Awesome in its scholarship, irresistible in the quality of its glossy graphics and deep-color satellite photos, the book is totally absorbing, and it is unhindered by either of our mythologies: The Golden Empire, or A Paradise Lost.

That same year saw the publication of *The Atlas of California*, which does for the state as a whole, in a more general way, what the *Water Atlas* does for water. Compiled by Michael Donley, Stuart Allan, Patricia Caro, and Clyde Patton, and published by the Pacific Book Center in Culver City, it is meticulous in detail, luscious in illustration. Starting with the earliest maps that depicted California as an island, it gathers hundreds of charts, graphs, inner-city street diagrams, mountain cross-sections, and key facts on every system within the state, from rainfall patterns and soil zones, to land ownership and military installations. On each page there is a short essay or descriptive paragraph to help the non-expert read the charts and color-coded maps and grasp the ways these many systems interlink.

The following year, in connection with the Los Angeles Bicentennial, a handbook appeared called *L.A. Access*, the first in what has become a series of access guides to major urban areas. Published by Access Press and overseen by architect Richard Saul Wurman, this handbook lifts the concept of the travel guide to a new level. Wurman has no illusions about the realities of big-city life. He dedicates the project to "the reduction of anxiety and disorientation." He also believes it is well worth doing so: "If we can make our urban environment observable and understandable, we will have created classrooms with endless windows on the world."

Starting downtown, with the area near City Hall, the handbook moves district by district, sometimes building by building, through the metropolitan sprawl between the San Fernando Valley and Orange County. Simultaneously the various systems within this unwieldy region are unscrambled and visibly laid out before us: transit, hotels and restaurants, architecture, filmland, parks, and harbors.

This handbook performs a great service. L.A. is not just another city. Over one-third of all Californians now reside in the region this book examines, and it is still growing. Some eighty-three languages are spoken there. All by itself it ranks fifteenth on the world chart of annual gross product (according to *The Sixty Mile Circle*, another title on my New Anatomy shelf, an economic study compiled and published in 1981 by Security Pacific National Bank). Yet to many, especially to the first-time visitor, greater Los Angeles is overwhelming, an urban wilderness. In this handbook a dizzying amount of detail has been orchestrated and graphically rendered, and the leviathan begins to be de-mystified.

Early last year I came across a rare treasure entitled *The Klamath Knot*, written by David Rains Wallace and published by Sierra Club Books in association with Yolla Bolly Press. It is the author's tribute to a little-known cluster of eccentric peaks in northern California. As a veteran hiker Wallace knows the trails and ridges. He knows Coast Range geology and how these mountains evolved, how they came to look the way they do. As a student of biology he knows the many creatures who live there and what they feed on, as well as the history of every plant and tree and how they have survived at their various altitudes. He knows human history, too, the tales of loggers and settlers who came and went, and he has examined the bizarre lore surrounding the pres-

James D. Houston, a native San Franciscan and recipient of numerous writing awards, is the author of five novels and four non-fiction books, including the recent *Californians* (Knopf, 1983).

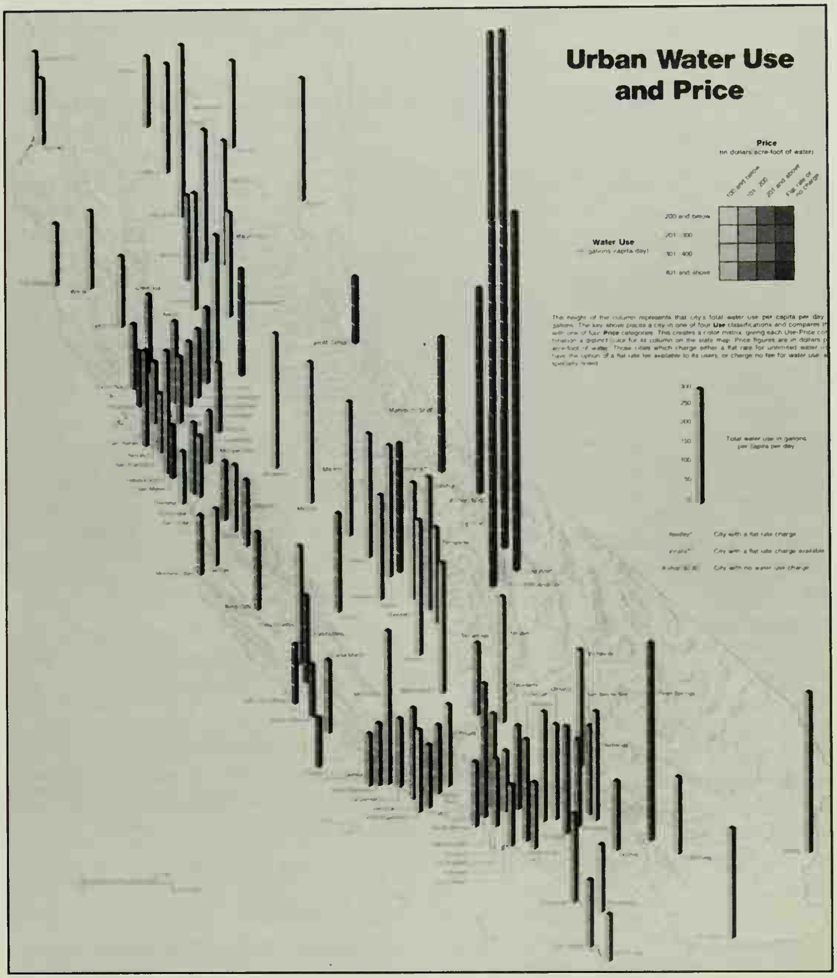
ence of Bigfoot, whose natural or unnatural habitat this is.

By illuminating the many lives of a single mountain range, Wallace somehow makes of it a microcosm for all creation. In the process he does for The Klamath Knot what *L.A. Access* does for the city. He dissects it layer by layer, so that we see its parts with clearer eyes and come away with a fuller sense of how the parts constitute the whole.

This is very similar to what the *California Coastal Guide* does for the coastline. There has never been another book quite like it, a book that sets out to reveal in such close detail the entire 1100 miles. Developed by the California Coastal Commission and recently re-released in trade paperback by the University of California Press, the expanded edition amplifies the original (1981) format. Starting in the north, the coast is charted county by county, beach by beach, mile by mile, with dozens of inset maps that note trails, walkways, harbors, coves, parks, marked and unmarked roads, gateposts, and the numerous stairways that lead you down the many bluffs between Oregon and Mexico.

Each county is introduced with a historical sketch, and the local maps are interspersed with forty-three short, lucid essays which touch every aspect of coastal life, from wetlands and tide pools to offshore drilling and the feeding habits of sharks. Hostels and campgrounds are pinpointed, as well as architectural landmarks that illuminate both the history and style of this state.

California happens to be America's number one travel destination, and the spectacular coastline accounts for much of its appeal. For tourist and resident alike, it is one of the world's most popular playgrounds. Though this book serves the coastal visitor in an admirable way, it is much more than a traveller's guide. It does considerably more than provide heretofore unassembled information for the multitudes drawn toward the shoreline season after season, the fishermen and boaters and surfers and scubadivers and sunbathers and naturalists and dog-walkers and sand-hikers and campers and photographers. From the glistening Ansel Adams photo on the cover, to the final phone number for Border Field State Park ("The Tijuana River Estuary is located within this park, and is an important habitat for rare species of plants and animals . . ."), it is the anatomy of this state's most complex resource and valuable commodity. While describing all the ways we can physically reach the waters, it also guides us through the diverse lives, human and non-human, that converge where the continent meets the sea. ☐


Urban Water Use and Price
Price
(in dollars acre-foot of water)
100 and below
101–200
201 and above
Flat rate or no charge
Water Use
(gallons capita day)
200 and below
201–300
301–400
401 and above
300
250
200
150
100
50
Total water use in gallons per capita per day
City with a flat rate charge
City with a flat rate charge available
City with no water use charge

New interpretive information sources on California focus on significant realities of life in the state.
Graph reproduced from William Kahrl, California Water Atlas *(1978)*

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

The New Alchemists: Silicon Valley and the Microelectronics Revolution.

By Dirk Hanson. (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1982. xx, 364 pp. $17.95.)

Reviewed by Carroll Pursell, *editor of* Technology in America, *and author of* Early Stationary Steam Engines in America. *Professor Pursell is Director of the Graduate Program in Public Historical Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara.*

The San Francisco Peninsula's Silicon Valley appears to be one of those magic places where the theory really seems to work: a great university begets science, which begets technology, which begets industry, which begets employment, which begets prosperity, which begets national strength. These are the benefits, but the costs too are classic: an agricultural land urbanized, local economies warped and simplified beyond any semblance of balance, and air, water, openspace—in short, the quality of life—despoiled.

Dirk Hanson, a San Francisco journalist, concentrates on the evolution of the microelectronics industry itself and has produced what may be the best (and most intelligible) general introduction yet available on the subject. From Thomas Edison through William Shockley to Stephen Wozniak, the history of electrical technology is well told. Hanson also explains the rise and possible impact of Japanese competition, Soviet espionage, automation in the workplace, personal computers, and star-wars-like Pentagon playthings.

Although the radio pioneer Lee De Forest lived in Palo Alto in the years before the First World War, the real beginning of the Silicon Valley was the deliberate decision of Stanford engineering professor Frederick Terman to encourage close academic-business ties in the area around the campus after World War II. In 1955 William Shockley, who won a Nobel Prize for inventing the transistor while at Bell Labs, returned to Palo Alto to start his own company. From then on, the electronics industry expanded rapidly, pulling into its orbit new products, new talent, and new capital.

The telling of this story is well done and highly laudable, but were it not for occasional references to Stanford University, a marvelous (natural) climate, and gold chains around the neck, the events might be happening anywhere. The specifics are of microprocessors, ICs, and firms with names like Intel and Aco, not prune orchards, Sacramento politics, or Hispanic workers. One would like to learn as much about the Valley as one does about the Silicon. Are California's politics, venture capital, higher education, and labor pool somehow peculiarly conducive to the kind of free-wheeling enterprise Hanson describes so ably?

But the question seems churlish. If the California historian is less well served than the historian of technology, the latter service is at least first rate. ☐

The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico.

By David J. Weber. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. xxiv, 416 pp. $12.95 paper, $24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Robert Ryal Miller, *Professor Emeritus of History, California State University, Hayward and author of:* Arms Across the Border *(1973),* Latin America *(1977), and other books and articles about Mexican and California history.*

Professor Weber's excellent book looks at the history of the vast area from Alta California to Texas during the tumultuous quarter-century when it was a remote Mexican frontier that gradually merged with the expanding United States frontier. His innovative regional approach relies on comparisons or contrasts between Mexico's northern frontier and its metropolitan core area, as well as between various northern provinces.

There were many similarities in the development of events in the administrative areas radiating from Monterey, Tucson, Santa Fe, and San Antonio. Each of these districts saw the abandonment of presidios and erosion of the military elite; a shift of wealth and power to rural landowners; termination of Indian missions; penetration by foreigners; changing economic focus toward foreign markets; a growing belief by *pobladores* that the central government was neglecting or abusing them; and declarations of autonomy coupled with armed resistance to Mexican authority. The political alienation facilitated annexation by the United States.

Besides facts and narrative, this synthesis examines causes and consequences of historical events. For example, the phasing-out of Franciscan missions and their projected replacement by parishes under bishops was a calamity for the Catholic Church. Because secularization coincided with the Mexican government's sequestering of religious funds and expulsion of all Spaniards, Church resources and personnel were devastated. The facts are astounding: in 1829 not a single bishop served in Mexico; the Vatican did not recognize Mexico's independence from Spain until 1836; and by 1832 only five of New Mexico's eighteen missions had priests. In California the sudden ending of missions disoriented the Indian neophytes whose changed labor conditions or opportunities were hardly better. And when the former mission lands were transferred to selected grantees, the *rancheros* became the new elite.

Another linking detailed in this book is the infiltration of the frontier by foreigners who revitalized the economy and oriented it toward the United States. American trappers moved across the entire zone; so did livestock traders and horse thieves. The Santa Fe Trail from Missouri was opened in 1821—just one year before Yankee ships began their regular visits to California ports. The impact was tremendous: the Santa Fe Trail's volume of business in 1843 was $450,000; six million California hides, averaging $1.50 each, were shipped to Boston between 1826 and 1848; and sea otter pelts brought from $15 to $40 each. Meanwhile, Mexico had failed to integrate the region into its national economy.

As the foregoing examples from the book demonstrate, isolated historical events or trends in the Southwest during the first half of the nineteenth century have an expanded meaning when seen in a regional context. Professor Weber's experience of living and teaching in three of these states broadened his knowledge and understanding of the area and probably inspired him to write this well-conceived, deeply researched, and very readable book. His clear prose is interspersed with pithy yet pointed quotations from contemporary observers; scholars will find the end notes useful and suggestive of many sources available for this period. Nine maps and twenty-nine illustrations enhance the volume. ☐

Foreigners like this "Opener of the Trail" (sketch by Frederic Remington) helped orient the economy of the Mexican Southwest to the United States.
Reproduced from Frederic Remington's Own West *(1960)*

The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies: Proceedings of the First Stanford Symposium on Chicano Research and Public Policy.

Edited by Armando Valdez, Albert Camarillo, and Tomás Almaguer. (Stanford: Stanford Center for Chicano Research, 1983. 244 pp. Index. $10.00.)

Reviewed by Mario T. García, *Associate Professor of History and Chicano Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara.*

Mexican Americans are a sizeable population within California and the rest of the United States. Because relatively little research has been done on Chicanos, new research centers as well as academic departments and programs in Chicano Studies have been established during the last fifteen years. One of the most recent is the Stanford Center for Chicano Research. Staffed by young Chicano academics, the Stanford Center seeks to generate relevant research projects on Chicanos. One of its first tasks was to determine the state of Chicano research and to suggest new directions. Hence, the Center organized the "First Stanford Symposium on Chicano Research and Public Policy" in March 1982. This volume contains the papers presented at that meeting.

The conference, which concentrated on the social sciences, focused on four main areas of research: (1) historical and contemporary research on Chicano workers; (2) the Chicano family; (3) Chicano domestic and international migration; and (4) Chicano research and public policy.

The section on Chicano labor historiography written by Tomás Almaguer and Albert Camarillo is a good example of the theoretical and methodological issues resulting from recent Chicano Studies scholarship. Indeed, Chicano historiography has been in the vanguard of Chicano Studies. Much of this noteworthy production has been conducted by young historians of Chicano descent. Part of an academic generation that came of age in the 1970s, these Chicano historians have been shaped by many of the same influences: the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and early 1970s, cultural nationalism, internal colonial theory, left theories of race and class, "New Left" historiography, and the methodology and content of the "new social history." Employing, for the most part, a narrative approach to the writing of history, none of the leading Chicano historians resorts to overt theoretical models. All have a perspective of history, but it is subtly woven into their narrative, as in the tradition of E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*. This subtle

Recent studies investigate the occupational position of Chicanos, many of whom are farmworkers, rather than the web of social relations that accompany their jobs. *CHS, San Francisco*

and even cautious approach to mixing history with social theory is not so much a political decision as it is a revelation of the absence of theoretical curriculum in the history departments where these scholars trained.

Nevertheless, historians such as Camarillo, Griswold del Castillo, Romo, Garcia, and De Leon (unfortunately neglected in this volume) exhibit a general consensus, with some differences, in their analysis of Chicano history. Most of their studies, for example, have concentrated on early Mexican communities in the Southwest. All acknowledge in one way or another the fundamental relationship between Chicanos as a predominantly working-class population and American capitalism. All employ some analysis stressing racial and class (or at least occupational) exploitation of Chicanos.

Part of this pattern concerns the misuse of class analysis by incorrectly interpreting class as occupation. Class is a process of social relations rather than merely a descriptive category such as occupation. All leading Chicano historians have in one form or another failed to clearly define class as social relations. No one Chicano historian has fully incorporated a Marxist theory of class. Even Almaguer and Camarillo neglect the differences between class and occupation when they write: "The literature on Chicano workers in the nineteenth century points to one major finding: Mexicans were in the lowest levels of an occupational structure which was divided along racial lines" (p. 6).

The interpretation of class and its application to Chicano history is a major issue and challenge to Chicano historians. Yet Chicano history is an evolving discipline. Major breakthroughs have been made in documenting the Mexican historical experience in the U.S., and while not explicitly using a standard leftist class analysis, most Chicano historians accept a "radical" view of Chicano history stressing the working-class character of Chicano life. No one, however, has written the final word on Chicanos and class. Even political scientist Mario Barrera in his acclaimed *Race and Class in the Southwest* does not avoid interpreting class as occupational stratification. Moreover, his discussion of class as social relations is only limited to economic conditions rather than utilizing political and cultural dimensions of class.

Those interested in such theoretical discussions in Chicano history, as well as in other areas of Chicano Studies, will find *The State of Chicano Research* stimulating. ☐

The Fight to Save the Redwoods. A History of Environmental Reform, 1917–1978.

By Susan R. Schrepfer. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983. 338 pp. $22.50.)

Reviewed by Raymond F. Dasmann, *Professor of Environmental Studies, University of California, Santa Cruz, and author of* Environmental Conservation *(5th Ed.),* The Destruction of California, Wildlife Biology *(2nd ed.), and* California's Changing Environment.

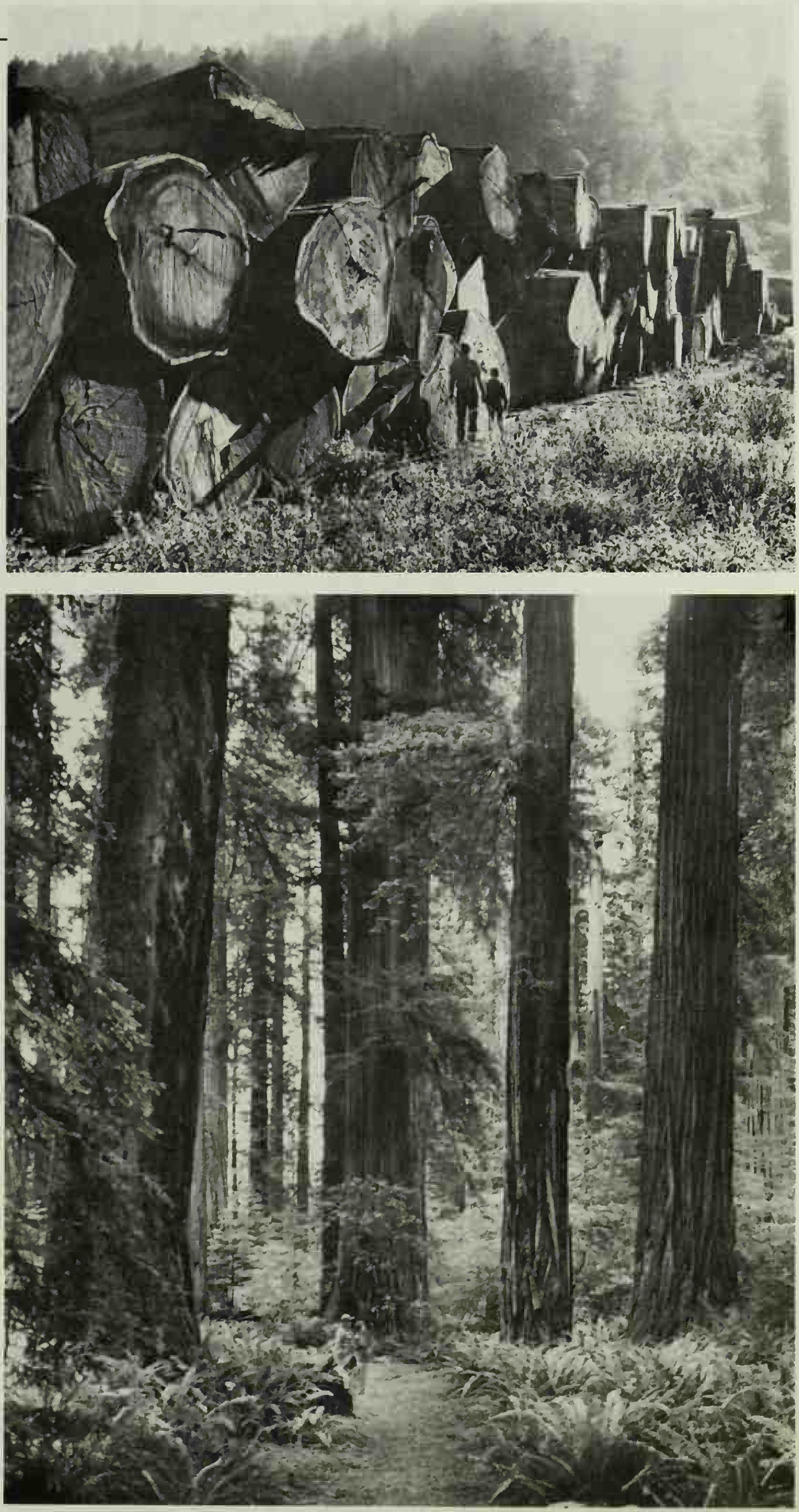
This could have been a dull book, but it is not. Susan Schrepfer's writing skill has made this account of sixty years of struggle to accomplish a limited goal a book that one finds difficult to put down, even though the ultimate outcome is well known. This is primarily an account of two organizations, the Save-the-Redwoods League, established in 1917, and the older Sierra Club, established through the efforts of John Muir in 1892, and their work to protect the tall and ancient redwood forests of California. Their successes are evident in California's redwood state parks and the larger Redwood National Park. Their failures are apparent everywhere in the tens of thousands of redwood acres that could have been, but were not, protected.

The author notes the problem of the simplified title. The fight was not to save the redwoods, since they were in no danger, but to save the old forests of giant trees, 500 to over 1,000 years of age. These forests, once cut, may never be regrown unless the human condition changes, regardless of talk about sustainable yield. A 1,000-year rotation cutting cycle is not in the plans of our forest industries.

Professor Schrepfer does much to restore one's faith in the power of individuals to change the course of events, particularly if individuals are of such courage, determination, and long-term persistence as Newton Drury of the Save-the-Redwoods League, or David Brower of the Sierra Club, and later Friends of the Earth. Her book is about individuals, and for one who has been involved in California's environmental struggles, it is a book about old friends. The individuals operate, however, in a climate of changing social, political and scientific paradigms which influence their attitudes and behavior.

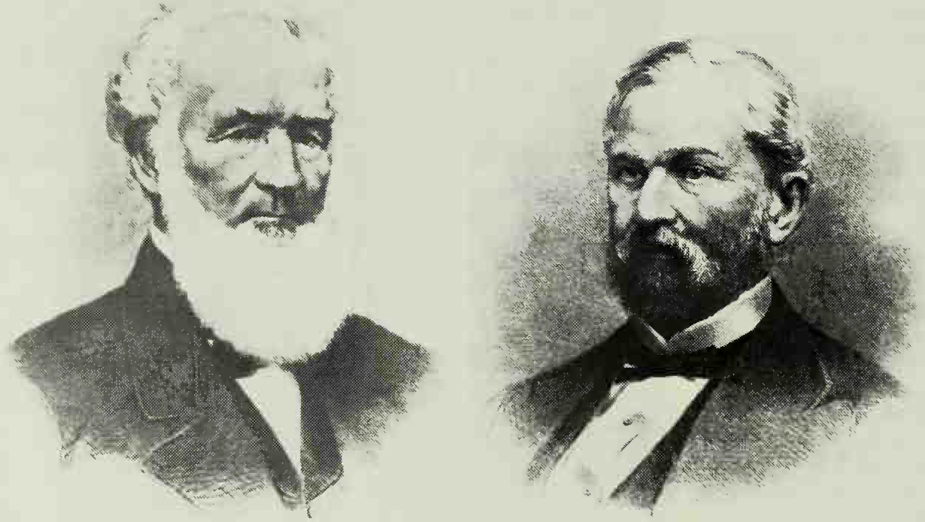
The charge of elitism brought against environmental organizations is substantiated if one goes back to the beginnings. Both the League and the Club were unashamedly elitist at the start, reformist in nature, governed by self-perpetuating oligarchies, led by those who were more at home in the arm chairs of the Bohemian Club than in any public forum. The social attitudes of some of the League's founders would not have been out-of-place in Hitler's Germany. Nevertheless, the actions of these friends of business and industry, regardless of their motivation, were in time to serve the needs of the American public and the long-term interests of the environment. The Sierra Club was to change over the years to an activist, mass organization representing the public interest, willing to join in head-on confrontation with industry and government. The League retained its low-key, reformist approach, preferring quiet conversations with the leaders of industry. Nevertheless, the continued intransigence of the timber industries ultimately forced an unwanted militancy on all organizations that opposed its onslaughts against the dwindling stands of old-growth redwoods.

This book reflects careful scholarship and integrity and should be of interest to all who engage in environmental struggles. It will be informative even to those who were deeply involved in the redwood wars—on either side. ☐



Individuals in the Save-the-Redwoods League and the Sierra Club fought successfully to save the few remaining forests of giant trees 500 to 1000 years old.
CHS, San Francisco

Historical sources you can bank on.



Henry Wells

Wm G. Fargo

Wells Fargo Bank now presents two important historical collections, the Wells Fargo History Room in San Francisco and the Wells Fargo Museum in Los Angeles.

You can share the experience of more than 130 years of Wells Fargo and Western history at both locations. See an authentic Wells Fargo stagecoach — like those that transported goods and valuables to early California settlers. Browse through displays of gold specimens, mining tools and Wells Fargo memorabilia or examine the extensive collections of Western documents, photographs and fine arts.

You might also visit the Old Sacramento Agency — a restored Gold Rush-era Wells Fargo Express & Banking Agency — in Sacramento's Old Town.

Come in and see why we're proud to count a significant part of Western history among Wells Fargo's most treasured assets.

Wells Fargo History Museum
444 South Flower Street
Los Angeles, CA 90017
(213) 683-7166

Wells Fargo History Room
420 Montgomery Street
San Francisco, CA 94104
(415) 396-2619

Wells Fargo Old Sacramento Agency
B.F. Hastings Bldg.
1000 Second Street
Sacramento, CA 95814 (916) 440-4262

CALIFORNIA CHECK LIST

by Bruce L. Johnson, CHS Director of Libraries

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Acuña, Rodolfo. *A Community Under Siege: A History of Chicanos East of the Los Angeles River*. Publication No. 11 of the Chicano Studies Research Center. Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center, University of California at Los Angeles, 1984. $21.95. Order from: Chicano Studies Research Center; Publications Department; 3121 Campbell Hall; University of California, Los Angeles; 405 Hilgard Avenue; Los Angeles, CA 90024.

Bailey, Richard C. *Heart of the Golden Empire: An Illustrated History of Bakersfield*. Contributions by Dorothy Bailey, Howie Wines, and Gene Hanson. Woodland Hills: Windsor Publications, 1984. $22.95. Order from: Windsor Publications, Inc.; 21220 Erwin Street; Woodland Hills, CA 91365.

Bell, Horace. *Tales of the Trinity*. Edited by Dewey and Nola Mosier. 1879–80; reprinted Weaverville: Trinity County Historical Society, 1983. $16.95 (cloth, limited to 100 copies and signed by editors), $6.95 (paper). Order from: Trinity County Historical Society; Post Office Box 333; Weaverville, CA 96903.

Benson, Donna D. (comp.). *1870 Census, Tulare County, California: Alphabetized, Minimal Listing with an Enumeration of the Chinese Population*. Sequoia Genealogical Society Publication No. 5. Visalia: Sequoia Genealogical Society, 1982. $7.50. Order from: Sequoia Genealogical Society; Post Office Box 3473; Visalia, CA 93278.

Bookspan, Rochelle (ed.). *Santa Barbara by the Sea*. University of California at Santa Barbara; Department of History; Public Historical Studies Monograph No. 3. $10.00 (paper). Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, 1983. Order from: McNally & Loftin, Publishers; 5390 Overpass Road; Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

Browne. Juanita Kennedy. *Nuggets of Nevada County History*. Nevada City: Nevada County Historical Society, 1983. $10.00 (includes tax and postage). Order from: Nevada County Historical Society; Post Office Box 1300; Nevada City, CA 95959.

Bunje, Emil T.H., and James C. Kean. *Pre-Marshall Gold in California: Discoveries and Near-Discoveries, 1840–1848*. 1938; reprinted Old Sacramento: Hammon's Archives & Artifacts, 1983. $22.50. Order from: Wendell P. Hammon; Hammon's Archives & Artifacts; 1115 Front Street; Old Sacramento, CA 95814.

Carpenter, Thomas D. *Pasadena: Resort Hotels and Paradise*. Pasadena: Castle Green Times, 1984. $24.95. Order from: Thomas D. Carpenter; 99 South Raymond; Pasadena, CA 91105.

Ceplair, Larry, and Steven Englund. *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930–1960*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. $9.95 (paper). Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Crouchett, Lawrence P. *William Byron Rumford: The Life and Public Services of a California Legislator*. El Cerrito: Downey Place Publishing House, 1984. $14.95. Order from: Downey Place Publishing House; Post Office Box 1352; El Cerrito, CA 94530-1352.

Davis, Olive. *Stockton: Sunrise Port on the San Joaquin*. Produced in cooperation with the Greater Stockton Chamber of Commerce. Woodland Hills: Windsor Publications, 1984. $22.95. Order from: Windsor Publications, Inc.; 21220 Erwin Street; Woodland Hills, CA 91365.

Decroos, Jean. *The Long Journey: Social Integration and Ethnicity Maintenance Among Urban Basques in the San Francisco Bay Region*. Basque Studies Program, Occasional Papers Series, Publication No. 1. Reno: Basque Studies Program, University of Nevada, 1983. $14.00 ($1.50 postage). Order from: Associated Faculty Press, Inc.; 90 South Bayles Avenue; Port Washington, NY 11050.

Di Leonardo, Micaela. *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience: Kinship, Class, and Gender Among California Italian-Americans*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984. $29.95 (cloth), $9.95 (paper). Order from: Cornell University Press; 124 Roberts Place; Ithaca, NY 14850.

Dillon, Richard. *Humbugs and Heroes: A Gallery of California Pioneers*. 1970; reprinted Oakland: Yosemite–Di Maggio Publications, 1983. $9.95 (paper). Order from: Yosemite–Di Maggio Publications; 618 Grand Avenue; Oakland, CA 94610.

Eaton, Margaret. *Diary of a Sea Captain's Wife: Tales of Santa Cruz Island*. Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, 1983. $16.50 (cloth), $9.50 (paper). Order from: McNally & Loftin; 5390 Overpass Road; Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

Friis, Leo J. *Campo Aleman: The First Ten Years of Anaheim*. Compiled and indexed by James J. Friis. Santa Ana: Friis-Pioneer Press, 1983. $13.00. Order from: Friis-Pioneer Press; 1611 South Minnie; Santa Ana, CA 92707.

Gates, Jon Humboldt. *Falk's Claim: The Life and Death of a Redwood Lumber Town*. Eureka: Pioneer Graphics, 1983. $7.95 (paper). Order from: Pioneer Graphics; 426 First Street; Eureka, CA 95501.

Gebhard, David and Robert Winter. *Architecture in Los Angeles: A Complete Guide*. Layton: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., Peregrine Smith Books, 1984. $11.95 (paper). Order from: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc.; Peregrine Smith Books; Post Office Box 667; Layton, UT 84041.

Heig, Adair. *History of Petaluma, A California River Town*. Petaluma & San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1982. $18 (cloth), $12 (paper). Order from: Scotwall Associates; 95 Scott Street; San Francisco, CA 94117.

Inghram, Dorothy. *Beyond All This: A Personal Account of Life in a Black Community from the 1880s*. San Bernardino: Sponsored by the San Barnardino City Library, 1983. $10 (paper), plus $1.35 tax and handling. Order from: Dorothy Inghram; Post Office Box 7377; San Bernardino, CA 92411.

Johnston, Hank. *The Whistles Blow No More: Railroad Logging in the Sierra*

Nevada, 1874–1942. Glendale: Interurban Press, 1984. $25.95, plus tax and $1.10 handling. Order from: Interurban Press; Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.

Jones, Virgie V. *Be it Ever So Humble* [historical buildings in San Ramon Valley and surrounding areas]. Alamo: Morris-Burt Press, 1984. $17.50, plus $2.64 tax and handling. Order from: Morris-Burt Press; 10 Gary Way; Alamo, CA 94507.

Kennelley, Joe and Roy Hankey. *Sunset Boulevard: America's Dream Street*. Burbank: Darwin Publications, 1981. $34.95. Order from: Darwin Publications; 850 North Hollywood Way; Burbank, CA 91505.

Lillard, Richard G. *My Urban Wilderness in the Hollywood Hills: A Year of Years on Quito Lane*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983. $21.75 (cloth), $10.75 (paper). Order from: University Press of America, Inc.; Box 19101; Washington, D.C. 20036.

Little, Jane Braxton. *Plumas Sketches*. Drawn by Sally Posner. Canyondam: Wolf Creek Press, 1984. $12.95 (cloth), $7.95 (paper). Order from: Wolf Creek Press; Box 327; Canyondam, CA 95923.

Loewenstein, Louis K. *Streets of San Francisco: The Origins of San Francisco's Street and Place Names*. San Francisco: Lexikos, 1984. $5.95. Order from: Lexikos; 703 Market Street, Room 208; San Francisco, CA 94103.

Loney, Glenn (ed.). *California Gold-Rush Plays*. American Drama Library Series, Volume 3. New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1983. $19.95 (cloth), $7.95 (paper). Order from: Performing Arts Journal Publications; 325 Spring Street, Room 318; New York, NY 10013.

Meyer, Larry J., and Patricia L. Kalayjian. *Long Beach—Fortune's Harbor*. Long Beach: Historical Society of Long Beach, 1983. $29.95, plus tax and $1.05 handling. Order from: Historical Society of Long Beach; Post Office Box 1869; Long Beach, CA 90801.

Moore, William G. *Redlands Yesterdays: A Photo Album, 1870–1920*. Redlands: Moore Historical Foundation, 1983. $25.00. Order from: William G. Moore; Moore Historical Foundation; Post Office Box 260; Redlands, CA 92373.

Pictorial History of Tiburon: A California Railroad Town. Belvedere-Tiburon: The Landmark Society of Tiburon and Belvedere and Scottwall Associates, in cooperation with the Tiburon Centennial Committee, 1984. $25.00. Order from: Landmarks Society; Post Office Box 134; Belvedere-Tiburon, CA 94920.

Rawitsch, Mark Howland. *No Other Place: Japanese American Pioneers in a Southern California Neighborhood*. Riverside: Department of History, University of California, Riverside, 1983. $7.70, plus $1.46 tax and shipping. Order from: Department of History; Attn: Constance Young; University of California; Riverside, CA 92521.

Reid, Robert Leonard (ed.). *A Treasury of the Sierra Nevada*. Berkeley: Wilderness Press, 1983. $14.95 (cloth), $9.95 (paper). Order from: Wilderness Press; 2440 Bancroft Way; Berkeley, CA 94704.

Saunders, Richard. *Ambrose Bierce: The Making of a Misanthrope*. Literary West Series. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1984. $7.95 (paper). Order from: Chronicle Books; 870 Market Street; San Francisco, CA 94102.

Skinner, Byron R. *Black Origins in the Inland Empire*. San Bernardino: City of San Bernardino Historical and Pioneer Society, 1983. $8.95 (paper), plus tax and postage. Order from: City of San Bernardino Historical and Pioneer Society; Post Office Box 875; San Bernardino, CA 92402.

Stein, Mimi. *A Vision Achieved: 50 Years of East Bay Regional Park District*. Oakland: East Bay Regional Park District, 1984. $16.00 (paper). Order from: East Bay Regional Park District; Attn: Public Information; 11500 Skyline Blvd.; Oakland, CA 94619.

Tompkins, Walker A. *Santa Barbara History Makers*. Edited by Barbara Hathaway Tompkins. Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, 1983. $25.00. Order from: McNally & Loftin, Publishers; 5390 Overpass Road; Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

Townley, John M. *Tough Little Town on the Truckee: Reno, Prehistory to 1900*. Reno: Great Basin Studies Center, 1984. $19.95 (paper). Order from: Great Basin Studies Center; 7115 Pembroke Drive; Reno, NV 89502.

Tracy, Jack. *Sausalito, Moments in Time*. Sausalito: Windgate Press, 1984. $32.00. Order from: Windgate Company; P.O. Box 1715; Sausalito, CA 94965.

Verardo, Denzil and Jennie. *In the Valley of Bottled Poetry: Napa Valley Architectural Survivors*. Pacific Grove: The Boxwood Press, 1983. $9.95 (paper). Order from: The Boxwood Press; 183 Ocean View Blvd.; Pacific Grove, CA 93950.

Walker, Doris. *Dana Point Harbor/Capistrano Bay: Home Port for Romance*. Dana Point: To-the-Point Press, 1981. $39.95. Order from: To-the-Point Press; Drawer 546; Dana Point, CA 92629.

Webb, Catherine J. (ed.). *Stories of Albany* [California]. Limited Diamond Jubilee Edition. Albany: Albany Historical Society, 1983. $15.00, plus $2.48 tax and handling. Order from: Albany Historical Society; 735 Madison Street; Albany, CA 94706.

Willendrup, Alan Wayne. *The Lassen Peak Eruptions and Their Lingering Legacy*. Occasional Publications Number 8. Chico: Association for Northern California Records and Research, 1984. $15.00 (includes tax). Order from: Association for Northern California Records and Research; Box 3024; Chico, CA 95927.

Woolfenden, John and Amelie Elkinton. *Cooper: Juan Bautista Rogers Cooper, Sea Captain, Adventurer, Ranchero, and Early California Pioneer, 1791–1872*. Pacific Grove: Boxwood Press, 1983. $7.95 (paper). Order from: Boxwood Press; 183 Ocean View Blvd.; Pacific Grove, CA 93950.

Young, Betty Lou. *Pacific Palisades: Where the Mountains Meet the Sea*. Pacific Palisades: Pacific Palisades Historical Society Press, 1983. $25.00. Order from: Pacific Palisades Historical Society Press; Box 1299; Pacific Palisades, CA 90272.

Zwinger, Ann. *A Desert Country Near the Sea: A Natural History of the Cape Region of Baja California*. New York: Harper & Row, 1983. $24.95. Order from: Harper & Row, Publishers; 10 East 53rd Street; New York, NY 10022.

CHS Register of Historic California Businesses

The Historic Business Register program seeks to preserve and promote the state's business and economic history and to provide recognition for businesses that have existed in California for over one hundred years.

The California Historical Society recognizes the following centennial businesses for their support of the HBR Program.

SPONSORS—$10,000 and above

Chevron USA, Inc., San Francisco
Foremost-McKesson Foundation, San Francisco
Pacific Telesis, San Francisco
Security Pacific Charitable Foundation, Los Angeles

$5000–$9999

Homestake Mining Company, San Francisco

$1000–$4999

Barker Bros., Los Angeles
Butterfield & Butterfield, San Francisco
Conklin Bros., San Mateo
Crocker National Bank Foundation, Los Angeles
Guittard Chocolate Company, Burlingame
Halsted-N. Gray, San Francisco
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Sherman & Clay Co., San Bruno
Wente Bros., Livermore

MEMBERS—$100–$999

Ducommun, Incorporated, Los Angeles
Gensler-Lee Diamonds, San Francisco
Ghirardelli Chocolate Company, San Francisco
Haas Brothers, San Francisco
Levi Strauss Foundation, San Francisco
MJB Coffee, San Francisco
Patrick & Co., San Francisco

CHS Donors

The California Historical Society gratefully acknowledges all contributions. Gifts to the Society may include cash, securities, gifts to the collections, real estate, life insurance, services and other in-kind gifts, memorial gifts, and bequests. Listed below are individuals, foundations, corporations and public agencies whose contributions to CHS are valued at $1000 and above. We extend our appreciation to these donors.

MAJOR—$5000 and above

Mrs. Alysse W. Allen, San Francisco
Atlantic Richfield, Co., Los Angeles
Mr. North Baker, San Francisco
Mrs. Hancock Banning, Jr., San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Robert J. Banning, Pasadena
Ms. Caroline Schiller Bartol, Carefree, Arizona
Mrs. Carole Bayer, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
The Bothin Helping Fund, San Francisco
The Braun Foundation, Pasadena
Henry and John Braun, Pasadena
The Broadway Department Stores, Los Angeles
Mrs. Ernest Bryant III, Laguna Beach
The Callison Foundation, Pacifica
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph K. Cannell, Pasadena
Chevron USA, Inc., San Francisco
The Chronicle Publishing Company, San Francisco
The Cook Company, Sacramento
The S.H. Cowell Foundation, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. J. Hewes Crispin, Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. George Ditz, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Katherine E. Doyle, Menlo Park
Mr. Frederick H. Duhring, Los Altos Hills
Ms. Josephine Elmore, San Francisco
Fireman's Fund Insurance Company Foundation, San Francisco
Foremost-McKesson Foundation, San Francisco
Mrs. Linda Irvine Gaede, Long Beach
Mr. George D. Gavin, Tucson, Arizona
Mr. Joe Gobert, Brisbane
Richard & Rhoda Goldman Philanthropic Fund, San Francisco
Mrs. Catharine Grant, Honolulu
Miriam & Peter Haas Fund, San Francisco
Walter & Elise Haas Fund, San Francisco
Mrs. Margaret A. Hall, Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. Ivan B. Hart, Piedmont
William Randolph Hearst Foundation, San Francisco
Mr. Clarence E. Heller, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. George H. Hendricks, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Louis C. Hendricks, San Francisco
Heritage Cruises, Inc., New York
Hewlett-Packard Co. Foundation, Palo Alto
Helen and George High, San Bruno
Homestake Mining Co., San Francisco
Mr. Preston Hotchkis, San Marino
The James Irvine Foundation, San Francisco
The William G. Irwin Charity Foundation, San Francisco
Ms. Elizabeth Bixby Janeway, Santa Barbara
The Koret Foundation, San Francisco
Mrs. Leroy Krusi, Walnut Creek
Mrs. Charles B. Kuhn, San Jose
Estate of Charlotte Landram, Merced
Lane Publishing Company, Menlo Park
Dr. Oscar Lemer, San Francisco
Mrs. Henry F. Lippitt II, Los Angeles
Mr. George Livermore, San Francisco
Livingston Bros., San Francisco
Mrs. Western Logan, Piedmont
Mrs. Maurice Machris, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence V. Metcalf, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert P. Miller, Jr., Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph A. Moore, Jr., San Francisco
Moore Dry Dock Foundation, San Francisco
Mrs. Albert Moorman, Atherton
Mrs. Virginia Morell, Menlo Park
Mr. Lee P. Morris, Medford, Oregon
Mr. Ross E. Morris, Vallejo
Dan Murphy Foundation, Los Angeles
Mr. Graham Nash, Pasadena
National Endowment for the Arts
National Endowment for the Humanities
National Historical Publications & Records Commission
Northrop Corporation, Los Angeles
Pacific Telesis Company, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Packard, Los Altos Hills

Mrs. Joseph Paul, Ross
Miss Mary E. Pike, Santa Monica
Estate of Hannah E. Praxl, San Francisco
Mr. William Roth, San Francisco
San Francisco Foundation
Estate of Kathleen Schiller, Carefree, Arizona
Security Pacific Charitable Foundation, Los Angeles
Albert Shumate, M.D., San Francisco
Mrs. Betty Siegel, Berkeley
Dr. Carey Stanton, Santa Cruz Island
Mr. John Sutorius, Los Angeles
The Swig Foundation, San Francisco
The William Gorrill Swigert Foundation, Pasadena
Teevan Painting Company, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Norman B. Terry II, Los Angeles
Ticor, Los Angeles
Travel Dynamics, Inc., New York
Union Pacific Foundation, New York City
Mr. & Mrs. Charles S. Wheeler III, Corona del Mar
Mr. & Mrs. William T. White III, East Irvine
Mrs. Dorothy Wiles, Redding

SUPPORTING—$1000–$4999

The Albertson Foundation, Los Angeles
Ampex Corporation, Redwood City
The Annenberg Fund, Inc., Beverly Hills
Architectural Resources Group, San Francisco
Atlantic Richfield Foundation, Los Angeles
Dr. Joseph A. Baird, Jr., San Francisco
Barker Bros., Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Henry Bettman, Burlingame
Mrs. Gail Roy Bivans, Glendale
Mrs. James S. Black, Jr., Hillsborough
The James G. Boswell Foundation, Los Angeles
Mr. Walter Braun, Beverly Hills
Dr. & Mrs. Earl Bubar, Los Angeles
Estate of Lynda Buchanan, San Francisco
Butterfield & Butterfield, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Richard Call, Pasadena
Dr. & Mrs. John N. Callander, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Buffington Carter, Colusa
The Columbia Foundation, San Francisco
Conklin Bros., San Mateo
Ms. Jean Connolly, San Francisco
Mr. John C. Cosgrove, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Gordon B. Crary, Jr., Los Angeles
Crocker National Bank Foundation, San Francisco
Crowley Maritime Corp., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul L. Davies, Jr., San Francisco
Delta Queen Steamboat Co., Cincinnati
Mrs. Beverly Denenberg, San Francisco
Mr. Harrison Dibblee, Ross
Mrs. Lewis T. Dobbins, Berkeley
Mrs. Jefferson Doolittle, San Francisco
Mr. James K. Edmund, San Francisco
Mr. Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Mrs. Virginia Woods Fallon, Santa Rosa
Mr. Charles Faye, San Francisco
Mr. Karl Feichtmeir, Federal Way, Washington
Mrs. Joseph C. Fennelly, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Attilio Ferrari, San Francisco
Mr. Alfred Fromm, San Francisco
Gauger, Sparks, Silva, Inc., San Francisco
General Electric Company, Campbell
Ms. Jerry Gordon, San Francisco
Mrs. Gerald Gray, Lafayette
Guittard Chocolate Co., Burlingame
Mr. & Mrs. George N. Hale, Jr., San Francisco
Halsted-N. Gray, San Francisco
Mrs. George L. Harding, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Hilton Hotels Corp., Beverly Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Harry Holmes, Pebble Beach
Mr. George Hornstein, San Francisco
Hotchkis Foundation, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Jaquelin H. Hume, San Francisco
Hyatt on Union Square, San Francisco
Mrs. Douglas Johnson, Belvedere
Kawaguchi-Kihara Memorial Foundation, Los Angeles
Ms. Idabel Kleinhans, Pittsburgh
Mrs. Gladys Q. Knapp, Santa Barbara
Mr. Donald B. Lamont, New York City
Dr. & Mrs. Stephen Leavitt, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Ernest A. Lewis, Lake Wildwood
Ralph B. Lloyd Foundation, Beverly Hills
Loomis-Sayles & Co., San Francisco
Estate of Mary Evelyn Lorenz, Atherton
Ignacio E. Lozano, Jr., Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Bernard E. Maushardt, San Francisco
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Edward A. McDevitt, San Francisco
Mrs. Milbank McFie, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. James K. McWilliams, San Francisco
Dr. Wallace E. Moore, Jr., San Antonio, Texas
Mr. & Mrs. David H. Murdock, Beverly Hills
National Maritime Museum Association, San Francisco
National Medical Enterprises, Inc., Los Angeles
National Trust for Historic Preservation
Mrs. V. Aubrey Neasham, Hillsborough
Mr. Greg Nelson, Reno
Mr. Harry L. Nickerson, Castro Valley
Mrs. Lionel E. Ogden, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Otter, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Packard, Los Altos
Pasadena Foundation, Pasadena
Mrs. Edwin Pauley, Beverly Hills
Dr. Edith Lamm Piness, Claremont
Plant Builders, Inc., San Francisco
Mr. Thomas V. Reeve II, Villa Park
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. John Dowling Relfe, San Francisco
Jane Anne Rey, Tiburon
Mr. Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles
Mr. William M. Roth, San Francisco
Mrs. Madeleine Haas Russell, San Francisco
Sacramento Pioneer Assoc., Sacramento
The Seaver Institute, Los Angeles
Mr. Porter Sesnon, San Francisco
Mrs. Ashley Shaw, Pacific Grove
Drs. A. Jess and Ben Shenson, San Francisco
Sherman & Clay Co., San Bruno
Mr. & Mrs. Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Simpson III, Pasadena
Mr. Henry Sleeper, Sacramento
Harriet and Robert Speer, Gleneden Beach, OR
Harry G. Steele Foundation, Newport Beach
Mrs. D. Daniel Stuart, Camarillo
Sunco Mechanical, Burlingame
Mr. & Mrs. Hart H. Tantau, San Francisco
Estate of Madeline Tibbe, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. R. Lockwood Tower, San Francisco
Dr. and Mrs. Stanley R. Truman, Oakland
Union Pacific Foundation, New York City
U.S. Leasing Corp., San Francisco
Mr. Daniel G. Volkmann, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Ruth C. von Platen, San Marino
The Waste Family Fund, San Francisco
Wente Bros., Livermore
Whisler-Patri, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William T. White III, East Irvine
Mrs. Warren B. Williamson, Pasadena
Mr. Howard Willoughby, Piedmont
WIM Fine Arts, Oakland
D. Zelinsky & Sons, San Francisco

CHS Members

The California Historical Society is grateful for the annual support of over 8000 members nationwide. We offer our special thanks to those individuals, foundations, and corporations listed below whose exemplary annual membership gifts help ensure the continuing vitality of the Society's collections, publications and educational activities.

Individual Members

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL—
$1000 & above

Mr. North Baker, San Francisco
Mrs. Hancock Banning, Jr., San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Robert J. Banning, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen D. Bechtel, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. William J. Bettingen, Beverly Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Johnson S. Bogart, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
Mr. James G. Boswell, Los Angeles
Mr. Alan Braun, Pasadena
Mr. Henry Braun, Pasadena
Mr. John Braun, Pasadena
Mrs. Ernest A. Bryant III, Laguna Beach
Dr. & Mrs. John Callander, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph K. Cannell, Pasadena
Mr. Robert H. Carpenter, Los Angeles
Mrs. Henry Cartan, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Buffington Carter, Colusa
Mr. Frank Caufield, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Sherman Chickering, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas E. Clarke, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. J. Hewes Crispin, Santa Barbara
Lady Ruth Crocker, San Marino
Mrs. Ralph K. Davies, Woodside
Mr. & Mrs. Alan S. Davis, San Francisco
Mr. Stuart Davis, Beverly Hills
Margaret & Bernard DeRoche, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. George Ditz, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Dewey Donnell, San Francisco
Mr. James K. Edmund, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Fred S. Farr, Carmel
Mr. & Mrs. David Fleishhacker, San Francisco
Mr. Alfred Fromm, San Francisco
Mrs. Linda Irvine Gaede, Long Beach
Mr. & Mrs. James R. Galbraith, Encino
Mr. Walter B. George, Millbrae
Mr. & Mrs. George N. Hale, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William R. Hambrecht, San Francisco
Mrs. George L. Harding, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. James R. Harvey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Mr. Clarence E. Heller, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Alander F. Hogland, San Francisco
Mr. Preston Hotchkis, San Marino
Mrs. Warren R. Howell, San Francisco
Mrs. Gladys Q. Knapp, Santa Barbara
Mrs. LeRoy F. Krusi, Walnut Creek
Mr. & Mrs. Charles B. Kuhn, San Jose
Mr. & Mrs. Ernest Allen Lewis, Lake Wildwood
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Livermore, Danville
Mrs. Ruth M. Logan, Oakland
Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
Mr. Floyd Myers Marsh, Williams
Mr. & Mrs. Bernard L. Maushardt, San Francisco
Mrs. Edgar N. Meakin, Hillsborough
Drs. Knox & Carlotta Mellon, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence V. Metcalf, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James S. Miller, Geyserville
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph A. Moore, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. Charles E. Noble, San Francisco
Mrs. Lionel E. Ogden, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Otter, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. David Packard, Los Altos Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Richard H. Peterson, San Francisco
Miss Mary E. Pike, Santa Monica
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Pike, San Marino
Dr. Edith Lamm Piness, Claremont
Mr. & Mrs. Robert H. Power, Nut Tree
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Mr. William Roth, San Francisco
Mr. Porter Sesnon, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. W.J. Shirley, Pasadena
Albert Shumate, M.D., San Francisco
Dr. Carey Stanton, Santa Cruz Island
Mr. & Mrs. D. Daniel Stuart, Camarillo
Mr. & Mrs. Hart H. Tantau, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Norman B. Terry II, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Lockwood Tower, San Francisco
Mrs. Paul L. Wattis, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Charles S. Wheeler III, Corona del Mar
Mrs. Alice Whitson, Willow Creek
Mrs. Nick B. Williams, South Laguna
Mr. Howard Willoughby, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Edward Galland Zelinsky, Belvedere

THE FRIENDS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

$500–999

Mr. & Mrs. John A. Blume, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert L. Bridges, San Francisco
Mr. James Bronkema, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Guy C. Earl, Jr., Warner Springs
Mr. & Mrs. A. Barlow Ferguson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Devoe Field, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. William R. Fielder, Atherton
Dr. Harvey Glasser, San Francisco
Mr. James C. Greene, Los Angeles
Mr. George Gund, San Francisco
Mr. Alfred Harrison, Berkeley
Dr. & Mrs. Donald T. Hata, Redondo Beach
Mr. & Mrs. David Huntington, Glenbrook, Nevada
Ms. Leslie D. Jaffe, Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. George D. Jagels, Pasadena
Mrs. Judith G. Kelly, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. L. W. Lane, Jr., Portola Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Robert P. Miller, Jr., Pasadena
Dr. Ynez O'Neill, Los Angeles
Mrs. Russel D. Niles, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Byron Nishkian, San Francisco
Mr. Clair L. Peck, Jr., Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. David Potter, San Francisco
Mr. Bryce Rhodes, Santa Cruz
Mr. William Robbins, Jr., Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. Laurence Robertson, Beverly Hills
Mr. Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles
Ms. Clytie P. Mead Smith, Newport Beach
Mr. Warren D. Sorrells, Fort Worth, Texas
Mrs. Doreen B. Townsend, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Walter G. Warren, Los Gatos
Mrs. Genevieve M. Watts, San Francisco
Mrs. Helen Woodward, Los Angeles

Mr. & Mrs. Frank H. Abbott III, San Francisco
Mr. Jack B. Adams, Los Angeles
Mr. Edward C. Allred, Los Angeles
Ms. Alice O'Neill Avery, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Guilford C. Babcock, San Marino
Mr. Kahn Balin, San Francisco
Mr. George Hugh Banning, La Jolla
Mr. & Mrs. Hancock Banning III, Newport Beach
Mrs. Walter C. Bateman, Jr., Pasadena
Dr. & Mrs. James S. Benedict, San Pedro
Mr. & Mrs. Freeman R. Brant, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Louis C. Burnett, El Macero
Mrs. Donohoe Carter, Gilroy
Mr. James C. Clark, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Eleanor A. Clayton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Henry Sutcliffe Coe, San Jose
Mr. & Mrs. Steven S. Conner, El Cajon
Mr. George L. Cook, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. David Cookson, Hillsborough
Mr. Newton A. Cope, San Francisco
Mrs. George M. Cox, Los Angeles
John & Barbara Craig, San Francisco
Mrs. Chester R. F. Cramer, Greenbrae
Mr. Michael D. Cullivan, Alameda
Dr. & Mrs. William N. Davis, Jr., Sacramento
Mr. John N. Dayton, San Francisco
Mr. Penn DeRoche, Oakland
Mr. & Mrs. Caspar H. Escher, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Edward R. Evans, San Marino
Mr. Karl E. Feichtmeir, Federal Way, Washington
Mrs. Mortimer Fleishhacker, Jr., San Francisco
Dr. John Douglas Forbes, Charlottesville, Virginia
Mr. & Mrs. Winston R. Fuller, Pasadena
Dr. & Mrs. John R. Gamble, San Francisco
Mr. Stephen Gavin, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Richard N. Goldman, San Francisco
Mr. Laurence K. Gould, Jr., Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Henry B. Grandin, Jr., Sausalito
Mrs. John E. Grant, Bakersfield
Mr. J. J. Greene, San Francisco
Horace & Margaret Guittard, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Peter E. Haas, San Francisco
Mr. Raymond T. Haas, San Rafael
Dr. & Mrs. George Haberfelde, Pacific Palisades
Mr. & Mrs. Charles W. Hammond, San Marino
Mrs. George Fiske Hammond, Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. Clifford V. Heimbucher, Berkeley
Mrs. Elise Higgins, Mountain View
Mr. & Mrs. Harry Holmes, Pebble Beach
Mr. & Mrs. Robin Hood, Aptos
Mr. Preston B. Hotchkis, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Steven Huss, San Carlos
Mrs. Robert B. Hutchins, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. G.F. Jewett, Jr., Ross
Mrs. Douglas Johnson, Belvedere
Mrs. F. A. Jostes, San Francisco
Mrs. Gustav Knecht, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. William C. Landreth, San Francisco
Mr. Oscar T. Lawler, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Charles E. Lowrey, San Francisco
Mrs. Jane Luthard, Los Altos
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh L. MacNeil, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Robert D. Marshall, Belvedere
Mr. Peter McFarland, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Donald McNear, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Gerald Lewis McVey, Moraga
Mr. & Mrs. John F. Merriam, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Joseph D. Messler, Pasadena
Mrs. Bruce E. Michael, Woodside
Mr. Robert Folger Miller, Hillsborough
Mrs. John Mock, Los Angeles
Ms. Mary Tilden Morton, Rutherford
Mrs. V. Aubrey Neasham, Hillsborough
Ms. Elizabeth O'Shaughnessy, San Francisco
Mrs. Charles E. Osthimer III, San Francisco
Ms. Ann Pearson, San Francisco
The Honorable Robert F. Peckham, Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. David Plant, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Donald E. Priewe, Danville
Mr. & Mrs. Herbert C. Puffer, Folsom
Mr. & Mrs. Jack Raub, Newport Beach
Jeanne & Chris Redlich, Hillsborough
Dr. & Mrs. John D. Relfe, San Francisco
Ms. Win Woodward Rhodes, Corona del Mar
Mrs. Alfred Riccomi, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Henry J. Rooney, Oakland
Mrs. Walter Schilling, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. Edward J. Schneider, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Eugene A. Shurtleff, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Alan D. Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mr. W. L. Simmons, Napa
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Simpson III, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. G. D. Simpson, Orinda
Mr. Edgar Sinton, San Francisco
Mr. David P. Smith, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. H. Russell Smith, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Roger W. Souza, Suisun
Mrs. Keith Spalding, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Irving Stahl, San Francisco
Mr. J. O. Steiny, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Ellis M. Stephens, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. Barry Sterling, Santa Monica
Mr. William D. Swanson, Oakland
Ms. Kathryn E. Taylor, San Francisco
Mr. Waller Taylor II, Los Angeles
Mrs. Adolph Teichert, Jr., Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Thede, Menlo Park
Mrs. Joseph Thompson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Tilton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Jerry Tone, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Tuller, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. John R. Upton, San Francisco
Mrs. Ogden Vest, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred S. Wilsey, San Francisco
Mrs. Nancy L. Winton, San Francisco
Mrs. Dean Witter, San Francisco
Dr. Charles Wollenberg, Berkeley
Peter & Midge Zischke, Orinda

Corporate Members

PATRON—$5000–up

Altantic Richfield Co., Los Angeles
Ticor, Los Angeles

AFFILIATE—$2500–4999

McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Moore Dry Dock Foundation, San Francisco
Times Mirror Foundation, Los Angeles

CENTENNIAL—1000–2499

Architectural Resources Group, San Francisco
Bechtel Power Corporation, San Francisco
Bixby Ranch Company, Los Angeles
The James G. Boswell Foundation, Los Angeles
Chronicle Broadcasting Co., San Francisco
Crocker National Bank Foundation, Los Angeles
Foremost-McKesson Foundation Inc., San Francisco
Fluor Corporation, Irvine
Gilmore Company, Los Angeles
Great Western Financial Corporation, Beverly Hills
Hewlett-Packard Co., Palo Alto
Hilton Hotels Corp., Beverly Hills
Homestake Mining Company,
Lane Publishing Company, Menlo Park
San Francisco
Matson Navigation Company, San Francisco
Memorex Corp., Santa Clara
National Medical Enterprises, Inc.,
Newhall Land & Farming Co., Valencia
Pacific Lighting Corp., Los Angeles
Pacific Mutual Life Insurance, Newport Beach
Louis and Flori Petri Foundation, San Francisco
Santa Cruz Island Company, Port Hueneme
Security Pacific Charitable Foundation, Los Angeles

Shaklee Corporation, San Francisco
Sunco Mechanical, Burlingame
Transamerica Corp., San Francisco
Union Bank, Sacramento
Union Oil Co. of California Foundation, Los Angeles

BENEFACTOR—$500-999

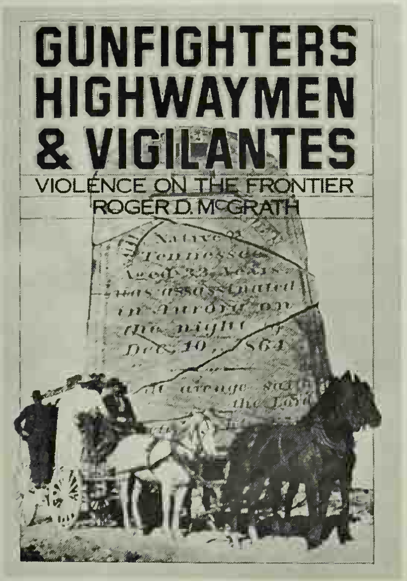
The R. C. Baker Foundation, Orange
The Bank of California, San Francisco
Beaver Insurance Company, San Francisco
Burnett & Sons, Sacramento
Chevron, USA, Inc., San Francisco
Chronicle Broadcasting Co., San Francisco
Cocuzza Lenchner Foundation, San Francisco
Columbia Channel Gold Mining Co., Oakland
Crowley Maritime Foundation, San Francisco
Ducommun, Inc., Los Angeles
Eastern-Columbia, Inc., Los Angeles
Halsted-N. Gray, San Francisco
Holt Brothers, Stockton
Industrial Indemnity Co., San Francisco
International Business Machines, San Francisco
Levi Strauss Foundation, San Francisco
MJB Coffee, San Francisco
Orrick, Herrington, Rowley & Sutcliffe, San Francisco
Pacific Gas & Electric Co., San Francisco
The Pacific Lumber Co., San Francisco
Pope & Talbot, Inc., San Francisco
Sharlands Investment Corp., Oakland
Stone and Youngberg, San Francisco
Sweeo, Inc., Los Angeles
Tubbs Cordage Co., San Francisco
U.S. Leasing Corporation, San Francisco
United Vintners, Inc., San Francisco

ASSOCIATE—250-499

Bankamerica Foundation, San Francisco
Richard F. Bowen Co., San Francisco
John Breuner Company, San Ramon
California Federal, Los Angeles
California First Bank, San Francisco
Coast Federal Savings & Loan Association, San Francisco
H. S. Crocker Company, Inc., San Bruno
Deans & Homer, San Francisco
Del Monte Corp., San Francisco
Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco
1st Nationwide Savings, San Francisco
First Western Savings & Loan Association, Danville
Flax's, San Francisco
Franklin Savings & Loan Association, San Francisco
Fritz Companies, Inc., San Francisco
Guittard Chocolate Company, Burlingame
The Hibernia Bank, San Francisco
Hill & Co., San Francisco
Earle M. Jorgensen Company, Los Angeles
Joy of California, San Jose
Lawrence Engineering & Supply Inc., Burbank
Lippin & Grant, Los Angeles
Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Los Angeles
Marsh & McLennan, Inc., San Francisco
Maxwell Galleries, San Francisco
Nut Tree, Nut Tree
Pacific Coast Holdings, Inc., San Francisco
Phoenix Leasing, Inc., Mill Valley
Plant Contractors, Inc., San Francisco
Price Waterhouse & Co., Los Angeles
RJB III Co., Sacramento
Rollins, Burdick, Hunter, San Francisco
San Francisco Commercial Club, San Francisco
San Francisco Federal Savings & Loan Association, San Francisco
Southern Pacific Transport Company, San Francisco
Stauffer Chemical Co., San Francisco
Sidney Stern Memorial Trust, Pacific Palisades
Sutro & Company, Inc., San Francisco
Syntex Corporation, Inc., Palo Alto
Tadich Grill, San Francisco
Transit Casualty Company, Los Angeles
Wells Fargo Foundation, San Francisco
Woodwards Gardens Veterinary Hospital, San Francisco
Yosemite Park & Curry Company, Yosemite National Park

Gunfighters, Highwaymen, & Vigilantes

by Roger D. McGrath



"In McGrath's well-written prose, these two typical boom towns of California and the West in the pioneer era come alive."
—Richard Maxwell Brown, author of *Strain of Violence*

This rousing look at violence on the frontier is the most complete picture to date of frontier lawlessness. Roger McGrath covers such diverse topics as how the criminal justice system operated, the role that women and minorities played in violence and lawlessness, and the statistical comparison of frontier crime with contemporary crime.

$16.95 at bookstores or order from

University of California Press
Berkeley 94720

Make memories with memories by giving historical photographs

Parades and celebrations, picnics and wilderness outings, trolley-cars and horse-drawn buggies, country lanes and freeways, cottages and mansions, bathing beauties and grand dames—The world of California from the 1850s to the 1980s, from Eureka to San Diego, from Sierra snowfields to Death Valley dunes. Scenes of kitchens and bedrooms, neighborhoods and towns, perhaps your block or your house! Funny, poignant, beautiful historical photographs. We have 350,000 historical images by California's best photographers from which to choose.

Visit the CHS History Center in Los Angeles or the Library in San Francisco and select a photograph for your family, your business, your husband or wife, yourself. Have the photograph reproduced from miniature to mural size and hand-tinted, if you like.

CHS Library
2099 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco 94109
(415) 567-1848

Hours:
Wed.-Sat., 1-5 p.m.

History Center
6300 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles 90048
(213) 651-5655

Hours: Mon.-Thurs., 9-5.
Friday by appt.

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1871, is a statewide, non-profit educational institution designated by the Legislature as the state historical society. With regional centers in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Marino, the Society encourages the collection, preservation, and interpretation of information about the history of California. The Society's resources are made available for the education, research, and enjoyment of the state.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present.

OFFICERS

Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
President
Mrs. Norman B. Terry, Los Angeles
Vice-President
George N. Hale, Jr.,
Treasurer
Mrs. James K. McWilliams, San Francisco
Vice-Treasurer
J. S. Holliday, San Francisco
Secretary

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

North Baker, San Francisco
Mrs. Ernest Bryant, Laguna Beach
Louis C. Burnett, Sacramento
Mrs. John N. Callander, San Francisco
Mrs. Robert B. Carter, Colusa
Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino
J. Hewes Crispin, Santa Barbara
James K. Edmund, San Francisco
Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Mervin D. Field, San Francisco
James R. Galbraith, Encino
James C. Greene, Pasadena
Donald T. Hata, Jr., Sacramento
Clarence Heller, Atherton
Dr. William Johnston, Los Angeles
Richard B. Lippin, Los Angeles
George Livermore, San Francisco
Mrs. Bernard L. Maushardt, San Francisco
Lawrence Metcalf, San Francisco
Burnett Miller, Sacramento
Robert P. Miller, Jr., Pasadena
Dr. Julian Nava, Northridge
Byron Nishkian, San Francisco
Richard C. Otter, Belvedere
Dr. Edith L. Piness, Claremont
Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles
Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mrs. Frank Simpson III, Pasadena
Dr. Carey Stanton, Santa Cruz Island
Hart Tantau, San Francisco
R. Lockwood Tower, San Francisco
Dr. Charles Wollenberg, Berkeley

EMERITI

Mrs. Francis D. Frost, Jr., Pasadena
Trustee Emeritus
Dr. Albert Shumate, San Francisco
President Emeritus

STAFF

J. S. Holliday, *Executive Director*
Pamela L. Seager, *Associate Director*
Louise Braunschweiger, *Southern California Director*
Bruce L. Johnson, *Library Director*
Kay Sprinkel Grace, *Development Director*

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—WHITTIER MANSION: Leslie Scott, *Administrative Assistant*; George Johnson, *Staff Assistant*; Sandra McPartlon, *Development Coordinator;* Lorin Starr, *Membership Coordinator;* Robin Endsley-Fenn, *Historic Business Register;* Howard Maull, *Accounting Manager*; Beverly Denenberg, *Curator;* June Whitesides, *Curatorial Assistant;* Kathryn Orrell, *Weekend Receptionist;* Renee Eaton, *Regional Planning Director;* Nancy Jones, *Program Director*; Julie Vinson Haler, *Program Coordinator*; Gerri Ginsburg, *Program Planner;* Jean Tozer, *Program Assistant;* Colin Oakey, *Buildings and Properties Manager*; Robert Silvestri, *Maintenance;* Valerie Simonetti, *Buildings Assistant;* Heidi Swarts, *Courier Editor;* Marilyn Ziebarth, *Director of Publications/Education Coordinator.*

LIBRARY: Joy Berry, Judith Sheldon, *Reference Librarians;* Douglas Haller, *Curator of Photographs*; Stephen J. Fletcher, *Assistant Curator of Photographs;* Glenn E. Humphreys, *Reference Librarian and Curator of the Kemble Collections;* Waverly Lowell, *Curator of Manuscripts;* Sandy Larson, *Archivist;* Gerald D. Wright, *Reference Librarian and Curator of the* Chronicle *Archives.*

EL MOLINO VIEJO: Margaret O. Eley, *Director;* Daniel Hoye, *Staff Assistant;* John E. Anderson, *Caretaker.*

HISTORY CENTER: Tom Zimmerman, *Photographs Consultant;* William Wurtz, *Assistant Curator.*

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Richard W. Reinhardt, *Chairman;* Frank G. Goodall, Donald Hata, Bruce L. Johnson, William L. Kahrl, Gary Kurutz, W. Michael Mathes, Henry Mayer, Knox Mellon, Jr., Luther Nichols, Robert H. Power, James J. Rawls, Charles Wollenberg

CALIFORNIA HISTORY
Individual copies $4.00
Published quarterly ©1984 by CHS

Annual membership $25.00
Teacher membership $20.00
Student membership $15.00

$10.00 of each membership is designated for subscription to *California History*

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS—WHITTIER MANSION
2090 Jackson Street
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

LIBRARY
2099 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS—HISTORY CENTER
6300 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90048
(213) 651-5655

EL MOLINO VIEJO
1120 Old Mill Road
San Marino, California 91108
(818) 449-5450

Articles for publication, books for review and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Managing Editor, 2090 Jackson Street San Francisco 94109. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors.

LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897
Second-class postage paid at San Francisco.
Publication number 084180

Administrative Headquarters
2090 Jackson Street
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

Library
2099 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

El Molino Viejo
1120 Old Mill Road
San Marino, California 91108
(213) 449-5450

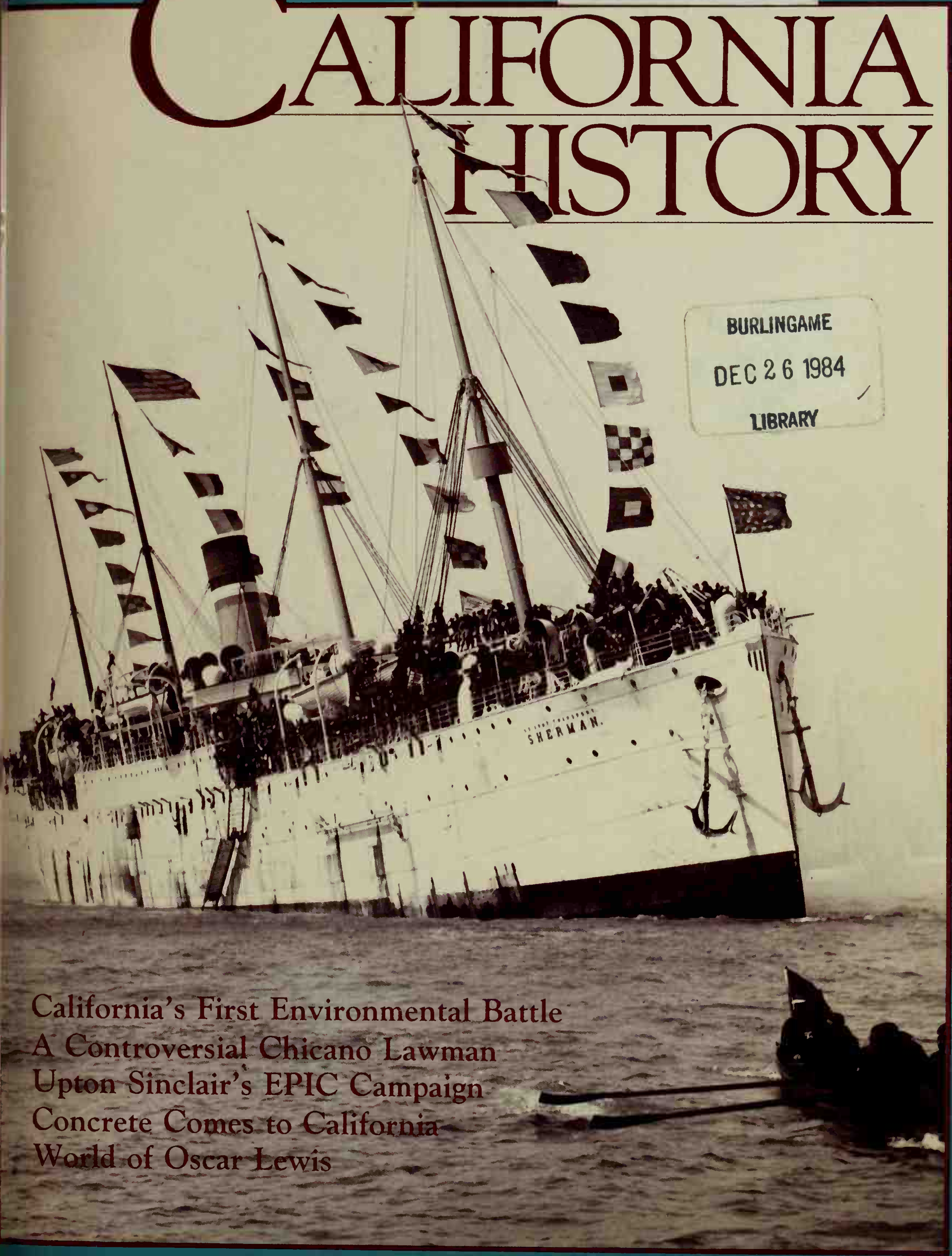
History Center
6300 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90048
(213) 651-5655

LIFORNIA HISTORY
84 Fall
$5.95

BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9042 01793662 3

FALL 1984

CALIFORNIA HISTORY



BURLINGAME
DEC 26 1984
LIBRARY

California's First Environmental Battle
A Controversial Chicano Lawman
Upton Sinclair's EPIC Campaign
Concrete Comes to California
World of Oscar Lewis

The California Historical Society is very grateful to Mr. Lawrence Barker, Jr., president of the L.S.B. Leakey Foundation, who has financially assisted production of this issue of *California History*.

TO: The Members of the California Historical Society
FROM: Lawrence Barker, Jr., President, L.S.B. Leakey Foundation

Why do our two organizations have so much in common? Because we are both deeply interested in history.

You may not have realized that we are both primarily interested in the study of our ancestors. The aim of the Leakey Foundation, named for the famed archaeologist Louis S.B. Leakey (1903–1972), is to foster research into our human origins, our evolving nature, and our environmental future. While the Leakey Foundation does not focus specifically on Man in California, whose ancestors entered the region only a score or more thousand years ago, the Foundation sponsors research projects throughout the world (Turkey, France, Viet Nam, England, Pakistan, and East Africa) as well as in our own backyard, San Bernardino.

The Leakey Foundation also presents educational programs—for example, in January 1985 a day-long symposium in Los Angeles on hunting and gathering peoples, Old World and New, to be conducted by five internationally renowned scientists. Our organization is also developing plans to study the Chumash Indian hunting-gathering culture which developed highly advanced rock paintings called petroglyphs. These educational activities, we believe, complement the California Historical Society's ongoing investigation of our more recent ancestors in California.

The Leakey Foundation believes that a better understanding of our history and our ancestors is vital because millions of years of physical and social habits have directly shaped the evolution of our brain and thus the way we think and act. While we are no longer hunter-gatherers (except perhaps at supermarkets), we must learn about our origins in an effort to avoid repeating past mistakes and to work for peaceful solutions to the increasingly dangerous problems facing the world.

If you are interested in our work and would like additional information, please write to the L.S.B. Leakey Foundation, Foundation Center 1-7, Pasadena, California 91125.

Sincerely,

Lawrence Barker

FRONT COVER: *Returning in 1898 from a victorious attack on the Philippine Islands, veterans crowding to the starboard side of the transport ship* Sherman *cause her to list toward the welcome docks of San Francisco. The "splendid little war" with Spain represented one of the United States's most romantic and successful expressions of the ideology of Manifest Destiny.* California Historical Society, San Francisco

ABOVE: *Chumash Cave Paintings, San Marco Pass, Santa Barbara County*

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXIII NO. 4 FALL 1984

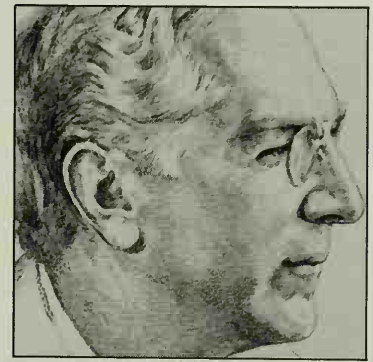
J.S. HOLLIDAY
Executive Director
PAMELA L. SEAGER
Associate Director
MARILYN ZIEBARTH
Editor
JAMES J. RAWLS
Reviews Editor
ANDREA DuFLON
Designer

Editorial Consultants
RICHARD BATMAN
LOWELL JOHN BEAN
ROBERT BECKER
DOUGLAS DANIELS
IRIS W. ENGSTRAND
FRANCIS F. GUEST, O.F.M.
NORRIS HUNDLEY
W. TURRENTINE JACKSON
W. MICHAEL MATHES
DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.
SPENCER C. OLIN, JR.
RODMAN W. PAUL
ANDREW F. ROLLE
ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE
DAVID J. WEBER
FRANCIS J. WEBER
DAVID A. WILLIAMS

California History is published quarterly by the California Historical Society, 2090 Jack Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco. Postmaster: send address changes to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. LC 75-640289/ ISSN 0612-2897

280

313



320

274
California's First Environmental Battle
by Marilyn Ziebarth

280
Buildings and Bridges for the Twentieth Century
by John W. Snyder

294
The Controversial Career of Martin Aguirre
by Abraham Hoffman

305
Upton Sinclair's EPIC Campaign
by Fay M. Blake & H. Morton Newman

313
New York Discovers Gold in California
by Barry L. Dutka

320
The World of Oscar Lewis
by Kevin Starr

327
Books

335
California Check List

349
Volume Contents

353
Index

BURLINGAME
DEC 26 1984
LIBRARY

ONE HUNDRE

Sacramento Valley farmers go to court to stop the ravages of hydraulic mining

CALIFORNIA'S FIRST ENVIRONMENTAL BATTLE

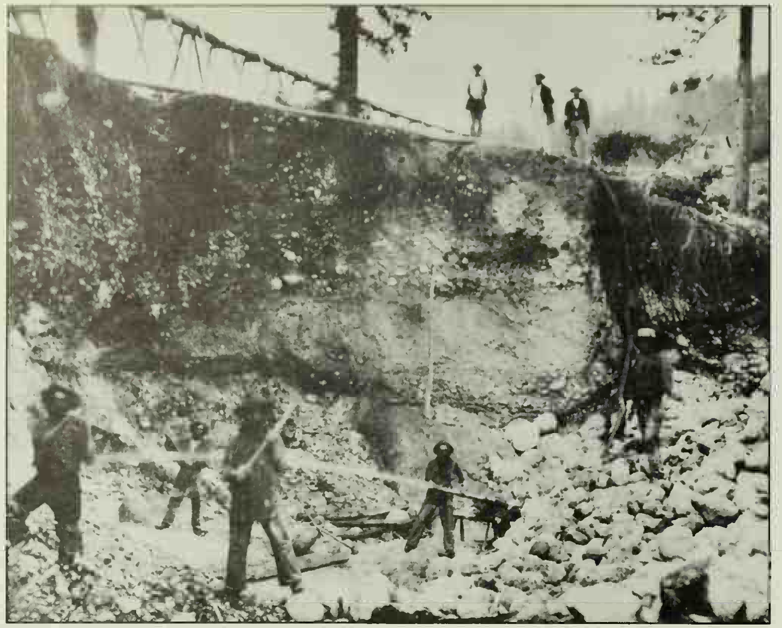
by Marilyn Ziebarth

On June 18, 1883, just after 5 a.m., California's great English Dam—thoroughly inspected for defects only three days earlier—mysteriously collapsed. A full reservoir of water roared down the steep canyon of the Yuba River, sweeping away houses, barns, covered bridges, and cattle. By the time the torrent finally broke through a levee east of Marysville and spread across 2,200 acres of Sacramento Valley farmland, seven people were dead.

"The break was not accidental," charged officials of the Milton Mining and Water Company, which had built the 130-foot-high dam to store Sierra snow melt and rain for its gold mining operation nearby. "The dam was blown up by powder." No suspects were ever identified despite the company's offering a $5,000 reward, but there was little doubt that "valley guerrillas" were responsible for the sabotage. For almost three decades, hydraulic mining had been washing dirt and debris down into the valley, clogging the rivers and flooding farmland. By blowing up dams (the English was the fourth to collapse under mysterious circumstances), the farmers took away the water needed for gold mining.

But the battle between the miners and farmers ultimately would be won not with dynamite but with legal briefs. Seven months after the explosion—a century ago this year—federal judge Lorenzo Sawyer of the Ninth Circuit Court (then a trial

Reprinted from *California Lawyer*, August 1984. Copyright by The State Bar of California, 1984.



Marysville became a walled city with the Yuba and Feather rivers flowing 20 feet above the level of its streets.

(Overleaf) The vast Malakoff Diggins, largest hydraulic mining site in the Sierra, drew photographers like C.E. Watkins who made this confidence-inspiring view for potential English investors in 1871. Bancroft Library

In 1854, these Michigan Bluff miners experimented with shooting a small stream of pressurized water against a hillside, while well-dressed gentlemen, possibly investors, watch the operation from above. Wells Fargo Bank History Department.

court) declared the mine "tailings" that washed down the Yuba, Bear, Feather and American rivers to be "a public and private nuisance." His permanent injunction against hydraulic mining in the case of *Woodruff* v *North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co.* (1884) 18 F 753 effectively shut down the industry that gave the Golden State its nickname.

Sawyer's decision was one of the first to recognize the necessity of state-imposed restraint on private industry for the purpose of conservation. The ruling was the culmination of a significant chapter in California's economic, political and legal history.

Hydraulic mining was introduced shortly after the first army of Forty-niners had panned most of the loose nuggets out of Sierra river bars, gulches and canyons. By pumping pressurized water through canvas hoses reinforced with iron hoops, ingenious miners washed the compacted lighter soil away from the heavy gold-bearing gravel. This method enabled even relatively poor gold deposits to be worked cheaply and profitably, thereby revolutionizing the mining industry. Before long it was the principal method for mining gold.

By 1870, both the hoses and mines were much larger. Water cannons capable of blasting jets more than 100 feet worked around the clock in mines that looked like giant amphitheaters. The water, wrote a *Nevada City Transcript* reporter, was "worried and tumbled and beaten into foam until one might easily believe that it comes out with not merely the force of gravity, but also with a wicked, vicious, unutterable indignation." Huge rocks "fly like chaff when struck by the stream of water . . . [although] the actual work of tearing down the cliff is hard to see, for there is a cloud of red foam hanging over the spot and an incessant roar."

Marilyn Ziebarth is the editor of *California History* magazine.

Hydraulic mining depended upon a sure and abundant supply of water. To this end mining companies built more than 5,000 miles of canals, pipelines and water delivery systems. These carried literally billions of gallons of water daily from newly dammed reservoirs to the mines. The investment paid off. The yearly output of California's mines averaged $10 million over the next 30 years, making mining the most important industry west of the Rocky Mountains in the 1870s and early 1880s.

As the hydraulic mining operations grew, so did the amount of debris being washed into the rivers. Concerns about the environmental impact of mining tailings had been expressed as early as 1856, but hydraulicking was still in its technological infancy, and the tailings that eventually turned clear streams to turbid gruel were still lodged high in mountain canyons. Slowly, the waste came down the rivers into the valley, gradually raising the water level. Heavy rains in 1862 led to flooding, and valley dwellers were forced to dig themselves out from the slickens. But drought through the rest of the decade curtailed hydraulic mining, and life on the farms returned to normal.

Then, in the early 1870s, the river bottoms started to fill with silt, causing the water to rise dramatically.

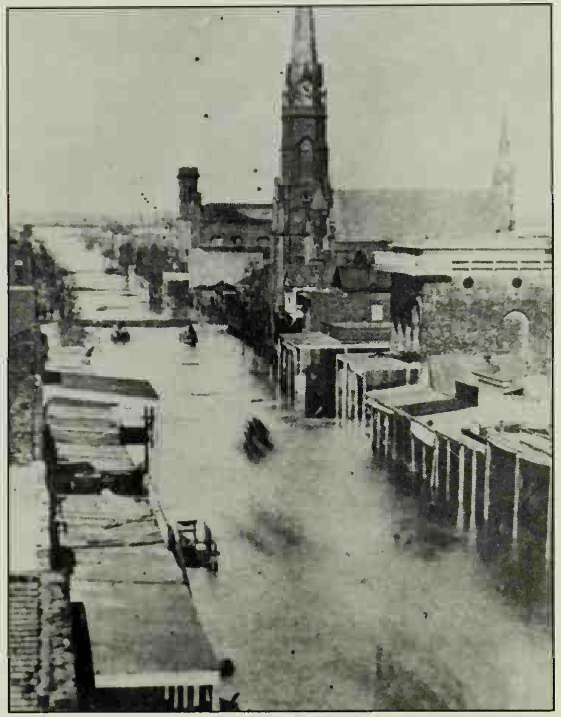
Marysville, which built the first of a succession of levees in 1868, became a walled city with the Yuba and Feather rivers flowing 20 feet above the level of its streets.

In 1873, a group of farmers filed suit against the Spring Valley Mine, asking for a permanent injunction against all mining activity and for $2,000 in damages to a peach orchard eight miles downstream from the mine. The suit was not politically popular, since businesses in the valley depended on the miners as a market. The economic value of gold mining, compared with that of farming, led the court to deny the request for an injunction. As for damages, the jury found it impossible to allocate liability among the more than fifty mining companies dumping tailings into the same stream, only one of which was being sued. They would not require the Spring Valley Mine to pay. The miners had won the first legal battle.

If the courts would not let them sue the mining companies one at a time, the farmers reasoned, they would sue all of the mines dumping into one river. In 1876, James H. Keyes, whose house and 200 acres of farmland in the Bear River Valley had been buried beneath three feet of mud, asked for an injunction against nineteen mining, water and ditch companies operating on the Bear River. Recognizing that the suit threatened not just the named defendants but the industry as a whole, miners from throughout Northern California formed the Hydraulic Miners Association to consolidate forces and finances for the legal battle ahead.

The defendants immediately removed the suit to federal court, perhaps as a stalling tactic and perhaps to avoid appearing before Judge Phil Keyser, who owned a farm on the Yuba River that had been damaged by mining debris. If delay was the defendants' goal, they succeeded. Trial did not begin until two years later, when the U.S. Supreme Court declared the case was not a matter for the federal courts. But it was Judge Keyser who heard testimony about the damage inflicted by mining debris, and heard the miners reply that the economic benefits of their industry outweighed any alleged harm. In March of 1879, Judge Keyser issued a permanent injunction in the case of *Keyes* v *Little York Gold Washing & Water Co.* (1879) 53 C 724 preventing the miners from depositing debris into the Bear River or its tributaries.

The miners immediately appealed. The state supreme court invalidated Keyser's injunction in November on the grounds that joint liability on the part of the defendants depended on joint activity. Even if the activities of each defendant contributed to the plaintiff's damages, the court said, they still were acting separately and so could not be sued as a group.



As the Yuba and Feather river bottoms silted-in with mining debris, floods inundated unfortunate valley cities like Marysville, shown here the day after Christmas 1867.
CHS, San Francisco

Taken together, the Spring Valley and Keyes cases were devastating to the farmers. First they were told they could not prove one mine was responsible for particular harm; then they were told they could not sue a group of mines jointly. During the Keyes trial they had formed their own organization to finance their activities—the Anti-Debris Association—and now they decided to take their complaints to the legislature.

The farmers did not expect the legislature to ban hydraulic mining, but they hoped to put some controls on the way debris was allowed to accumulate in the rivers. Toward that end, they lobbied for a compromise bill entitled "An Act to Promote Drainage." The bill called for a valley-wide system of debris dams and levees, an ambitious project to be financed by a statewide tax assessment. A recent engineering report had warned that the state's water was becoming unfit for irrigation, livestock, and human consumption. But the legislators' short trip from Sacramento to see for themselves the extensive flood damage in the surrounding valley was perhaps just as persuasive.

Passed in 1880, the Drainage Act was a progressive

Judge Lorenzo Sawyer, a Californian since 1850, authored the historic **Woodruff vs. North Bloomfield** *decision.* Cabinet photograph by Monroe & Potter—CHS, San Francisco

---

Judge Matthew P. Deady, a jurist with Lorenzo Sawyer on many circuit court trials and a lifelong friend, sat on the Woodruff *v* North Bloomfield *mining debris case and wrote a concurring opinion on the decision. Sawyer's letter to Deady, excerpted below, suggests the personal strain involved in writing the landmark decision.*

San Francisco Cal, Dec. 24, 1883

Hon. M.P. Deady,

Dear Judge:

I have at last got an opinion written in the great debris case, which I send for your examination, and criticism. Do not spare the criticism, for if it can't stand if from you now, it can't stand it from the able lawyers [intentive?] against it, after it has been fired off in Court.

My first criticism is, that it is unconscionably long—the longest by a long ways, that I have ever written. After I got well agoing I regretted that I undertook to write any at all. . . . But for the fact that such a display of industry, great labor, and great ability on the part of the attorneys on both sides has been made, I would simply have concurred in your opinion, and said not another word. . . .

If you find anything vicious in principle, nonjudicial in tone, or defective in style or anything else that strikes you as out of the way don't fail to point it out. . . . I have given a very full preliminary statement of facts. If not very graphic in its descriptive qualities, it presents a case of wrong and injury that argues itself.

Please send it to me if compatible with a thorough examination by return mail, as the parties on both sides are becoming very impatient and I am anxious to fire it off, and get the matter out of my mind. I have had enough of it.

Make my regards to Mrs. Deady.

Sincerely yours,
Lorenzo Sawyer

piece of legislation with considerable subtlety, involving substantial cooperation between state and local government. For the first time, the state was seriously attempting to solve conflicts between interest groups within a region.

The Drainage Act compromise was short-lived, however. By the time the legislature gathered again in Sacramento in 1881, the debris fight had erupted anew. Regions unaffected by the mining controversy protested their payments to the project, and there were charges of excessive expenditures. Eventually, the legislation was challenged in court (*People* v *Parks* [1881] 58 C 624). The state supreme court declared the act invalid, arguing that management of mining debris was a private matter, not public, and that the legislature did not have the power to tax everyone in the state for the benefit of a few. A truce between farmers and miners was no longer possible.

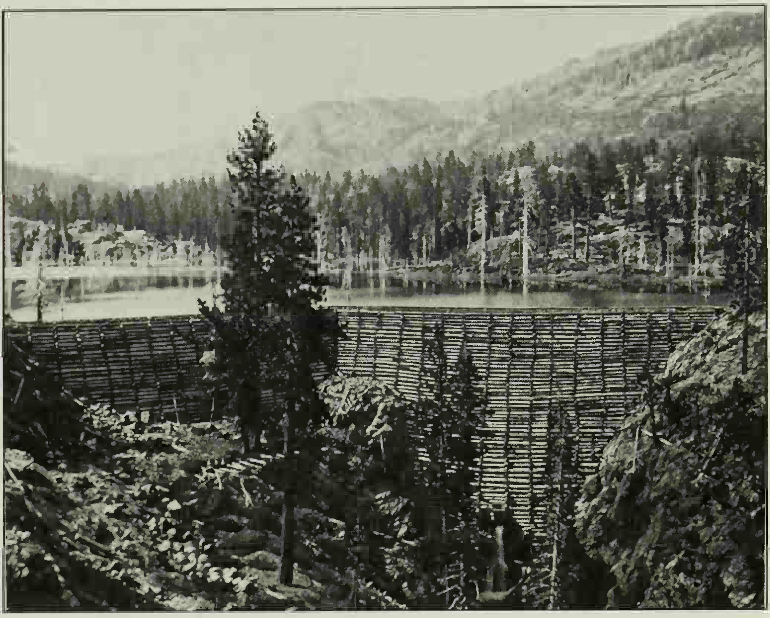
In September 1882 the Anti-Debris Association, through Marysville farmer Edward Woodruff, filed what was to be the crucial lawsuit in this long battle. The case was brought in federal court, free from the "misjoinder of parties" restrictions of the state court Keyes decision. Everyone knew that the critical issue in the case was the joint liability of the many mining companies named as defendants. In April 1883, Judge Sawyer decided that issue in favor of the plaintiffs:

> *[T]here is no misjoinder of defendants. . . . They all pour their mining debris into several streams, which they know must, by the force of currents be carried down into the main river where they commingle into an indistinguishable mass. . . . The final injury is a single one and all defendants cooperate in fact in producing it.*

Sawyer added that, while certain parties were named, this lawsuit really involved two entire industries. The judge specifically took note of the legal war chests amassed by the two organizations that were the real parties in the case—the Anti-Debris Association and the Hydraulic Miners Association.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1883, as miners and farmers anxiously awaited a decision on the injunction request, special commissioners appointed by Judge Sawyer questioned 200 witnesses and compiled 20,000 pages of detailed testimony. Rumors rippled through the valley, from Marysville to Nevada City, that a decision was forthcoming—either the miners or the farmers

As miners tried and abandoned alternative techniques, the rivers began to run clear again.



Valley farmers may have been responsible for the sudden and mysterious collapse of this North Bloomfield Company Dam on the Yuba River in 1883.
Photograph by C.E. Watkins, 1871—Bancroft Library

would be assured preeminence in California's future.

Finally, on January 7, 1884, Sawyer read his decision. He took 3½ hours, much of the time spent detailing how the debris from the mines had injured the valley and its residents. Stating that he believed there was no feasible way to prevent the glacier of hydraulic mining debris from reaching the valley floor, he permanently enjoined the defendants from "discharging or dumping into the Yuba River . . . tailings, bowlders [sic], cobblestones, gravel, sand and clay debris or refuse matter."

Soon after telegraph wires had transmitted the news of Sawyer's monumental decision, a great celebration began. According to the local newspaper in Marysville, firecrackers exploded and "convivial spirits found the occasion an irresistible reason for seeking the flowing bowl." As for Sierra mining communities like Red Dog, Smartville, and Timbuctoo, small clusters of miners and shopkeepers mourned the "trenchant blows" they had received from "the granger press and the courts." One weary Dutch Flat resident concluded with sorrow, "Most of us will pack our gripsacks."

As large mining operations like North Bloomfield shut down, economic depression set in through the northern Sierra. Stores closed, sawmills and mining equipment companies laid off workers, and tax bases dropped—Nevada County's by $1,700,000.

For a time water cannons manned by renegade miners could be heard, if not seen, blasting away hidden hillsides. In retaliation, the Anti-Debris Association sent spies into the mountains in May 1884 and found fourteen hydraulic mines operating illegally on the Bear River alone. The association doggedly filed additional suits against isolated operations continuing to send debris down the rivers. Eventually, even wildcatters working the Feather River in remote Plumas County were brought to their knees.

A petition to the legislature to permit hydraulic mining to begin again narrowly failed in 1887. In 1891, as a national recession threatened California, the legislature passed the Caminetti Act, which once again permitted hydraulicking, but only where miners could demonstrate that no debris would reach the valley floor. The expense of building effective debris dams, however, discouraged most would-be mine operators.

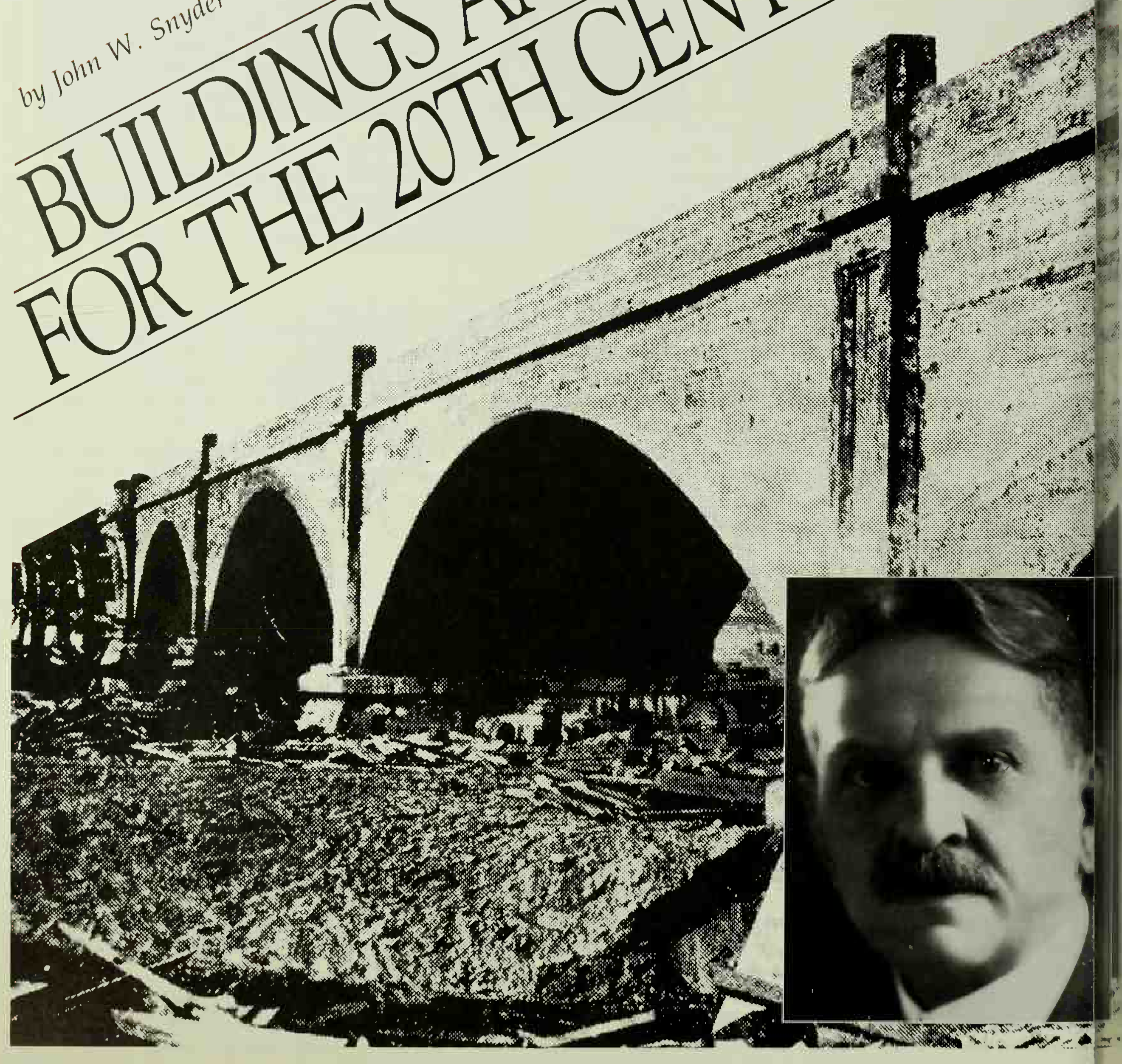
As the number of Sierra gold mines dwindled and miners tried and abandoned alternative mining techniques, the rivers began to run clear again. Debris encroachment in the Sacramento Valley continued until the turn of the century, as rains slowly cleansed the high mountain canyons of the remnants of hydraulic mining. As the Anti-Debris Association began to disband in the late 1890s, they could declare with confidence, "The great controversy is . . . over." □

Hydraulic mining sites look just as ravaged today as they did when water cannons blasted away the mountains north of Nevada City 100 years ago. The weathered buildings of North Bloomfield, a company town, and the scarred cliffs and multi-colored pinnacles of the colossal Malakoff Diggins—the Mother Lode's largest hydraulic mine—may be visited in the Malakoff Diggins State Historical Park. Keen eyes might also spot abandoned flumes, overgrown ditches and mounds of tailings throughout the once bustling Gold Country.

Anyone wishing to learn more about this rich chapter in California history would enjoy reading Professor Robert L. Kelley's book, Gold vs. Grain, The Mining Debris Controversy *(Arthur H. Clark Co., 1959).*

by John W. Snyder

BUILDINGS AND BRIDGES FOR THE 20TH CENTURY



Engineer John Leonard brings reinforced concrete technology to California

"Though the Crossley Building has shrunk from sight, Jno. B. Leonard and Reinforced Concrete will be more in evidence than ever."[1] These prophetic words, penned by Leonard shortly after the 1906 earthquake leveled much of San Francisco as well as the brick-and-mortar Crossley Building, reflect this remarkable engineer's confidence in himself and in the future of the new building material. Yet, in 1906, California architecture and engineering had taken only the first faltering steps into the twentieth century; nineteenth-century building traditions still prevailed. Reinforced concrete technology, which in the United States had been first developed and practically applied in the San Francisco Bay Area, was misunderstood, mistrusted, and restricted in use, and it would require diligent, competent work to win acceptance for it as a practical, modern material. It would be necessary to learn more about the conglomerate made of gravel, pebbles, and cement, to develop a new engineering and building technology, and to overcome a multitude of legal restrictions. Throughout Leonard's career, he welcomed the challenge and determined to succeed.

The youngest of three children, John Buck Leonard was born to Joseph C. and Martha Leonard in Union City, Michigan, in 1864. The elder Leonard, a native of Smyrna, New York, had made what was intended as a brief stop in Union City on his way to California in 1842, but upon meeting and marrying Martha Haynes in 1845, thoughts of the westward journey ended. During the ensuing years in Michigan, Joseph Leonard worked as a cobbler, served in the state senate, and engaged in farming, surveying, the land agent business, and local politics. His son John studied engineering at Michigan State University, Illinois University, and the University of Michigan.

For five decades civil engineer John Leonard (photograph c. 1928) advocated the use of reinforced concrete as a modern building material. Courtesy Nanita Hutton, Rossmoor

Leonard's Pollasky Bridge near Fresno incorporated ten 75-foot spans, making it the longest reinforced concrete bridge in the United States in 1905–06.
Architect and Engineer, January 1906

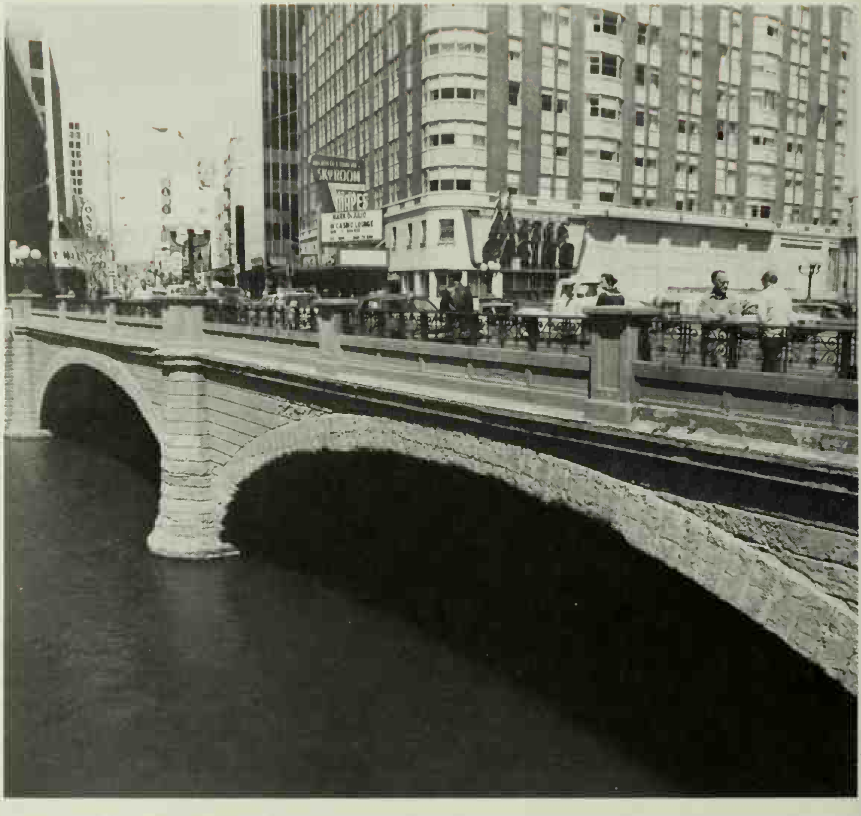
In 1888 John completed the journey begun years earlier by his father. Joining others lured by Southern California's real estate boom, John travelled to San Diego, and then to Los Angeles, where he gained a position in the municipal engineering department. In 1889 he moved north to San Francisco, the city which was to be his professional home for the rest of his life. This last move brought him into contact with key figures in the still-young field of reinforced concrete.[2]

Reinforced concrete, which today has far outdistanced all other materials used to construct buildings, bridges and highways, was barely beyond an experimental stage. Unreinforced, concrete was known to provide great compressive strength, or the ability to withstand crushing-type forces, but to lack tensile strength, or the ability to bear stretching or longitudinal stress without tearing apart. Beginning in 1849, French engineers began adding iron reinforcement to concrete, thereby to enhance its tensile strength. Important patents were awarded the French in 1855 and 1867, and the material received international attention at the Paris Exposition of 1855. Fierce competition for control of the new technology led German engineers in 1879 to buy rights to the French patents. Austria obtained similar rights the following year. German and Austrian engineers then developed these basic patents to a high degree. The American Thaddeus Hyatt carried out independent experiments with concrete in England, publishing his results in 1877.

In the United States, the first major use of reinforced concrete appears to have been the work of William E. Ward, who built a house of reinforced concrete in Port Chester, New York, in 1873–1876. Ward's work, however, was somewhat of an anomaly in America. Most of the innovations that followed in this country occurred in California, a region often viewed by architectural historians as developmentally backward.[3]

Innovations in American reinforced concrete concentrated in San Francisco after 1875. Pioneer San Francisco engineer and contractor Peter H. Jackson, basing his work on that of Hyatt, designed sidewalks of the material as early as 1877. Beginning in 1880, *California Architect and Building Review* published numerous articles and editorials focusing on cements and concrete. Jackson tested reinforced concrete beams in sidewalks, floors, and walls, noting in 1885, "the invention may prove of great value."

Jackson's work notwithstanding, most of the impor-



Engineer Leonard's first bridge commission was the Truckee River Bridge in Reno, built in 1905 with Beaux Arts lighting and railing details.
John W. Snyder

(Facing) Los Angeles' Temple Auditorium, the largest reinforced concrete building in the world in 1905, represents a fruitful collaboration between architect Charles Whittlesey and engineer Leonard. Leonard's designs called for reinforced concrete trusses with a clear span of 110 feet.
CHS Title Insurance and Trust Collection, Los Angeles; California State Library, Sacramento

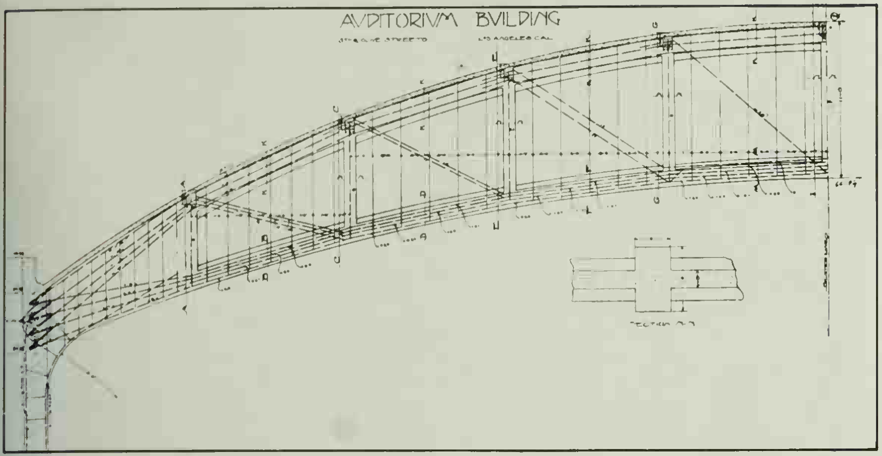
tant early reinforced concrete building work during these years was done by San Francisco engineer Ernest L. Ransome and architect George W. Percy. In 1884 Ransome patented concrete reinforced with cold-twisted square iron bars. The next year he incorporated a reinforced concrete roof in his design for the Arctic Oil Company warehouse in San Francisco. In the late 1880s he collaborated with Percy in a series of commissions employing reinforced concrete: the 1888 Bourn and Wise wine cellar in St. Helena (reinforced concrete flooring), the 1889 California Academy of Sciences in San Francisco (reinforced concrete flooring), and, most notably, the 1889 Leland Stanford Junior Museum and Roble Hall at Stanford University (reinforced concrete flooring, walls, and roof). In addition, by 1889 Ransome designed the Alvord Lake Bridge in Golden Gate Park, the first reinforced concrete bridge built in the United States. It was in this experimental environment that John Leonard embarked upon his own career.[4]

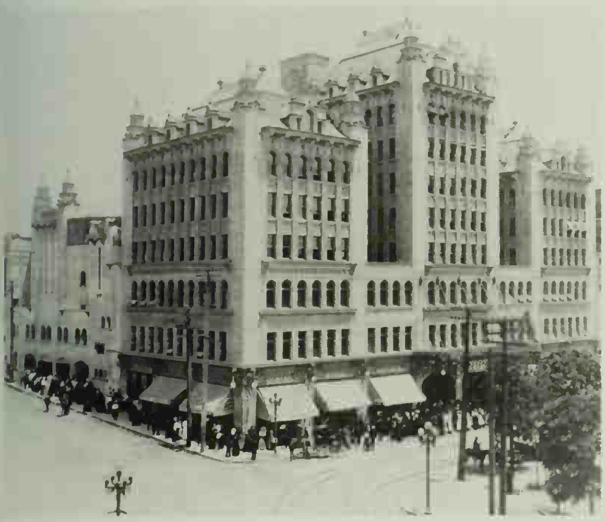
During 1889 and the early 1890s, Leonard worked for several San Francisco firms as a draughtsman and civil engineer. Among his first employers were the American Bridge and Building Company and the Bay City Iron Works. In 1895 the Southern Pacific Railroad hired him as a draughtsman for their Maintenance-of-Way Department, and in that same year he presented a paper before the Technical Society of the Pacific Coast on the rebuilding of the company's train ferry slips at Benicia and Port Costa. As a member of the society, the young engineer found himself in excellent company. Fellow members Ernest Ransome and George Percy actively participated in society matters. Their experimentation with reinforced concrete design, as well as their enthusiasm for the new medium, undoubtedly influenced him.[5]

By 1897 Leonard had established his own business in concrete and artificial-stone contracting. During the next few years he achieved some measure of independent success, yet his timing was unfortunate. Ernest Ransome had left San Francisco for Chicago in the mid-1890s. His departure, coupled with George Percy's death in 1900, created a hiatus in the innovative use and promotion of reinforced concrete in California. Thus the years 1900 to 1903 found Leonard in the employ of Healy, Tibbetts and Company, a San Francisco engineering firm specializing in wharf, bridge, and railroad building. It was not until 1904 that Leonard again opened his own office, this time in the Crossley Building as a consulting civil engineer.[6]

One of Leonard's first independent contracts involved him with the Truckee-Carson Irrigation Project

John Snyder, who holds an M.A. degree in art history from the University of California, Davis, is Chief Architectural Historian for the California Department of Transportation in Sacramento.





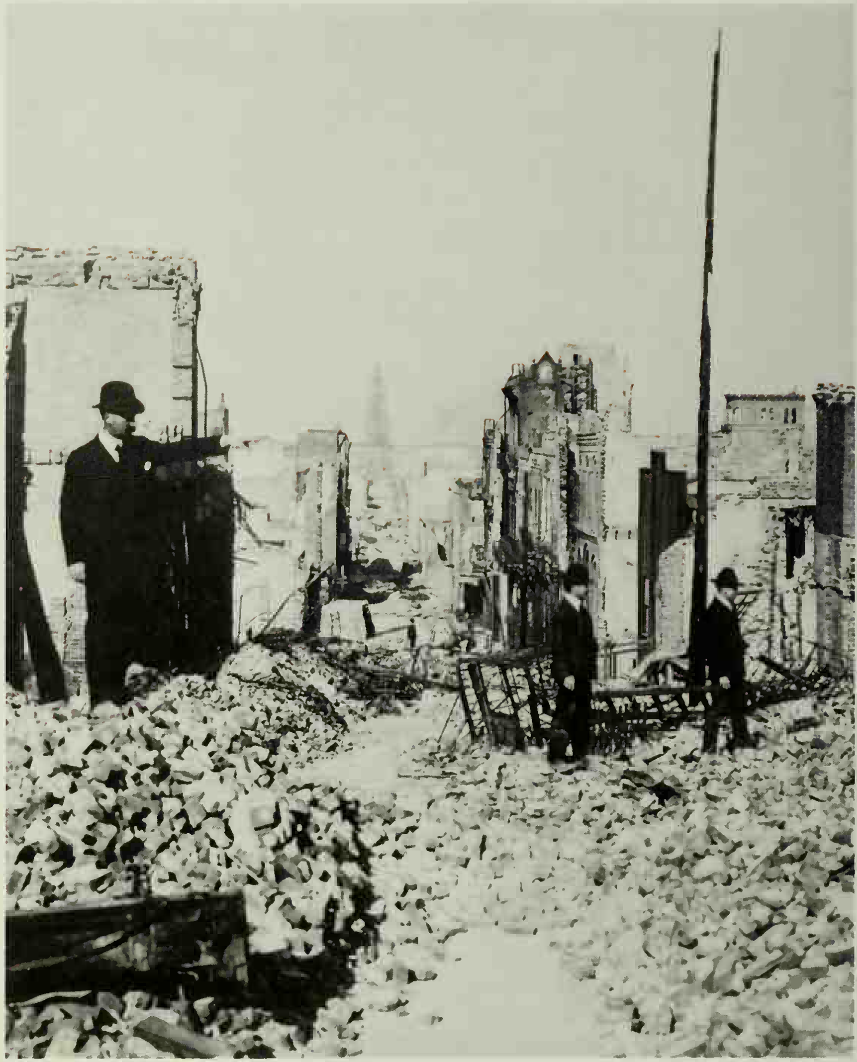
at Hazen, Nevada, as consulting engineer for the San Francisco Construction Company. Although his exact role in the project remains undefined, it is noteworthy that the system included concrete dams and miles of concrete-lined ditches. In addition to providing him with sound experience, the Hazen contract led to Leonard's first bridge commission. His Truckee River Bridge, erected at Reno in 1905, was a two-span arch bridge originally carrying two traffic lanes, two sidewalks, and a center streetcar track. In keeping with the bridge's urban setting, Leonard chose Beaux-Arts detailing in the form of decorative railing and lighting elements.[7]

With the Truckee River commission behind him, Leonard set out to sell the idea of reinforced concrete bridges to county officials in California. Comparing concrete with steel, he argued that concrete's higher initial costs were balanced by reduced maintenance and increased useful life, that concrete did not require periodic painting or replacement of worn timber deck materials, and that, unlike steel, concrete's strength increased with age as it cured and hardened. The persuasive engineer received three immediate commissions: the San Joaquin River Bridge at Pollasky near Fresno, the Dry Creek Bridge at Modesto, and the Stanislaus River Bridge at Ripon. The Pollasky Bridge (1905–06) incorporated ten 75-foot spans, and while individual span length was less than at Reno, the bridge's overall length made it the longest reinforced concrete bridge in the United States. At Dry Creek and Ripon, Leonard's designs were noteworthy for individual span lengths, 112 and 110 feet respectively.[8]

In 1905 Los Angeles architect Charles Whittlesey engaged Leonard to prepare the engineering design for his Temple Auditorium in Los Angeles. Of reinforced concrete throughout, the building rose nine stories, while the overall structure covered a large area, 165-by-175 feet. Leonard's careful calculations resulted in specifications for reinforced concrete girders as long as 42 feet in length, each carrying a concentrated load of 100 tons. These dimensions represented great strides in the use of this material and reflected the engineer's design skills and understanding of its properties. The auditorium itself measured 165 by 110 feet and seated 3,500 people, with allowance for an additional 1,500.

In order to provide the best possible sight lines, Leonard carried the balcony on huge reinforced concrete cantilevers, so that no supporting columns obstructed the view from seats below. To cover the auditorium Leonard designed a reinforced concrete roof carried on reinforced concrete trusses having a clear span of 110 feet. At the time of its completion, the Temple Auditorium was the largest all-reinforced concrete building in the world, and today's concrete buildings, which surpass 35 stories and cover entire blocks, have their technological roots in pioneer structures such as the Temple Auditorium.[9]

Not content with merely designing innovative buildings, Leonard also served from 1905 to 1912 as an associate editor for *Architect and Engineer of California*. From this position Leonard fielded editorials and articles



The 1906 Earthquake broke the hold of the powerful brick industry over California's building practices. (San Francisco's Ferry Building stands in the distance down brick rubble-lined Commercial Street.) CHS, San Francisco

(Facing) Eager to study design and construction techniques, members of the newly formed Structural Association of San Francisco (Leonard third from left) observe earthquake ruins prior to revising the city's building ordinances. Charles Derleth, Jr., Manuscripts, Bancroft Library, University of California

(Facing) Critics attacked architect Ralph W. Hart's Bekins Warehouse (1905), San Francisco's first reinforced concrete building, for violating existing building codes. *Architect and Engineer*, October 1905

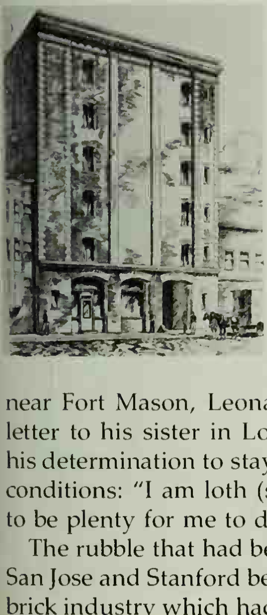
(Initial) Still in use, sturdy Fernbridge over the Eel River (1911) has withstood floods and dynamiting of debris. California Department of Transportation

which supported his proponency of reinforced concrete and chided conservative officials who were skeptical of the medium. In an August 1905 article, Leonard attacked San Francisco's building ordinance as "antiquated" for not allowing reinforced concrete construction. He concluded: "The San Francisco authorities have made no move in this direction as yet. When will they? is the question asked by those most interested."[10]

Other professionals also challenged the West's slowness to recognize the merits of reinforced concrete. In October 1905, architect Ralph Warner Hart wrote about his design for the Bekins warehouse under construction, San Francisco's first reinforced concrete building. Admitting that the structure violated city codes, Hart labeled it ironic that the city did not recognize the new construction type which it had pioneered. Even conservative architect Octavius Morgan, who admitted his prejudice in favor of brick construction, grudgingly acknowledged that concrete was best suited for beams and girders and for heavy structures such as warehouses, bridges, and loft buildings.[11] Reinforced concrete was gaining its admirers.

The year 1906 brought the watershed event in Leonard's career, as well as to the city of San Francisco. When the earthquake rumbled in the predawn hours of April 18, reinforced concrete was still a controversial medium in the minds of many engineers, architects, and building officials. By the time the fires were out and the evaluation of damage begun, a reassessment was underway.

The city's disaster touched Leonard directly, claiming both his house and office. Yet while living in a tent



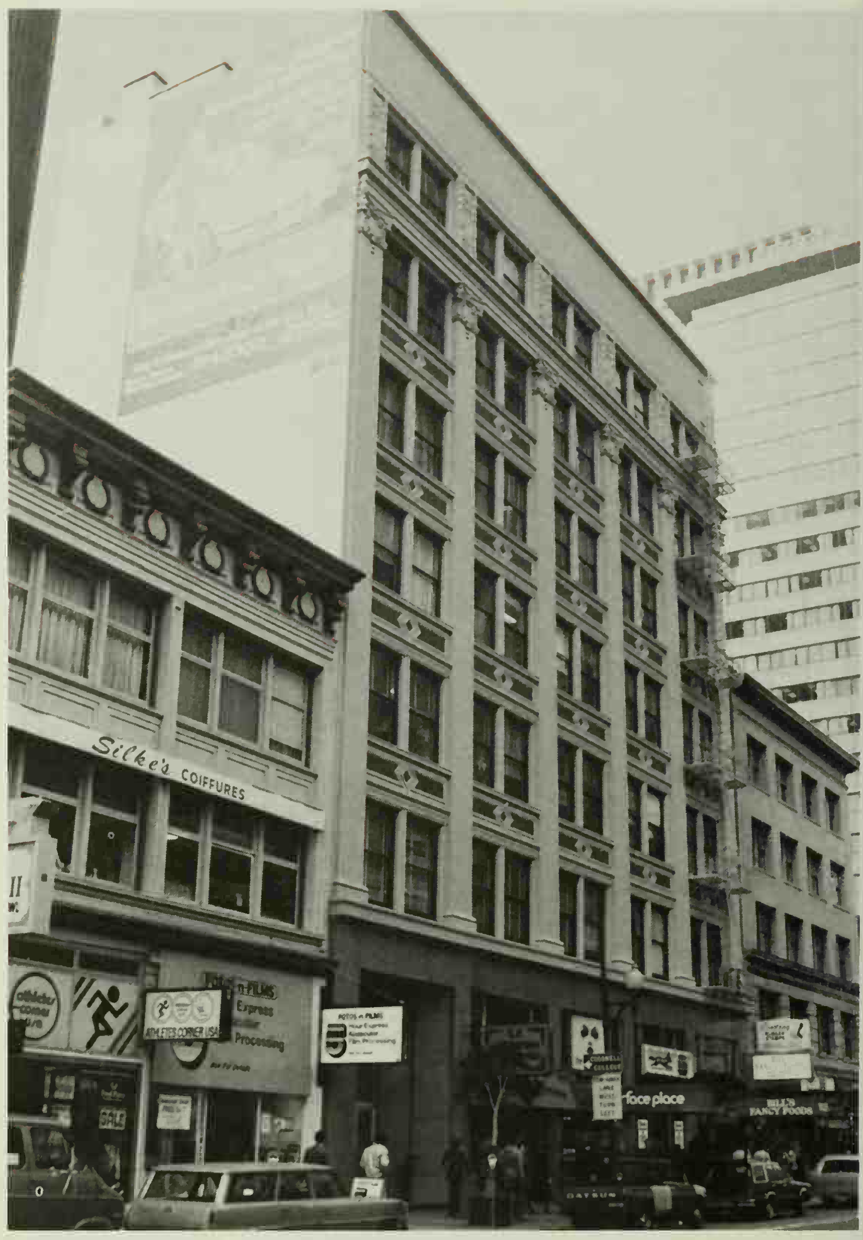
near Fort Mason, Leonard looked to the future. In a letter to his sister in Los Angeles, Leonard indicated his determination to stay in the city despite the terrible conditions: "I am loth (sic) to leave for there is going to be plenty for me to do I think."[12]

The rubble that had been San Francisco, Santa Rosa, San Jose and Stanford belied the claims of the powerful brick industry which had successfully opposed the use of reinforced concrete. In the midst of the shattered brick buildings, the early Ransome-Percy reinforced concrete buildings and bridges stood firm, as did Hart's Bekins warehouse. Octavius Morgan, inspecting the ruins as the fires still burned, was forced to conclude that the monolithic qualities of reinforced concrete made it the most earthquake and fire-proof construction known. Poured as a cohesive unit, concrete did not crumble with the temblor as did brick; concrete's intact façades maintained fire protection for a building's interior spaces.

It became obvious to those in the building professions that the California disaster provided a unique opportunity to study building design and construction techniques. Accordingly, Professor Charles Derleth, Jr., of the University of California contacted Leonard and other leading engineers to open discussions. On May 11, 1906, they published a notice in Bay Area newspapers calling a meeting of engineers to "intelligently observe and analyze the structural effects . . . (of) the recent earthquake and fire . . . for exchange of data . . . to lead to . . . a concert of opinion as to future practice." The group, 100 strong, met on May 17, 1906, to form the Structural Association of San Francisco.[13]

Membership soon expanded to include "all persons directly concerned in the design, manufacture, and use of structural and fire-resisting materials." Leonard, a member of the Executive Committee, headed the Subcommittee on Reinforced Concrete. Meeting weekly, the organization existed for six months. But by the time it disbanded in early 1907, a new San Francisco Building Ordinance, drawing upon the reports and work of Leonard's subcommittee, permitted reinforced concrete buildings. Leonard's continuing call for better building inspection had also motivated the San Francisco Grand Jury to request the appointment of nine more municipal inspectors.[14]

Outside San Francisco, Stanford University's Board of Trustees retained Leonard, along with engineer John D. Galloway and architect Henry A. Schulze, to inspect damage to the university and to recommend the best means of earthquake and fire-proof reconstruction. The Stanford advisory role marks Leonard's growing professional status, for the campus' engineering faculty was second within the state only to that of the University of California. On the Stanford campus, as in San Francisco, the committee found that reinforced concrete



Leonard's contractor erected the upper floors of the seven-story MacDonough Estate Building (1906) at the remarkable rate of one floor per week. John W. Snyder

(Facing) The ornamented exterior of Salinas' Ford and Sanborn Department Store (1907) demonstrates Leonard's advanced awareness of concrete's design potential. Monterey County Historical Society, Salinas

had withstood the temblor almost unscathed, while brick and stone masonry—notably the Memorial Arch and Chapel—had suffered greatly.[15]

In the face of evidence about reinforced concrete's apparent superiority as a building material, the brick industry continued vehemently to resist the use of concrete. Knowing that the industry's influence had effectively precluded the construction of reinforced concrete structures before the disaster, the brick industry claimed to have proof of the medium's failure. Finding this rhetoric without substance, Leonard responded through *Architect and Engineer* that an "antagonistic building ordinance" had been responsible for the lack of reinforced concrete construction in San Francisco prior to the earthquake. He revealed that reinforced concrete floors and fireproofing had come through the disaster without instance of failure and warned that failure to use reinforced concrete construction would pave the way for a repetition of the disaster. His arguments prompted the San Francisco *Bulletin* to write of the brick lobby: "The time has come, however, when the city's need is stronger than the political influence of any special interest."[16]

Thrust into the architectural arena during the city's rebuilding, Leonard executed the engineering for Benjamin G. McDougall's Sheldon Building in 1906. Clad

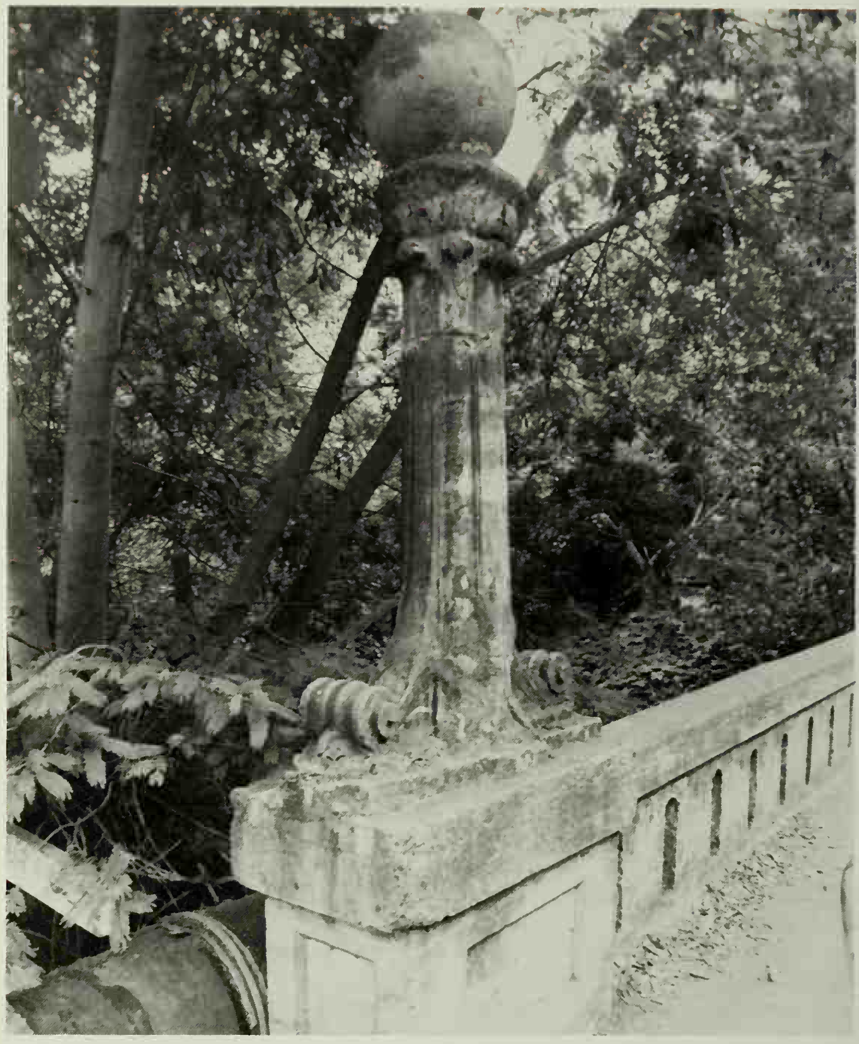
in terra cotta, the building was one of San Francisco's first large reinforced concrete structures (architect McDougall was himself an important early user of reinforced concrete). In the same year Leonard also handled the engineering of the MacDonough Estate Building for architect William Curlett. Completed in less than six months, this seven-story structure attested to Leonard's claims of efficient construction. After finishing the first floor and mezzanine, the contractor was able to erect the building at the rate of one floor per week. By September 1907, Leonard had undertaken the reinforced concrete engineering for more than a score of San Francisco buildings.[17]

In Oakland, Leonard again teamed with McDougall in the design of the Hotel St. Mark. A nine-story building of eclectic style, the hotel provided the engineer with yet another chance to showcase reinforced concrete. Leonard chose flat-slab design with intra-column supporting beams to facilitate rapid construction. Careful placement of the reinforcing provided structural continuity. (This principle is the basis for modern reinforced concrete architecture, where small, light, repetitive, easily-formed elements join to provide great strength, while reducing labor and materials costs and speeding construction.) As in the MacDonough Estate Building, once construction reached the second floor it proceeded at the rate of one floor per week. Contractors completed all the concrete work in just ninety-eight days, including such details as a spiral stairway to the basement and a circular stairway to the orchestra balcony. *Engineering Record* hailed the building as combining "aesthetic appearance and excellence of design with stability of construction."[18]

In 1907 Leonard took his talents out of the Bay Area when the owners of the Ford and Sanborn Department Store in Salinas chose him to design a replacement for their earthquake-damaged store. Leonard retained Charles W. Dickey as consulting architect for the commission. The finished building's unornamented reinforced concrete exterior and unobstructed, spacious interior demonstrated Leonard's awareness of concrete's design potential. The planar surfaces, broken only by the broad—and similarly planar—display windows marked the building as ahead of its time, presaging the International Style of architecture which was to blossom in Europe and America after World War I. With the design firmly credited to Leonard, Dickey's involvement remains speculative. It is possible that Leonard retained Dickey merely to avoid any complications with California's architectural licensing law.[19]

The post-earthquake years saw Leonard acknowledged as "the coast's foremost authority on reinforced concrete construction," and his employment of engineering graduates from the University of California reflected his influence within the profession. From this position of leadership, Leonard remained determined to solve problems of design and inspection which threatened to undermine the progress made to date in gaining acceptance for reinforced concrete. Investors' demands for reinforced concrete structures flooded the market, however, and many designers and contractors undertook work for which they had neither education nor experience. Thus the very period which should have seen the greatest progress in the acceptance of reinforced concrete instead witnessed a rash of structural failures which set development back several years. Poor design, lack of understanding of the material, lack of quality control, and lack of proper inspection were at fault.[20]

Perhaps the most publicized failure in California occurred on November 9, 1906, when the Bixby Hotel at Long Beach, billed as one of the world's largest reinforced concrete buildings, partially collapsed during construction. A number of workers were killed, and the public outcry was intense. Teams of inspectors immediately arrived on the scene, and Leonard was among the first. After consulting plans, probing the wreckage, and interviewing survivors, he concluded that the building contractor had erred in the early removal of formwork, as well as in the placing of reinforcement and pouring of the concrete. These factors had produced a building lacking structural continuity, so that the weight of the wet concrete roof caused the fourth floor beneath to collapse through to the third floor which in turn failed. By the time the collapse had ended, some elements of the upper floors were found in the basement. Leonard's findings absolved architects Austin and Brown of any blame.[21]



In 1908 Leonard designed this reinforced concrete column for one of five bridges in Ross, Marin County.
John W. Snyder

(Facing) The Bixby Hotel at Long Beach (Austin and Brown, architects) partially collapsed during construction in 1906, setting back acceptance of the new building material.
Architect and Engineer, April 1906;
California State Library, Sacramento

Predictably, spokesmen for the brick industry advanced their own opinions following the Bixby failure, finding that "experienced engineers and architects were carried off their feet by the tidal wave [of enthusiasm for reinforced concrete] and are today firm believers in the theory that something can be made out of nothing—that to insert a few iron bars that are not even tied or welded together in a concrete column or girder is a mysterious wonder." The industry thus attributed the cause of the collapse to a flaw in the material itself. However, a team composed of engineer T.E. Keough and architects Henry A. Schulze and William Koenig refuted this finding, designating this report for the Bricklayers and Masons International Union as an "attempt to deceive the public."[22]

Failures like the Bixby Hotel led to calls for reform, causing Leonard and others to seek better inspection and closer relations between architects and engineers. Leonard's concern for adequate building inspection was itself based on personal experience. Since 1905 he had been engaged as the engineer for the Western Inspection Bureau. Headquartered in San Francisco's Monadnock Building, the firm handled all types of structural tests and inspections and supplemented understaffed municipal inspection for at least three years (1905 to 1907). Leonard's inspector's role brought him into ever closer contact with the architectural profession, strengthening his belief in the importance of cooperation among architect, engineer, and contractor.[23]

During this period, Leonard also brought his message to architects and audiences around the state. The Sacramento *Union* interviewed him in 1907 at the 15th Annual International Irrigation Congress, introducing him to its readers as "one of the best known authorities on the Pacific Coast in reinforced concrete." In 1908 Leonard carried the message of reinforced concrete to Portland, Oregon, and in 1910 he travelled east to New York City to deliver an address to the 7th Annual Convention of the National Association of Cement Users.[24]

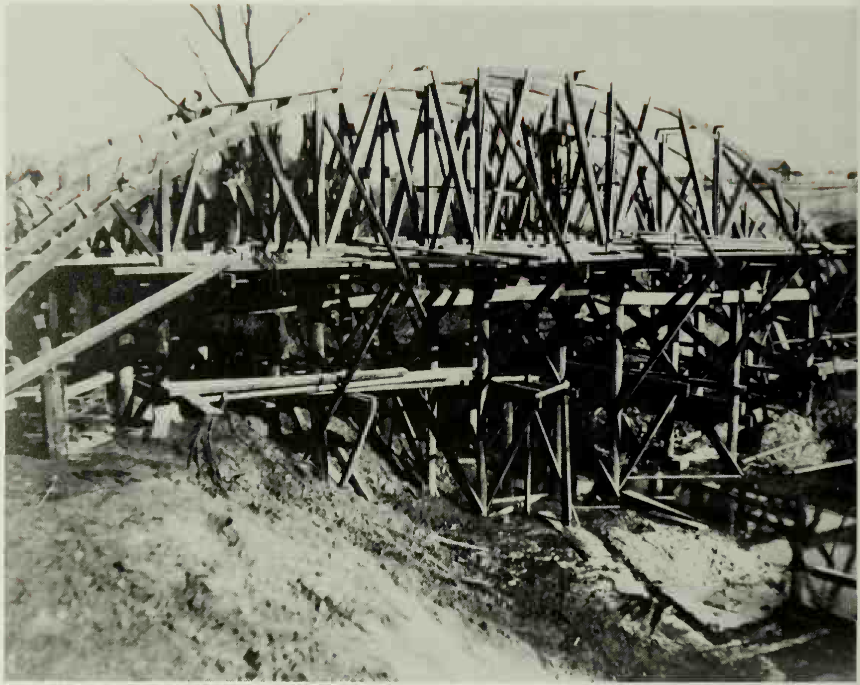
Leonard believed that reinforced concrete had diverse uses, and in late 1907 the engineer again returned to bridge design. He quickly undertook a number of commissions, designing a pair of bridges for San Luis Obispo completed in 1909, a group of five bridges in Ross, Marin County, in 1908, and another in nearby San Anselmo. He also designed the only steel bridge credited to him: the Gianella Bridge across the Sacramento River at Hamilton City, built 1908–1911. His initial proposal had called for a reinforced concrete structure, but when Butte and Glenn County supervisors rejected this design as too costly, Leonard fell back on his early training. That he sometimes failed to win converts to reinforced concrete is also evidenced in a stillborn proposal for a three-span bridge across the Feather River at Oroville, selected in 1907 and then rejected due to cost.[25]

The year 1911 climaxed Leonard's early phase of bridge design. His Fernbridge crossed the Eel River south of Eureka with seven 200-foot spans. Monolithic abutments at each end of the structure aided it in withstanding heavy winter runoff and the battering-ram effects of redwood logs washed down from upstream mills. Since its construction over seventy years ago, Fernbridge has met the river on its own terms. In 1955 and 1964, when the Eel and its tributaries destroyed many newer bridges upstream and obliterated entire towns, Fernbridge stood as if an extension of the bedrock itself. During the 1964 floods, the water level almost reached the deck, and a large jam of logs lodged against the upstream side of the structure. With the bridge vibrating from the current and from repeated blows of debris, workers resorted to dynamiting the jam. Fernbridge survived both debris and dynamite, continuing to carry traffic today.[26]

Leonard completed a reinforced concrete railroad bridge in 1911 across the American River near Auburn for the Mountain Quarries Company. A relatively rare early use of the material in railroading, the bridge was designed to carry the largest locomotives of the day, as well as cars laden with limestone, and the bridge proved to be fully twenty percent cheaper than a steel structure designed for the same site. Conceived with permanence in mind, the bridge has been abandoned since the removal of rails during World War II, but it was pressed into emergency auto service in the 1950s and 1960s when floods washed out newer highway bridges upstream.[27]

The year 1911 also saw civic officials in the Bay Area's exclusive Piedmont seeking an out-of-the-ordinary bridge. For the second time Leonard retained a consulting architect, Albert A. Farr from nearby Oakland. The collaborative effort resulted in a bridge far more architectural than any other Leonard designed, with Farr adding details to give the town a bridge in the popular Mission Revival style.[28]

In 1913 Leonard and junior partner W.P. Day published *The Concrete Bridge*, which summarized all of Leonard's arguments for concrete bridges. The book stressed qualities which served to make a reinforced concrete bridge desirable. Aesthetically it offered "con-



Concrete bridges required extensive and time-consuming false-work structures, such as this arch ring on Leonard's Dry Creek Bridge (1905–06) at Modesto. A.L. Finney Collection, courtesy Marjorie Jensen, Gustine

(Facing) Twenty trucks drove Leonard's concrete test highway in Pittsburg at speeds of eight to twelve m.p.h. for the equivalent of eighty continuous days to measure the road's durability. California Department of Transportation

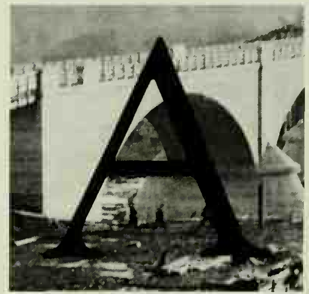
(Facing) Leonard completed a rare reinforced concrete railroad bridge (1911) across the American River near Auburn which was twenty percent lower in cost than a steel structure designed for the same site. John W. Snyder

formity with environment . . . pleasing outline and appropriate use of ornament." Beautiful bridges, Leonard wrote, "are a sure indication of a progressive community." The book also stressed the use of California products, available through an expanding California cement and aggregates industry. (This in fact became a major factor in the choice of reinforced concrete for construction in California.) Profusely illustrated with photographs of Leonard's bridges in the tradition of a builder's catalog, the book represented a unique step for a consulting engineer and underscores Leonard's drive and salesmanship.[29]

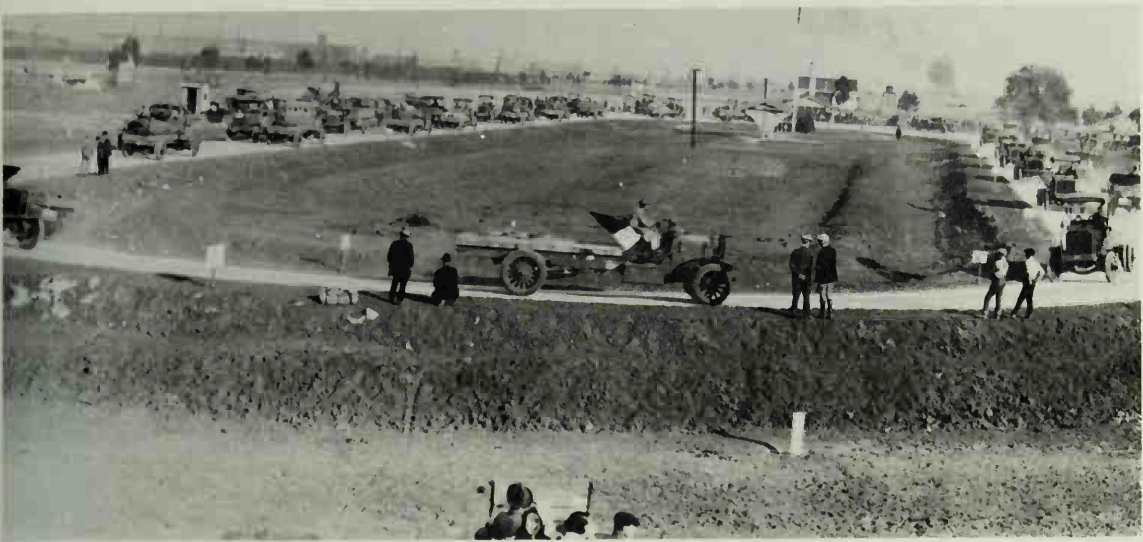
Experimentation in reinforced concrete bridge design continued into the second decade of the twentieth century, with Leonard among the innovators. Two accounts credit him with a bridge type he termed "canticrete." Utilizing a cantilever steel truss as the structural core of a concrete bridge, the design used less concrete, less reinforcing steel, and less labor-intensive falsework —the temporary wooden structure normally required to support a concrete bridge during construction. Leonard's idea was to lessen initial cost by reducing materials and labor costs, thus making the canticrete bridge a more saleable product.[30]

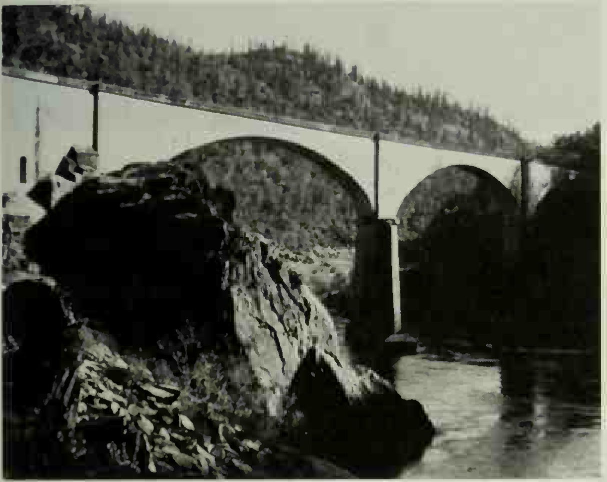
Leonard designed at least eleven canticrete bridges between 1914 and 1921, of which only three remain. Erected in 1914, the small Honcut Creek Bridge in Yuba County illustrated the extreme simplicity which could be achieved with the type. The Tuolumne River Bridge in Modesto, built in 1917 with San Francisco architect Fay Spangler and known locally as the "Lion Bridge," was one of the largest canticretes. The low number of surviving examples of canticrete bridges reflects the inability of the type to be widened because of the trussed sidewalls. When traffic volume exceeded bridge capacity, the only choice was to replace the bridge.[31]

After 1921, Leonard returned to more conventional bridge designs, probably because labor and materials costs in connection with the truss substructure made canticrete in fact no less costly than any other reinforced concrete bridge. The experiment, however, reflects Leonard's acknowledgment of one of the initial drawbacks of concrete and represents an innovative transition in its development.



As Leonard's canticrete experiment ended, he undertook yet another project which was to have great impact on transportation in California. Aware of the tests in other states by the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads, Leonard approached W.E. Creed, president of Columbia Steel Company at Pittsburg, California, with the proposal to build a concrete test highway in order to study road problems peculiar to California. Believing his company could supply a special type of reinforcing steel for highway use, Creed agreed, placing the project in the hands of Leonard and Lloyd Aldrich. Creed's only instructions were to make the tests thorough and to collect all appropriate data. Prior to undertaking design and construction, Leonard surveyed state and fed-



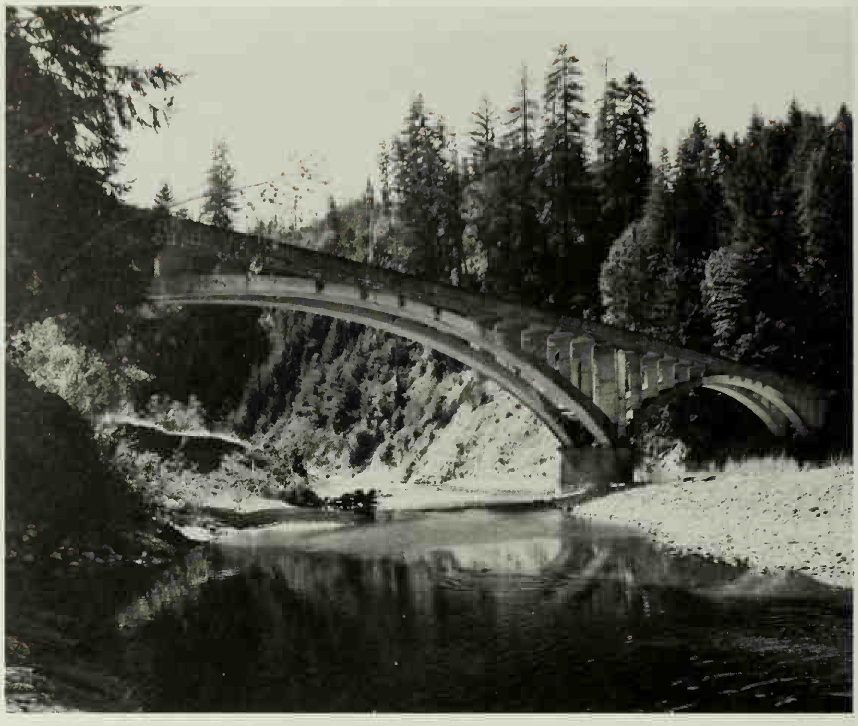


eral highway engineers about the project. The resulting test road was a 1,371-foot oval, 18 feet wide, utilizing 13 sections of various types of concrete pavements. The only government involvement in the project was to supply forty war surplus trucks to test the course.

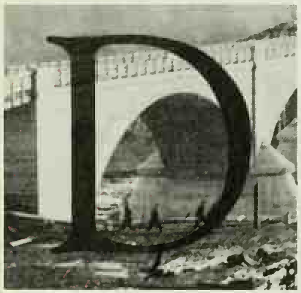
Leonard devised a careful plan to conduct the tests. Four tunnels under the track contained instrumentation designed by Leonard to record slab flexure. The entire surface of the highway was marked off into six-foot squares, numbered and lettered to allow precise charting of failures. For the test, drivers moved twenty trucks simultaneously in each direction under gradually increasing loads; speeds averaged 8 to 12 miles per hour, typical of highway truck traffic at the time. Ditches paralleling the road were flooded to study the effect of moisture on the adobe subgrade. Floodlights allowed the tests to continue after dark. By the time the experiments ended after two seasons in 1922, the trucks had rolled the equivalent of eighty continuous days, subjecting the highway to an accumulated load of 7.36 million tons. An exhaustive illustrated report provided the test results to the California Department of Public Works. The agency put the data to immediate use, and Leonard's project is credited with giving California's highway program its first great impetus. (By the 1960s, California was acknowledged as having the finest roadway system in the world.)[32]

Between 1921 and 1926 Leonard prepared designs for at least nine bridges, six of which were built between 1922 and 1925, and was involved in a tenth. In 1921 he designed three-span bridges to cross the Russian River at Healdsburg and the American River at Chili Bar. Because of cost, only the Chili Bar Bridge was built. At this same time, Humboldt County officials began a project to improve the road between Fortuna and Red Bluff. With massive Fernbridge a daily reminder of Leonard's design abilities, they turned to him again for a series of five bridges in the rugged Van Duzen River canyon. The first two were built in 1922 at Upper and Lower Blue Slide. Traversing their setting gracefully, these bridges represent the maturity of Leonard's design aesthetics. The remaining bridges were built in 1925, the farthest east a single arch at Bridgeville replacing a covered bridge built in the 1880s. The other two, Upper and Lower Blackburn Grade Cutoffs, were unique among all of Leonard's designs for carrying the roadway between soaring arch ribs.

Leonard also participated in early proposals for a bridge across San Francisco Bay. His plan, unveiled during 1926 hearings, proposed a bridge linking Hunter's Point in San Francisco with Webster Street in Alameda. Six miles in length, double-decked, and combining steel truss main spans and reinforced concrete trestle approaches, his design was projected at $35 million. Consideration of private ventures continued throughout the late 1920s, before the state ultimately built the Bay Bridge in 1934–1937.[33]



Humboldt County's Van Duzen River Bridge (1922) at Upper Blue Slide represents the maturity of Leonard's design aesthetic.
Pete Asano, California Department of Transportation, for Historic American Engineering Record, National Park Service



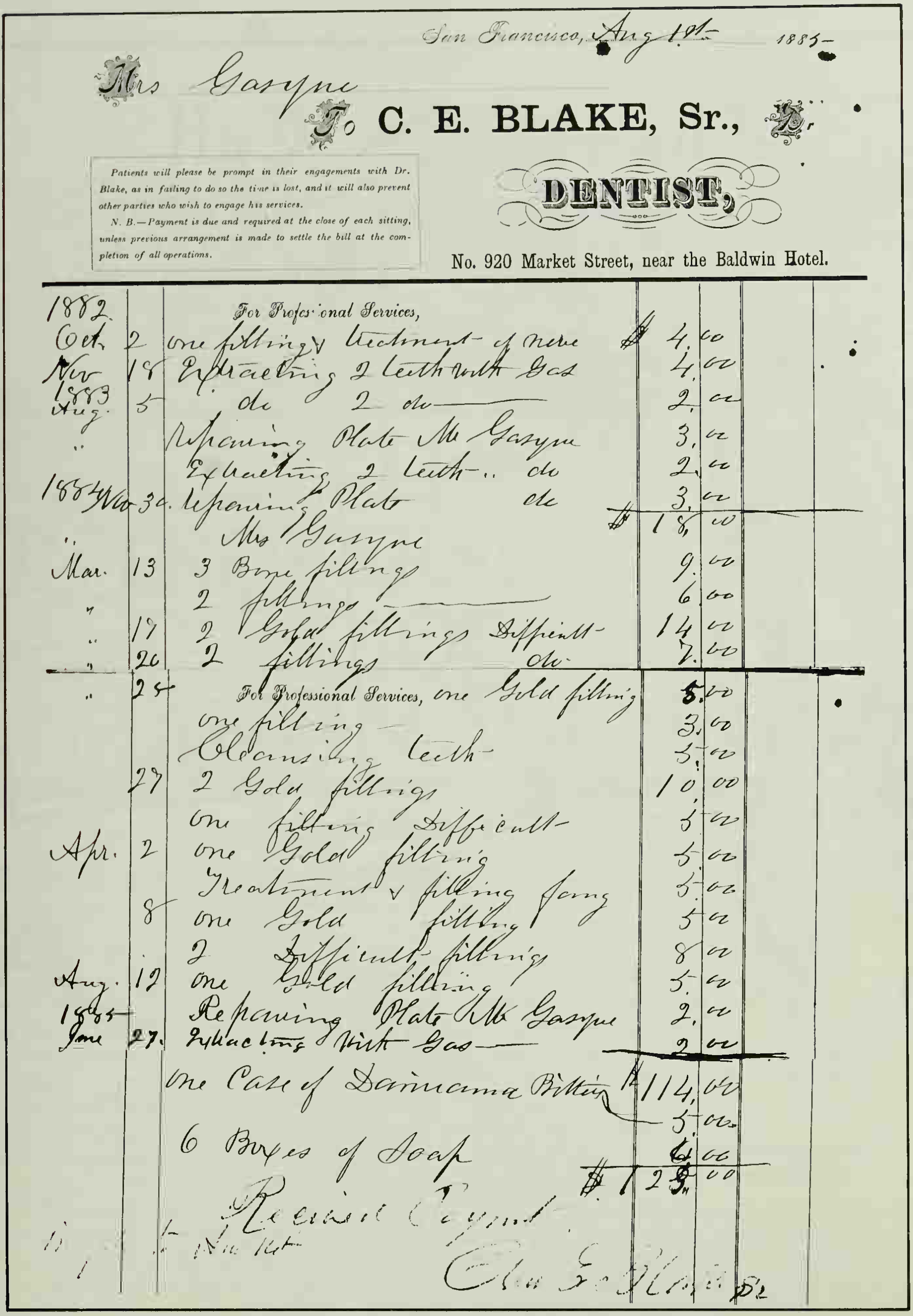
Despite the hectic design pace of these years, Leonard made time for other career ventures. In 1924 he returned to *Architect and Engineer* in his old editorial capacity, and he also began once more to revise the San Francisco Building Code. In February 1928 San Francisco City Engineer M.M. O'Shaughnessy sent a letter to Mayor James Rolph recommending that Leonard be appointed the city's chief building inspector, and the mayor backed Leonard before the Board of Public Works on the grounds that the city needed a "first class engineer" to head the Building Inspection Department. On May 17, 1928, the Board appointed Leonard Chief Building Inspector (a title later changed to Superintendent of Building Inspection). Bringing his accumulated expertise and theories to the position until he retired in August 1934, Leonard revised the San Francisco Building Code, improved and expanded inspection services, and initiated a survey of dangerous structures.[34]

During the years leading to his retirement, Leonard remained active in an advocacy role, continuing to support code and inspection improvements statewide. In 1928 he became involved in a movement to establish a California Uniform Building Code, and when a draft was ready in mid-1933, Leonard was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee on Building Code Revision. The following year he was appointed Chairman of the Building Code Committee for the Structural Engineers' Association of Northern California, a post which he held until the code was adopted in 1937.[35]

During the late 1930s Leonard continued to fill varied professional appointments and to advocate improved interprofessional relations. In 1935 and 1936, as President of the Structural Engineers' Association, he sought measures to bring cooperation between engineers, architects, and building officials to the benefit of the general building industry. In 1936 former partner W.P. Day designated him Chief of the Division of Roads-Bridges-Paving for the Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island. Finally, probably a result of the wartime shortage of engineers, Leonard was asked to design buildings for an engineering firm in Alameda in 1942. This commission—at age 78—was his last.[36]

John Buck Leonard died in San Francisco on February 16, 1945. His legacy includes a remarkable, and probably unparalleled, *oeuvre* of forty-eight known bridge ventures, as well as at least twenty-six buildings. His aesthetic precepts, set forth in *The Concrete Bridge* and other writings, had influenced state bridge design, while his engineering expertise had guided pivotal experiments for the test highway at Pittsburg. His was also a legacy of improved building codes and regulations, design principles, and interprofessional cooperation. John B. Leonard had led California from the conservative technology and casual standards of the nineteenth century to the innovative technology and codified relations of the twentieth. ☐

(See notes beginning on page 338.)



San Francisco, Aug 1st 1885

Mrs Gasyne

To **C. E. BLAKE, Sr.,** Dr.

Patients will please be prompt in their engagements with Dr. Blake, as in failing to do so the time is lost, and it will also prevent other parties who wish to engage his services.

N. B.—Payment is due and required at the close of each sitting, unless previous arrangement is made to settle the bill at the completion of all operations.

DENTIST,

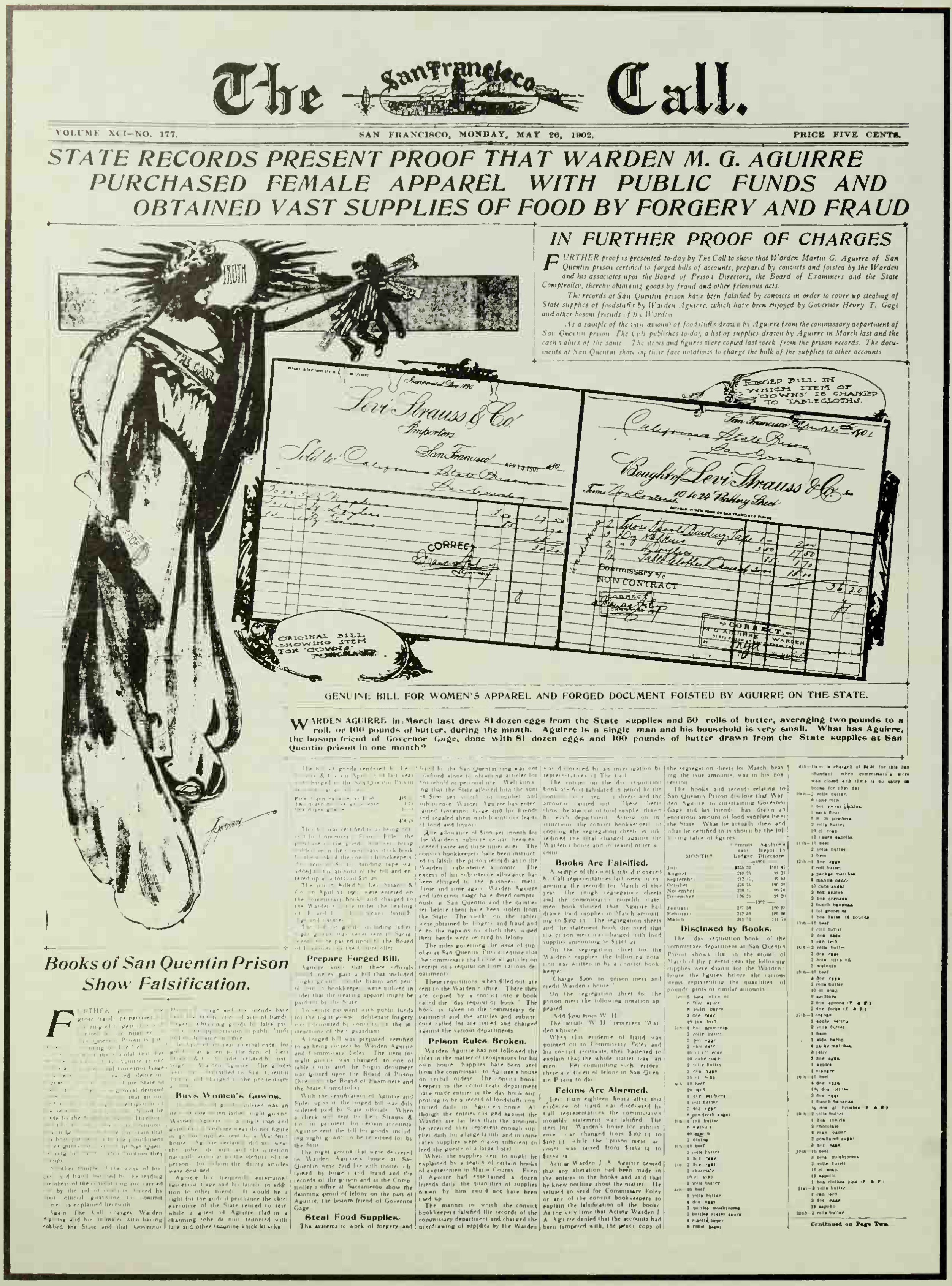
No. 920 Market Street, near the Baldwin Hotel.

1882		For Professional Services,		
Oct.	2	one filling & treatment of nerve	$ 4.	00
Nov	18	Extracting 2 teeth with Gas	4.	00
1883 Aug.	5	do 2 do	2.	00
"		Repairing Plate Mr Gasyne	3.	00
		Extracting 2 teeth .. do	2.	00
1884 Nov	30.	Repairing Plate do	3.	00
			$ 18,	00
"		Mrs Gasyne		
Mar.	13	3 Bone fillings	9.	00
"		2 fillings	6	00
"	17	2 Gold fillings Difficult	14	00
"	20	2 fillings do	7.	00
"	24	For Professional Services, one Gold filling	5.	00
		one filling	3.	00
		Cleansing teeth	5.	00
	27	2 Gold fillings	10,	00
		One filling Difficult	5	00
Apr.	2	one Gold filling	5	00
		Treatment & filling fang	5.	00
	8	one Gold filling	5	00
		2 Difficult fillings	8	00
Aug.	12	one Gold filling	5.	00
1885		Repairing Plate Mr Gasyne	2.	00
June	27.	Extracting with Gas	2	00
		One Case of Damiana Bitters	$ 114,	00
			5.	00
		6 Boxes of Soap	6	00
			$ 125.	00

Received Payment

Chas E. Blake Sr

In the 1880s when dentists such as C.E. Blake of San Francisco practiced their craft, the new science of filling cavities with gold amalgam cost dearly at $5 each, or $7 for particularly difficult caries. In comparison, tooth extractions—with gas—cost a mere $2, with alcoholic Damiana Bitters sold by the case to ease the pain. Times were different, and the generous Dentist Blake, whose bill for services is now in the CHS Library, extended credit to at least one patient for over 2½ years. Gift of Mrs. Louise Blake Shaw, Pacific Grove



TRUTH
THE CALL
FORGED BILL IN WHICH ITEM OF 'GOWNS' IS CHANGED TO TABLECLOTHS.
ORIGINAL BILL SHOWING ITEM FOR 'GOWNS' PURCHASED
Levi Strauss & Co.
California State Prison
CORRECT
COMMISSARY
NON CONTRACT

The San Francisco Call.

VOLUME XCI—NO. 177. SAN FRANCISCO, MONDAY, MAY 26, 1902. PRICE FIVE CENTS.

STATE RECORDS PRESENT PROOF THAT WARDEN M. G. AGUIRRE PURCHASED FEMALE APPAREL WITH PUBLIC FUNDS AND OBTAINED VAST SUPPLIES OF FOOD BY FORGERY AND FRAUD

IN FURTHER PROOF OF CHARGES

FURTHER proof is presented to-day by The Call to show that Warden Martin G. Aguirre of San Quentin prison certified to forged bills of accounts, prepared by convicts and foisted by the Warden and his associates upon the Board of Prison Directors, the Board of Examiners and the State Comptroller, thereby obtaining goods by fraud and other felonious acts.

The records at San Quentin prison have been falsified by convicts in order to cover up stealing of State supplies of foodstuffs by Warden Aguirre, which have been enjoyed by Governor Henry T. Gage and other bosom friends of the Warden.

As a sample of the vast amount of foodstuffs drawn by Aguirre from the commissary department of San Quentin prison The Call publishes to-day a list of supplies drawn by Aguirre in March last and the cash values of the same. The items and figures were copied last week from the prison records. The documents at San Quentin show on their face notations to charge the bulk of the supplies to other accounts.

GENUINE BILL FOR WOMEN'S APPAREL AND FORGED DOCUMENT FOISTED BY AGUIRRE ON THE STATE.

WARDEN AGUIRRE in March last drew 81 dozen eggs from the State supplies and 50 rolls of butter, averaging two pounds to a roll, or 100 pounds of butter, during the month. Aguirre is a single man and his household is very small. What has Aguirre, the bosom friend of Governor Gage, done with 81 dozen eggs and 100 pounds of butter drawn from the State supplies at San Quentin prison in one month?

Books of San Quentin Prison Show Falsification.

Buys Women's Gowns.

Prepare Forged Bill.

Steal Food Supplies.

Prison Rules Broken.

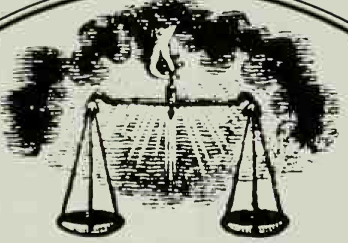
Books Are Falsified.

Felons Are Alarmed.

Disclosed by Books.

Continued on Page Two.

Scandal rocked Aguirre's administration in 1902 when the San Francisco Call *charged Governor Gage with corrupt practices, including orders of food, tableclothes and nightgowns charged to the prison.* San Francisco Call, May 26, 1902



THE CONTROVERSIAL CAREER OF MARTIN AGUIRRE

The rise and fall of a Chicano lawman

by Abraham Hoffman

As a man who spent his entire adult life in law enforcement, Martin Aguirre is certainly unlike the better-known Mexican figures of the nineteenth century West who have been idolized for their resistance to Anglo rule. Historians have consistently characterized the latter part of this century as a time of social banditry and violence on the part of Chicanos outraged by the injustices perpetrated by Anglo-Americans in their takeover of the Southwest after 1848. While there is considerable evidence to support this view, it ignores the reality that some Chicanos devoted their careers to upholding the law.[1]

In large part historians and popularizers of the western mystique have shown a greater preference for recording and glamorizing the careers of outlaws than those of lawmen. Just as is the case with famous Anglo outlaws and gunfighters such as Jesse James, the Younger and Dalton Brothers, and Wild Bill Hickok, more attention has been devoted to notorious Mexican outlaws such as Joaquin Murieta, Tiburcio Vasquez and Gregorio Cortez[2] than to law enforcers such as Martin Aguirre. Research into Aguirre's career in fact has been almost nonexistent, aside from a highly anecdotal biographical sketch written over twenty years ago.[3] This is a significant oversight.

Martin Aguirre, the son of a Spanish sea captain who travelled to California in 1840 to become a rancher, was born in 1858 in San Diego and raised in Los Angeles. When he was two his father died, and at age nine Martin was sent to live on the ranch of his relatives, the Wolfskills.[4]

A typical boy, Martin became a proficient swimmer and rider, but suffered an unfortunate accident as a child which left him blind in one eye—he was shot accidentally by his cousin with an arrow. While this disability would have disqualified him from a career in law enforcement today, it apparently never troubled him professionally in his time.[5] When he was sixteen, an event occurred which might have influenced any young Chicano of his day—the notorious bandit Tiburcio Vasquez was executed, amidst tremendous fanfare publicizing his justification for his criminal life. Young Martin, however, apparently was not persuaded to follow in Vasquez's footsteps.

The youthful Martin Aguirre.
Portrait courtesy Mary Haggland, Riverside;
CHS, Los Angeles

Aguirre's first job was picking oranges on the Wolfskill ranch, and because of his ability he was eventually promoted by his cousin, William, to the job of ranch foreman. Martin was not yet twenty-one. He soon began to develop an interest in local politics and law enforcement. Around 1885 he joined the Republican party and became a constable or deputy sheriff. These political and professional allegiances were to remain lifelong commitments.[6]

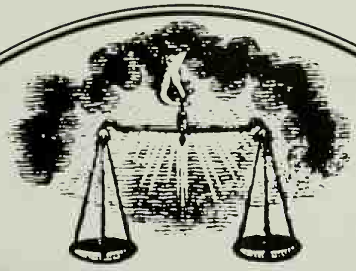
Aguirre first gained fame by performing an act so heroic and selfless that the suspicions of modern cynics would be understandably aroused were the incident not so well documented. In January of 1886, Los Angeles experienced one of those severe rainstorms which contrast so markedly to the region's generally semi-arid climate. Over seven inches of rain fell between January 12 and 21. The Los Angeles River, unrestrained at the time by its modern concrete strait jacket, eventually flooded and forced city residents from their homes. The river, resembling a "boiling yellow lake," according to one observer, swept away one bridge after another, leaving Boyle Heights isolated from downtown Los Angeles.[7]

Abraham Hoffman holds a Ph.D. in history from UCLA and is the author of two books and over forty articles on western topics. He is currently completing a book on the history of Mono Lake.

On the morning of January 19, with rain still falling, a horse-drawn, open-air streetcar attempted to cross the river in spite of obviously threatening conditions on the only remaining bridge at Downey Avenue. With the river cresting intermittently at fifteen feet, almost swamping the bridge, the streetcar slowly crept across. Suddenly, the pilings at the east end of the bridge collapsed. The frightened passengers immediately fled to safety, but the driver stayed with the streetcar and patiently urged his horse forward in the direction of the west end of the bridge, which was still standing. When this part of the bridge also collapsed, the streetcar was thrown into the raging currents. The horse in his panic managed to break his traces and swim to safety. The driver and one remaining passenger, however, were trapped on the wooden streetcar, which was now lodged precariously between the bridge pilings and a soap works factory at the river's edge. Meanwhile a crowd had gathered, including the mayor of Los Angeles, Edward Spence. The general mood was one of despair for the two stranded men.

At this point, Martin Aguirre arrived on horseback. People had been attempting unsuccessfully to throw a rope to the men. Aguirre, however, simply guided his horse El Capitan into the raging current and rescued first one and then the other of the men. "The rescued men were thoroughly drained and chilled," later reported the *Los Angeles Daily Times*, "but withal happy and thankful for their deliverance."[8]

Aguirre's act of heroism did not end there, however. He continued along the flood plain, bringing one person after another to safety. One home, belonging to an employee of the soap works factory named Whitney, was in imminent danger of being swept way in the flood when Aguirre arrived. Without hesitation Aguirre rode his horse through the swirling water to a window, and then ferried each of the man's children, one after the other, to safety. On his final trip he was just placing eight-year-old Theresa Whitney on his saddle when part of a nearby picket fence broke loose and knocked El Capitan over. Aguirre managed to place the little girl on the part of the fence still standing (cutting his hands on some barbed wire in the process) before his horse foundered again. With his foot caught in a stirrup, Aguirre was carried some distance downstream. By the time he managed to get back to where the little girl had been, she was gone. By the end of the day, he had rescued at least nineteen people, many of them women and children.[9]



> "Martin Aguirre, the candidate for Sheriff, is brave, plucky, popular and experienced. He is a good detective and a regular sleuth-hound on the trail of a criminal or a fugitive from justice. *Vote for him!*"

Harris Newmark later mentioned the incident in his memoirs, calling it "an exhibition of great courage." Newspaperman William A. Spalding lauded Aguirre as "the hero of the day." On January 23, after the young deputy had rested from his ordeal, the town honored him in a celebration at which the county prosecutor, in grand hyperbole, acclaimed his heroism: "Descendant of Spanish cavaliers, moved by his high sense of duty to his fellow man and in keeping with the conscience of the mandates of that highest of all courts, plunged into the seething waters and rescued from watery graves helpless women and children. . . ." Presented with a valuable gold watch bearing the inscription, "Presented by the Bar Association of Los Angeles to Martin Aguirre, for Bravery in the Flood of 1886," Aguirre humbly responded: "Gentlemen, I thank you. You have taken me by surprise. I am no speaker and therefore you will excuse me."[10] According to Harry Carr in *Los Angeles, City of Dreams*, in spite of all this acclaim, Aguirre was haunted until his death by the memory of the girl he failed to rescue.

By the 1880s, Los Angeles was undergoing a transformation from a violent little frontier town, with everyday shootings, stabbings, vigilante committees and lynchings, to the beginnings of a stable and respectable community. The arrival of the Santa Fe railroad and its subsequent competition with the Southern Pacific stimulated a real estate boom in mid-decade, and tens of thousands of newcomers began arriving, attracted by the area's attractive climate, its inexpensive land, and its potential for agricultural and commercial development.[11]

Amidst these profound changes in the very nature of Los Angeles, Aguirre repledged his loyalty to the Republican party in 1888 and announced his candidacy for sheriff of Los Angeles County. Without hesitation the party placed this acknowledged hero on their ticket.

Aguirre found ready support on the Republican-oriented editorial pages of the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Evening Express*. "Gallantry, nerve, good conduct and popular manners are appreciated by the voting populace and will win," observed the *Times* in extolling Aguirre's virtues. "Martin Aguirre, the candidate for Sheriff, is brave, plucky, popular and experienced. He is a good detective and a regular sleuth-hound on the trail of a criminal or a fugitive from justice. *Vote for him!*" The *Times* considered him "brave, faithful, and intelligent—three essential qualities which are not every day found in combination." Aguirre, claimed the *Times*, "will do credit to the office to which he will undoubtedly be elected." Aguirre was barely past his thirtieth birthday.[12]

The certainty of the *Times*' prediction was borne out on election day as Aguirre defeated his nearest rival, Thomas Rowan, by almost 4,000 votes—14,490 to 10,519. Neither Aguirre's Catholic religion nor his Spanish background seem to have hindered his campaign. Historian Leonard Pitt has observed that with the correct physical features, complexion, and old family ties, a Californio candidate could in fact be elected to office, as Aguirre was, through the 1880s, so long as the Californio vote exercised some influence. The year 1888 was generally one of great success for Republicans, as Benjamin Harrison defeated Grover Cleveland for the presidency and party candidates were elected to almost every county and legislative position in Los Angeles.[13]

As sheriff, Aguirre performed the necessary and routine tasks such as collecting fines, serving subpoenas, and making ar-

In 1886 the youthful and ambitious Martin Aguirre rescued nineteen people from the flooded Los Angeles River, performing acts of heroism that resulted in his candidacy for sheriff of Los Angeles County.
CHS, Los Angeles

rests for crimes ranging from embezzlement to murder. This was a formidable task in view of the fact that Los Angeles County, even with the separation of Orange County in 1889, covered four thousand square miles of territory. This was a sizeable area for a sheriff's office with only a dozen or so deputies to manage, yet Aguirre's office was noted for its integrity and emphasis on fairness. Complained one reporter for the *Express*, who was thwarted in his attempts to gain confidential information, "Sheriff Aguirre and his able deputies are about the hardest set of officials that the average reporter ever ran across for information. While they are very courteous to the newsgatherer, they have a happy faculty of keeping the secrets of the office to themselves, especially if they think that the ends of justice might perchance be thwarted."[14]

Aguirre was remembered in later years for never carrying a gun. According to his old friend Harry Carr, he preferred instead "a razor-sharp bowie-knife which hung from a scabbard under his armpit." Aguirre insisted, "The revolver is no good. I shoot at an escaped convict in a crowd, and I don't know where the bullets go." If Carr is to be believed, Aguirre "could throw a knife fifty feet and pin the spot on the ace of spades."[15]

Aguirre's well publicized predilection against guns on at least one occasion almost cost him his life. Six months after becoming sheriff, a forty-five-year-old woman named Mary Simmons was raped by a French resident, Benoir Renault, and upon the advice of neighbors she filed charges. When Deputy Constable Dawes went to Renault's house on Wednesday afternoon, May 2, 1889, with a warrant for his arrest, Renault responded by firing several shots at Dawes and by barring the door. Dawes returned the fire and then telephoned the sheriff's office for help. Three deputies came to assist Dawes, and more shots were exchanged. Aguirre himself eventually came to the scene accompanied by two deputies and a fresh supply of ammunition.

After considering an entrance by the front door, Aguirre decided instead to go in by a rear entrance to this small house. When he had done so, he found himself in a room adjacent to the one in which Renault had barricaded himself. Aguirre called through a connecting door that he had a warrant for Renault's arrest, but Renault gave no response. He called again, but there was still no answer. Finally, Aguirre turned the knob on the door, but as he did so, Renault fired through it, wounding the sheriff on the left arm. By luck, a second shot was stopped by a half-dollar in Aguirre's vest pocket. Aguirre retreated, and while the deputies were bandaging his arm, Renault escaped from the house which had caught fire from the gunshots. He was caught the next day while hiding in a Bunker Hill coal bin.[16]

Aguirre's wound put him out of action for more than two weeks, and when he returned to duty, it was expected that Renault would be tried and convicted of

Aguirre took off his star, carried a white flag to the saloon where the man was drinking and bought him several beers before asking the man to accompany him to the grand jury rooms.

attempted murder. Renault engaged a prominent attorney, Horace Bell, to represent him. The trial opened on June 27 in superior court, and Aguirre and his deputies gave their account of the episode. Then Renault took the stand and insisted that no warrant had been read to him and, further, that Dawes had fired first. The trial took two days, and in his closing argument attorney Bell made the remarkable statement that Renault "ought to have killed" Aguirre, apparently on the justification that the defendant was protecting his home from intruders. Prosecutor C.C. Stephens lambasted Bell for his remark. "It would be bad enough coming from a criminal," he said, "but from a lawyer and citizen it is outrageous."[17]

Aguirre was naturally disappointed when the jury failed to reach an agreement on the charges after one man held out for acquittal. A new trial date was set, and on August 20 the entire drama was reenacted. The case went quickly to the jury, and Renault was found guilty not of attempted murder, but of simple assault, a verdict which aroused considerable criticism and anger. The *Express* commented, "It is a sad state of affairs when an officer is not protected by the law. Sheriff Aguirre's record as a peace officer is well established. He has often exposed his life and spent his own money to bring criminals to justice, and it is not surprising that the verdict in question has excited comment." Renault's attorney argued that his client was a mentally unstable person who believed he was being pursued by a secret society determined to slit his throat and bury him at sea. The judge ultimately fined Renault $350 or 350 days in jail.

Aguirre responded to the verdict with a display of mordant humor. When the Grand Jury ordered him to bring in a man of bad reputation to testify as a witness in another case, Aguirre took off his star, carried a white flag to the saloon where the man was drinking, and bought him several beers before asking, as politely as possible, if the man would accompany him to the Grand Jury rooms. The man replied he would go when he "got damned good and ready." After Aguirre reported this incident to the Grand Jury, it approved his use of more conventional methods.[19]

Despite the popularity which had won him his office, Aguirre was not free from criticism while sheriff. The reaction of the press was not favorable, understandably, when he arrested H.H. Boyce, editor of the Los Angeles *Tribune*, on a charge of blackmail, but as Aguirre pointed out, he was only doing his job.[20] Some criticized him for the fact that some of the inmates at the county jail suffered from serious illnesses, including one opium addict and one Chinese man with a "loathsome disease" who was a "horrible sight to behold." But Aguirre insisted he could do nothing about the situation as long as the county hospital refused to accept diseased prisoners.[21] Regardless, overall opinion of his conduct in office was generally favorable, and as the next election neared, Aguirre announced his desire to be reelected. Unfortunately, a month before the election, he committed an untimely error in judgment, leaving himself open to criticism and giving county Democrats the opportunity to capitalize on his mistake.

Early in October 1890, Aguirre was contacted by Sheriff O.A. Bexley of Lee County, Texas, who had a warrant for the arrest of Nathan Willett on a charge of murder. Willett had lived in Norwalk, California, since 1872, and was considered by his community to be a family man and a law-abiding citizen. Nevertheless, Aguirre allowed Bexley to make the arrest and to speedily remove Willett from Aguirre's jurisdiction, but details later emerged which cast grave doubt on the validity of the charges. Outraged at what they believed to

Sheriff Aguirre, who never carried a gun, and a mere dozen deputies served some 4000 square miles of territory including the city of Los Angeles, shown here in 1889. (Note early street light above unpaved intersection.)
Bancroft Library

be underhanded and unfair treatment of Willett, Norwalk residents held a mass meeting to protest Aguirre's role in this apparent injustice. The Democrat-supported *Los Angeles Herald* had a field day denouncing Aguirre's action. "A sheriff who would do this is not fit for the place, and is a menace to the liberty of every citizen, for any man may be accused of crime," declared a *Herald* editorial. Another editorial argued, "Sheriff Aguirre has made the mistake of his life in the way he carried out this arrest . . . No man is safe while Aguirre is sheriff." Criticism became so intense that Aguirre felt compelled to take the unusual step of writing a letter to the *Herald* justifying his actions.[22]

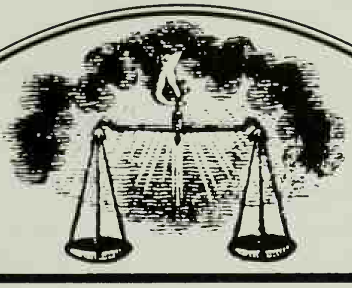
Sensing a chance for victory in a hotly partisan election, the Democrats kept up the pressure throughout October by questioning Aguirre's ability. Aguirre was criticized among other things for failing to apprehend several outlaws, for letting Renault's house burn down, for the Willett affair, and even for sloppy record-keeping. "In spite of the handsome Republican majority there is in this county, Aguirre will go into retirement at the end of this year," predicted the *Herald*.[23]

Both the *Times* and the *Express* earnestly defended their candidate for sheriff, and a Grand Jury report released in October found that Aguirre had conducted the affairs of his office in a proper manner.[24] Aguirre campaigned as best he could, but it was an uphill struggle against the Democratic offensive. In the *Herald*'s editorial endorsement of Ed. D. Gibson as Democratic candidate for sheriff, the paper stated, "We may be perfectly sure that in his administration of the office, no Willett episodes will occur."[25]

On election day, November 5, Democrats and Republicans alike did their best to persuade voters to support their candidates. Money was openly given on both sides to purchase votes, but as the day went on it became apparent that even this incentive could not save the Aguirre candidacy. Although most Republican candidates were elected, Aguirre met defeat at the polls.[26]

Aguirre did not take his defeat with bitterness. At the time the sheriff's office was a partisan one, and Democrats and Republicans went after each other tooth and nail in seeking county positions. It was not uncommon, therefore, for the sheriff's office to be filled by one person after another. When the reform-minded Progressives captured California in 1910, one of the movement's changes was to render county offices, such as sheriff, nonpartisan. As a result there have been but four Los Angeles County sheriffs in the past sixty-three years. Although Aguirre never ran for sheriff again, he continued his law enforcement career, serving as a deputy for many years under subsequent sheriffs.[27]

Nine years after Aguirre lost the election, his continued support of the Republican party was rewarded when newly



Aguirre's continued support of the Republican party was rewarded when newly elected Governor Henry T. Gage offered him a choice political plum, the office of warden of San Quentin Prison.

elected Governor Henry T. Gage offered him a choice political plum, the office of warden of San Quentin State Prison. Gage, a native New Yorker who had arrived in Los Angeles at age twenty-two and became a successful lawyer for the Southern Pacific Railroad, is known as one of the governors of the period who owed his office to Southern Pacific railroad support. He married into a Californio family, and while living in Los Angeles had the opportunity to witness Aguirre's achievements. With more than a dozen years of law enforcement experience, no one questioned Aguirre's qualification for the job.[28]

Aguirre's reputation as warden stands in marked contrast to the image of the young deputy who rescued women and children from the Los Angeles River. His defenders point out that as warden Aguirre stopped the smuggling of narcotics into the prison, permitted the playing of games such as baseball and handball, and provided shower baths. He also modernized the jute mill, introducing electrical machinery for the production of jute bags which were used as grain sacks by farmers. Indeed his popularity among inmates was attested to by the fact that they presented him with a teakwood chair carved from the salon staircase of the *Rio de Janeiro*, shipwrecked off San Francisco Bay in 1901. The convicts made a cribbage board out of the staircase scraps, which was also given to Aguirre.[29]

There is, however, another less flattering view of Aguirre's term as warden. One history of San Quentin prison, for instance, describes Aguirre as "the most evil looking man who has ever served as warden of San Quentin . . . a swarthy man with a highwayman's mustache and only one good eye."[30]

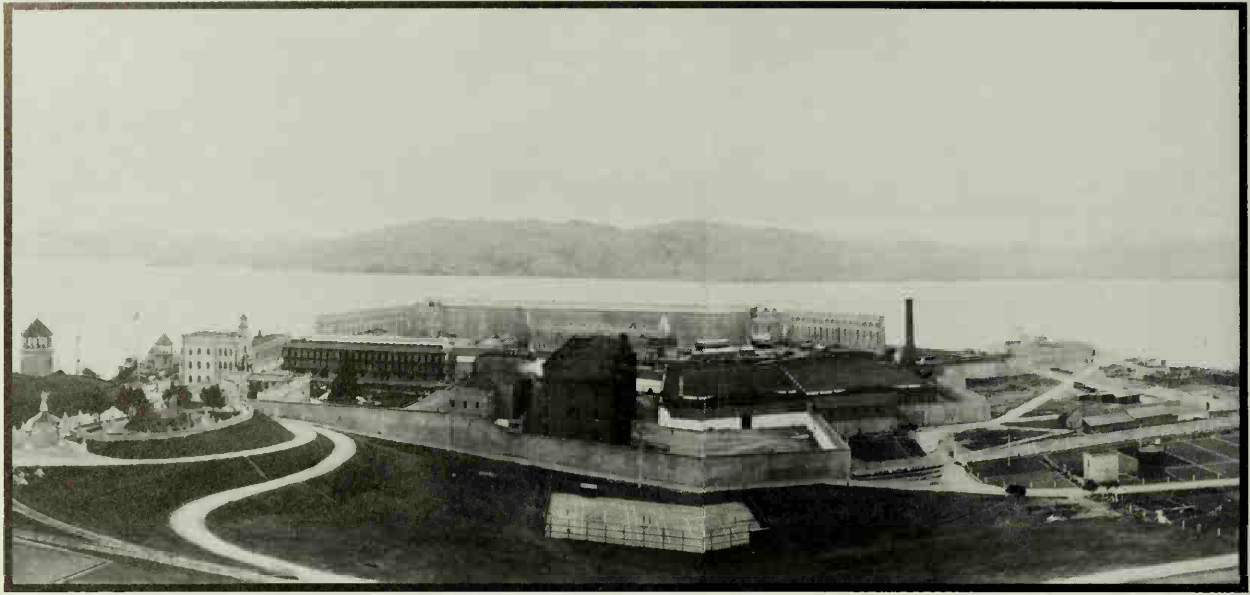
Ed Morrell, a convict sentenced to life imprisonment for robbery and a prior felony, had an unfavorable first impression of the new warden. One look at Aguirre, he wrote in 1924, and "I gave him his name instantly, the 'Pirate.' It stuck to him to the end of his bloody career at that prison. All in all he was the most ill-appearing man we ever had in San Quentin."[31]

To understand the contrast in images between Aguirre as sheriff and as warden, and the disparity between views regarding his San Quentin years, it is important to understand the conditions in San Quentin prison when Aguirre assumed the warden's duties on July 1, 1899.

Prison life can only be described as grim. The 1,200 inmates serving time in San Quentin for crimes ranging from burglary to murder were severely restricted in how they could occupy their time. Labor unions and manufacturers had successfully lobbied against the manufacture of convict-made furniture, stoves, shoes, and other manufactured items, and the search for an alternative way to have convicts generate income for the prisons without competing against private enterprise presented a continuing problem.[32] The state expressed a general reluctance to provide adequate funding to prisons, with the consequence that guards were poorly paid, ill-trained, and often cruel. Punishments included extended periods of solitary confinement and use of the strait jacket as a restraining device.

Upon taking office, Aguirre immediately made some overdue improvements. He had two bath houses constructed for the prisoners, replaced a dilapidated guard post, and attempted to improve housing facilities for guards and their families. Aguirre also initiated athletic programs and contests, and for the first time in the prison's history he set up a program to see to the inmates' dental needs. Aware that a new century was about to begin, Aguirre called attention to the obsolete coal-oil lamps in the prison and the potential that existed to improve the prison's lighting system with electricity.[33]

Aguirre noted that while discipline seemed good, too many prisoners had access to opium and morphine. Responding to this problem, he called in the entire prison staff and announced: "Gentlemen, that dope doesn't fly in here and it doesn't crawl in; the prisoners



When Aguirre assumed the wardenship of San Quentin in 1899, the grim, expanding facility housed more than 1200 inmates. Garden plots outside the walls (at right) probably supplemented the meals of the prison guards.
Bancroft Library

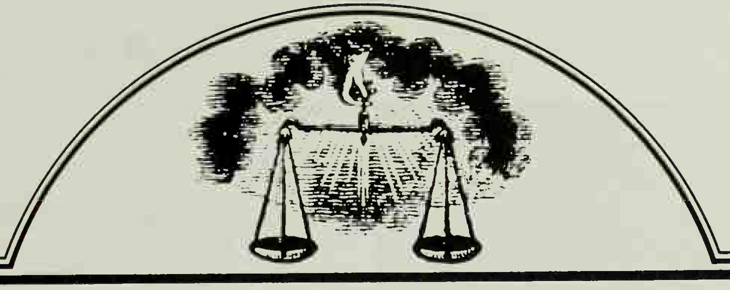
can't go outside to get it. You draw your own conclusions." Dope smuggling thus came to an abrupt end during Aguirre's tenure as warden. In appreciation of Aguirre's efforts, a committee of prisoners presented the warden with a certificate thanking him for his work in stopping the dope traffic and for his contributions to the overall health and welfare of the inmates. The committee claimed to represent more than 1,300 San Quentin prisoners. Even a convict who had "no use" for Aguirre conceded that the warden had succeeded where others had failed. "He's killed a few guys doin' it," noted the convict, "but there was no other way."[34]

Unfortunately for the new warden, Aguirre soon found that prison walls could not keep out the politicking that plagued state government. Early in 1902 a reform group, the Republican Primary League of San Francisco, was formed under the leadership of Michael DeYoung and John D. Spreckels. Spreckels and W.S. Leake, publishers of the *San Francisco Call*, accused Governor Gage of corrupt practices in office, including receiving convict-made furniture and household items from San Quentin. The *Call* prominently displayed these accusations with banner headlines and oversize type. Gage responded by suing the *Call* for libel.[35]

In Los Angeles, Republicans professed shock at the linking of Aguirre's name to the accusations of Gage's alleged corruption. The *Los Angeles Times* had no love for Gage, opposing his renomination as governor, but the charges involving Aguirre and the convict furniture seemed unbelievable. Noted the *Times*, Aguirre "sprung from this community and is thoroughly well known by thousands of people. He never had, here in his home city, this reputation of being dishonest, and the *Times* is not yet prepared to believe that the *Call*'s charges against him personally can be true." The *Times* considered the possibility that a "ring" had been active in the prison without Aguirre's knowledge, "but that he consciously participated in the alleged peculations, we do not as yet feel warranted in believing."[36]

The *Call*, on the other hand, exhibited no such hesitation. Its accusations that a 200-pound lounge chair, a box of glassware, a bike stand, a table, bird cages, and assorted crates and boxes had been sent from the prison to the Gage family "and their friends" was an alarming indictment of a public official's conduct. Even as preparations were being made for the libel trial, Aguirre transferred some prison guards and removed others, replacing them with (as the *Call* sarcastically observed) "trusted" employees.[37]

On August 18, 1902, while the statewide Republican party met to decide on its slate of nominees for the November election, Gage's libel suit came to trial. Aguirre quickly found his own name dragged into the mud. Some of his actions which might have seemed appropriate at the time they were taken now appeared suspicious. For instance, Aguirre had put his brother, Joseph Aguirre, on the state payroll as deputy warden, along with one of the Wolfskill cousins and some other Los Angeles friends. Guards who had been unhappy with Aguirre's policies took their revenge, testifying to his poor administrative leadership. Aguirre was accused of slipshod accounting procedures, and it was



Defense attorneys easily established that San Quentin convicts had made a dozen dining room chairs, two easy chairs, a table, a couch, three or four chiffoniers, and other articles for Governor Gage and his relatives.

revealed that his sister-in-law had gone on shopping sprees with Mrs. Gage and charged household purchases to prison accounts.[38]

The most damaging testimony against Aguirre (remembering that the trial involved Gage accusing Spreckels and Leake of libel) concerned the furniture. Defense attorneys easily established that San Quentin convicts had made for Gage and his relatives, at the very least, "a dozen dining room chairs, two easy chairs, a table, a couch, three or four chiffoniers, and other articles." Aguirre claimed he himself had paid for the furniture items, but he was forced to admit payment had been made after the *Call* had made its initial charges and that the sums were ridiculously small. The prison carpentry shop books were summoned, and the head carpenter stated he did not know where all the furniture had gone. The list of items grew to include desks and bedsteads, including one mahogany bedstead with the initial "G" carved on it. The hardware used in the making of the furniture—60 sets of casters, 276 locks, 220 drawer pulls, etc.—had been purchased with state money. Gage's antagonists repeatedly pointed out that the furniture had been made in contravention of state restrictions on prison-manufactured goods.[39]

By the fifth day of the trial even Aguirre's supporters had become disillusioned. The *Times* sarcastically noted that Joseph Aguirre, who seemed "a most difficult and forgetful witness," admitted that Gage's family had often visited Warden Aguirre's home and pantry for lengthy periods of time, in effect living free at state expense. All of this proved costly to Gage, who at the very moment of the trial was fighting for his political life.

The contest ended on August 27. On that day the Republican party nominated Dr. George C. Pardee for governor. The libel trial, after a brief recess, continued for a short while but it was finally dismissed.[40]

Seriously injured by the accusations made at the trial, Aguirre managed to hold onto his position for the duration of the term. He knew, however, that his chances for reappointment were slight, even if the new governor was a Republican. Shortly before his term ended, Aguirre had a revenge of sorts. Aware that he had not had much support from his staff, Aguirre fired nine of them, including some with many years' service.[41]

While the furniture scandal had been an unfortunate episode, a second problem also marred Aguirre's term as warden. The California Prison Commission, a benevolent organization aiding ex-convicts, accused Aguirre of excessive cruelty, claiming he kept prisoners in strait jackets for periods in excess of twenty-four hours, crippling some convicts permanently in the process.

Though he was not the first warden to use the strait jacket as a form of punishment, Aguirre believed it an effective device not only to punish wrongdoing but to ferret out information. In fact he used it so extensively that new arrivals to the prison mistakenly thought Aguirre himself had invented the restraint.[42] The State Board of Prison Directors eventually cautioned Aguirre not to cripple anyone else through use of the strait jacket and ordered him to restrict its use to no longer than six hours at a time.[43]

A few convicts emerged from prison determined to awaken public concern for the need for prison reform. One inmate, Donald Lowrie, exposed not only Aguirre's use of the strait jacket, but also his practice of cutting rations and chaining prisoners to walls to extort information. Ed Morrell, another inmate, described his life under Aguirre and the warden's determination to locate hidden guns, on one occasion by placing him in a strait jacket. Morrell insisted the weapons were nonexistent. He called this device "the one-eyed Pirate's 'Overcoat,' " an "instrument of Hell" that "outrivaled even the horrors depicted by Poe in the 'Pit and the Pendulum.' " Morrell related how after only fifteen minutes in the jacket, pain shot through

Aguirre's name was linked to Governor Gage's when it was alleged that prison-made furniture like this bedstead found its way into the homes of Gage's family and friends.
Courtesy Mary Haggland, Riverside

his arms from his fingers up to his shoulders, and how he felt like he was being choked to death. When he screamed, guards gagged him. He spent four days and fifteen hours in the strait jacket the first time Aguirre ordered it, and he wore it several times afterward. (In 1915 Jack London used the experiences of Ed Morrell as the framework for his novel *The Star Rover*, in which he depicted vicious Warden Atherton, a thinly disguised Aguirre, cruelly punishing prisoners in a vain search for the dynamite he believed had been smuggled into the prison.)[44]

In all fairness Aguirre was probably no worse than other wardens of the era, and in some ways he was certainly better. He saw his job as one which required him to be fair but firm with hardened criminals. The political brush which tarred him as warden was embarrassing to him. One biographer noted that at the end of his term, "Aguirre gladly turned his steps southward again."[45]

Before Aguirre left San Quentin, however, the inmates presented him with a token of their appreciation—a wooden box inlaid with mother-of-pearl, resembling a book. The interior of the box was lined with emerald green velvet. Two items were inside the box: a photograph of Aguirre set into the inside of the cover and a note which stated:

To Warden M.G. Aguirre.
Dear Sir,

We the undersigned members of the San Quentin Dramatic Club and fellow prisoners, desirious [sic] *of expressing our gratitude for the many favors extended to us, and to show our appreciation of the uniform kindness and justice extended to the men in your charge, take this opportunity of presenting this small token as a slight recognition thereof.*

We know you will appreciate it far beyond its intrinsic value, as it was made from material purchased by ourselves and constructed during our leisure moments.

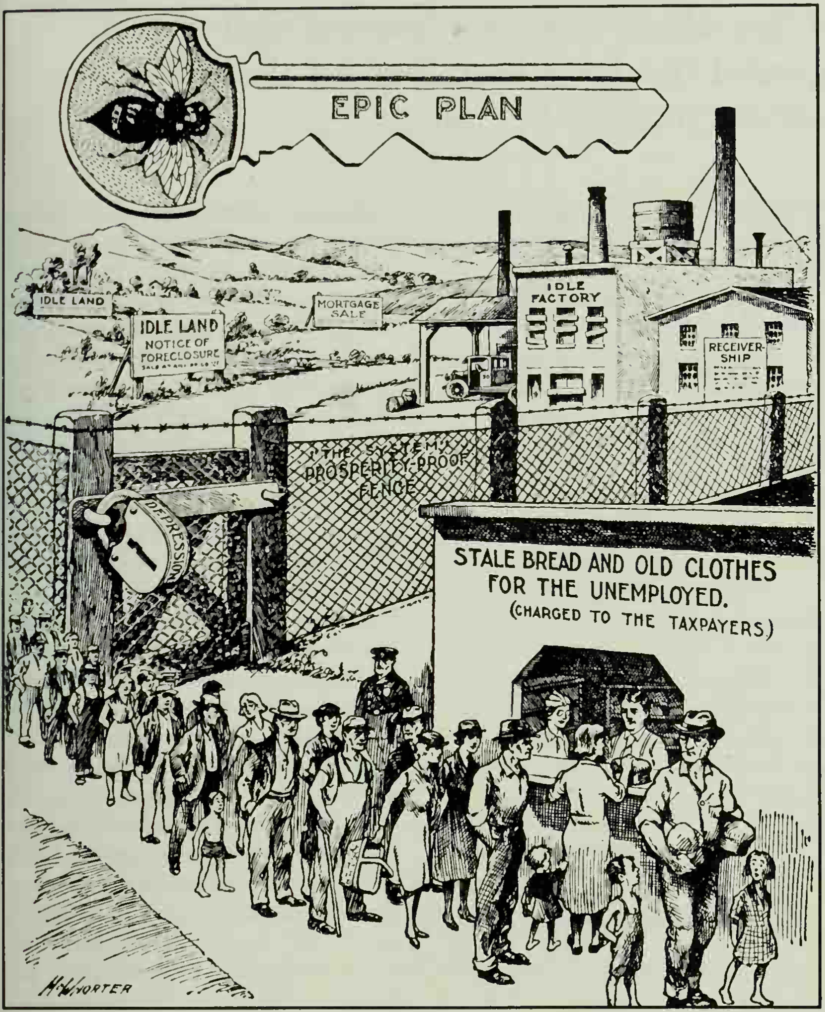
With the very best wishes for your future welfare and success we remain respectfully,
"The Boys"
San Quentin—July 4, 1902

Appended to the note were the signatures and numbers of more than 950 inmates in addition to members of the San Quentin Dramatic Club.[46]

After relinquishing his position, and following a brief visit to El Salvador where he supervised the construction of a penitentiary, Aguirre returned to Los Angeles where he spent the remainder of his career as a deputy sheriff and a court bailiff. At the end of his life, Aguirre was interviewed by a Los Angeles reporter, and at that time he recalled the simplicity of earlier times. "These automobiles and telephones and radios—what have they accomplished? These deputies go out. They telephone in every five minutes. When we went out no one even knew when we were coming back. These fellows get twenty feet off a highway and they're lost." Aguirre lamented the passing of mounted officers. "We didn't have flat tires, either," he noted. "We couldn't go 150 miles a day—but what have they accomplished with their autos [that we couldn't with horses]?"[47]

When Aguirre died on February 25, 1929, the eulogies recalled his deeds of valor and made little reference to the San Quentin years. His career had spanned a half-century of California history. Aguirre had served as sheriff of Los Angeles County in the region's last days as a frontier town, and he lived to see the growth of major metropolitan areas replete with airplanes and traffic jams. Although his term as warden proved controversial, in the overall span of his career he earned respect for his bravery and dedication to law enforcement. In both the successes and failures of his career, he remained very much his own man. The one-eyed, knife-toting Californio sheriff who braved the flood of 1886 is still remembered with admiration.[48] ☐

(See notes beginning on page 339.)


EPIC PLAN
IDLE LAND
IDLE LAND NOTICE OF FORECLOSURE
MORTGAGE SALE
IDLE FACTORY
RECEIVER-SHIP
THE SYSTEM'S PROSPERITY-PROOF FENCE
DEPRESSION
STALE BREAD AND OLD CLOTHES FOR THE UNEMPLOYED. (CHARGED TO THE TAXPAYERS)
McWHORTER

UPTON SINCLAIR'S *EPIC* CAMPAIGN

For campaign veterans, the 1934 gubernatorial race lives on

by Fay M. Blake and H. Morton Newman

At the beginning of the political campaign of 1934, it seemed likely that California would elect its first Democratic party governor in the twentieth century. Blame for the economic depression stifling the country had fallen heavily on the Republicans, including President Herbert Hoover who in 1932 lost not only his home state of California but his home county of Santa Clara to challenger Franklin Roosevelt.

In September 1933, complacent Democratic party candidates were shocked to learn that muckraking journalist Upton Sinclair—Socialist party candidate for Congress in 1920, for U.S. Senate in 1922, and for governor in 1926 and 1930—would run for governor as a Democrat.

Sinclair (1878–1968) had first made his name in 1906 when he published The Jungle, *a graphic revelation of the intolerable conditions of immigrants working in the Chicago meatpacking industry. He continued writing, and with his sizeable royalties formed a utopian cooperative, the Helicon Home Colony, at Englewood, New Jersey. In 1915, he moved to Pasadena.*

By the time of the 1934 campaign, Sinclair had written some fifty books and tracts criticizing the shortcomings of capitalism. His targets ranged from the coal industry and newspapers to higher education and organized religion.

It came as no surprise, then, when Sinclair initiated his campaign for governor by writing a utopian novel, I, Governor of California, and How I Ended Poverty: A True Story of the Future *(1933). The lively fictional account of California from 1933 to 1938 told how Sinclair intended to put the state's unemployed to work in state-aided cooperative enterprises. End Pov-*

Sinclair's EPIC Plan—symbolized by the "I Produce, I Defend" bee logo—promised to open up idled farms and factories. Cartoon by McWhorter, *EPIC News*, June 4, 1934

[Sinclair's tennis partner] said he first became suspicious of Socialism when he learned that Sinclair regarded the back baselines [of the tennis court] as flexible.

erty In California, or EPIC, became Sinclair's campaign promise.

In August 1934 Sinclair defeated seven other candidates to win the Democratic nomination, receiving the highest vote a Democratic candidate for governor had ever received in a California primary. More than two-thirds of his vote came from Southern California, over half from Los Angeles where economic dislocations were particularly severe.

In the Republican primary, the conservative governor Frank Merriam outdistanced his three relatively progressive opponents. This frightened moderate Republicans. They mounted an intense, multi-pronged battle to defeat Sinclair which, some historians assert, ushered in the modern era of campaigning. (The young duo of Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter managed the Republican's anti-Sinclair offensive.)

Merriam, finally heeding his party advisors, made a strong bid to pick up wavering Democratic votes by declaring himself in sympathy with President Roosevelt's policies. Merriam even gained the support of another popular critic, Dr. Francis E. Townsend, whose Old Age Revolving Pensions plan Sinclair had criticized as "a mere money scheme."

In November 1934, Merriam won the election with almost fifty percent of the vote to Sinclair's thirty-seven percent. Raymond L. Haight, a Los Angeles Republican lawyer who had captured the nominations of the Commonwealth and Progressive parties, pulled in another thirteen percent. Sinclair's popular groundswell had been quashed.

Fay M. Blake has an M.S. in Library Science from the University of Southern California and a Ph.D. in literature from UCLA. Her dissertation, *The Strike in the American Novel*, was published by Scarecrow Press in 1972. From 1971 to 1983 she taught at the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

H. Morton Newman participated in the successful recall of Los Angeles Mayor Frank Shaw and the election of Mayor Fletcher Bowron in 1938. Newman's political experiences include years as a Communist Party organizer in California and Oregon and, more recently, activity in a variety of peace and environmental organizations. He was recently convenor of the Berkeley Gray Panthers, a national organization of seniors.

Newman and Blake's *Verbis Non Factis*, a reference book on political campaign slogans, was published in 1984 by Scarecrow Press.

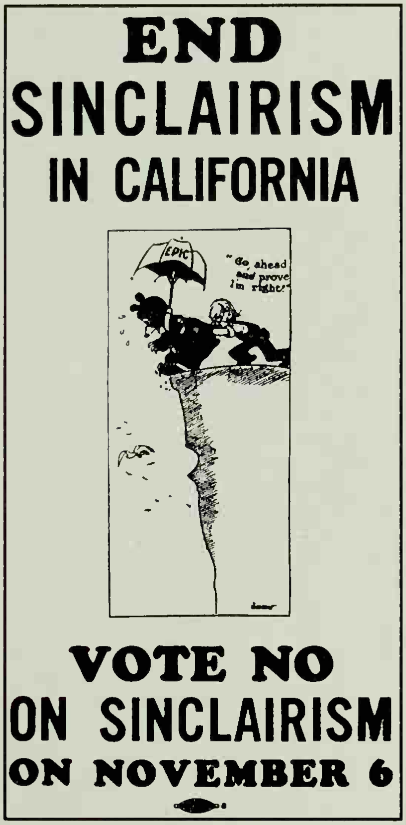
Fifty years after Sinclair's defeat, Mort Newman and Fay Blake invited several dozen participants in the campaign for or against Sinclair to write or talk with them about how it influenced their political or philosophical development. Their contacts included a former University of California chancellor, a YMCA official, a Communist party organizer, a union leader, and a president of a youth religious organization. All the respondents remembered the campaign as seminal in their personal development, some reasons for which Newman and Blake explored in the account below. —*Editor*

A half-century ago Upton Sinclair, the author of *The Jungle* and other muckraking novels, ran for governor of California. His campaign changed California politics forever.

Recent interviews with thirty people who participated in the 1934 gubernatorial campaign reveal that it dramatically affected their lives then and later. Philip Gerrard, for example, a retired executive of a large California food store chain, reflects that although he voted for Sinclair, he has regretted it ever since. Sinclair's unorthodox theories and tactics, he maintains, have permanently colored the perception of California's electoral politics as eccentric and "screwball." On the other hand, Frank Wilkinson, executive director emeritus of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, remembers that in 1934 he vigorously opposed Sinclair as "an atheist in the eyes of my family, and we fully supported the *Los Angeles Times*' daily front page boxes against Sinclair's atheist writings." Lawrence Clark Powell, Emeritus Professor at the University of Tucson, voted for Sinclair but remembers more vividly chasing balls for his father and Sinclair at the Live Oaks Tennis Club in South Pasadena. A lifelong Republican, the elder Powell "said he first became suspicious of Socialism when he learned that Upton Sinclair regarded the back baseline as flexible!" Many of the interviewees would agree with the summation made by California Supreme Court Justice Stanley Mosk that the 1934 election and Sinclair's End Poverty in California or EPIC campaign was "the acorn from which evolved the tree of whatever liberalism we have in California."

Sinclair's writings as novelist, essayist, and journalist were exceedingly widely known by 1934. Hugh DeLacy, former congressman from Washington, remembers with pleasure reading Sinclair's *The Brass Check* as a boy of twelve. “It changed my whole life,” he says now. LaRue McCormick, a community activist and organizer in Los Angeles, ascribes her enthusiastic entry into the local consumers' cooperative at least in part to her youthful readings of Sinclair's works and Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. Ted Molter, interviewed on his ninety-fourth birthday in Santa Monica, came to the Sinclair movement after a colorful life as a nurse at Bellevue Hospital, a soldier in the Army Medical Corps with General Pershing in Mexico in 1916, in France from 1917 to 1918, and on duty in Boston during the 1919 police strike. He, too, had read Sinclair's books. Melba Windoffer, active in Fresno during the EPIC campaign, remembers: “In those days we all read a lot. We used the public library, because we couldn't afford to buy books, but we read everything we could get our hands on.”

In 1933, Sinclair, fifty-five years old and an ardent Socialist for thirty years, put some of his theories to the test. He changed his voter's registration from Socialist party to Democratic party and declared himself a candidate for governor in the August 1934 primaries. The late Jerry Voorhis, former congressman from Southern California, met Sinclair in 1933 at the home of John Packard, an American Civil Liberties Union attorney, when Sinclair told the group gathered there that he would run. Mort Newman, an eighteen-year-old-member of St. Mark's Methodist church in Los Angeles and a veteran of a youth delegation which investigated a bitter agricultural strike in the Imperial Valley, was invited in the autumn of 1933 to a meeting where Sinclair announced his intention to run the following year. Edward Mosk, Beverly Hills attorney and active in the Democratic party, was a freshman at UCLA and living in his parents' home in Pasadena where he discovered an announcement of the premier showing of Sergei Eisenstein's film *Que Viva Mexico!* at Bard's Colorado Theater. Mosk attended the premiere of the epic film which Sinclair had financed, and after it was shown, Sinclair announced his bid for the governorship. “Since I had read everything that Sinclair had ever written, I was thrilled at being present to hear that announcement.”


END
SINCLAIRISM
IN CALIFORNIA

EPIC
“Go ahead and prove I'm right”

VOTE NO
ON SINCLAIRISM
ON NOVEMBER 6

Leaflet issued by California League Against Sinclairism, one of many ad hoc *opposition groups.*
CHS, San Francisco

Although most of the interviewees were teenagers or young college students in 1934, they still vividly recall what California was like in that year—poverty, hunger, foreclosures, evictions and, like an insistent drumbeat, unemployment were commonplace. The United States Census for 1930 had reported more than three million unemployed, about twenty percent between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. LaRue McCormick remembers her neighborhood's Hooverville where homeless families lived in packing crates or tents. James Burford, former CIO staff member and print shop owner, describes going to lunch at Los Angeles' Ninth and Hill streets where he saw the body of a local businessman hurtle down to the sidewalk, one of the many bankruptcy suicides. On another day he watched a straggling hunger march near Olvera Street which the police attacked with clubs.

In the mid-thirties, George Kauffman, now a retired salesman, and Mort Newman were teenagers on the lookout for part-time jobs. Newman worked for twenty-five cents an hour in a print shop, on call every day but paid only for hours he worked. Kauffman found a job as a bus boy at a Pig 'n Whistle restaurant for a few hours a week. Ray Rees, former Bakersfield city councilman and print shop owner, remembers holding odd jobs in print shops and trying to sell advertising to owners of small businesses. “Hungry, frightened, discouraged people,” he calls them. Kay Burton, later a union organizer, was the only one in her family of eight who had even the semblance of a job; she was an underpaid social worker in the state relief office in Belvedere, a section of East Los Angeles. Jerry Voorhis had established and continued to work in a school for homeless boys in San Dimas.

In the face of the Depression's fearful effects, Sinclair's campaign came as a refreshingly naive and exciting event. "Production for use," he proclaimed. "Pensions to the Elderly." "Return foreclosed farms and homes to those who had owned them!" Perhaps even more novel than his slogans were his campaign practices. No big money contributions from corporations or individuals. In fact, no contributions over a dollar. Every piece of campaign literature—Sinclair's pamphlet, "I, Governor of California," leaflets, and the weekly newspaper, *EPIC News*, edited by Reuben Borough and eventually issued in million-copy editions—were paid for, sold, and distributed by volunteers at meetings, house-parties, churches, and door-to-door visits.

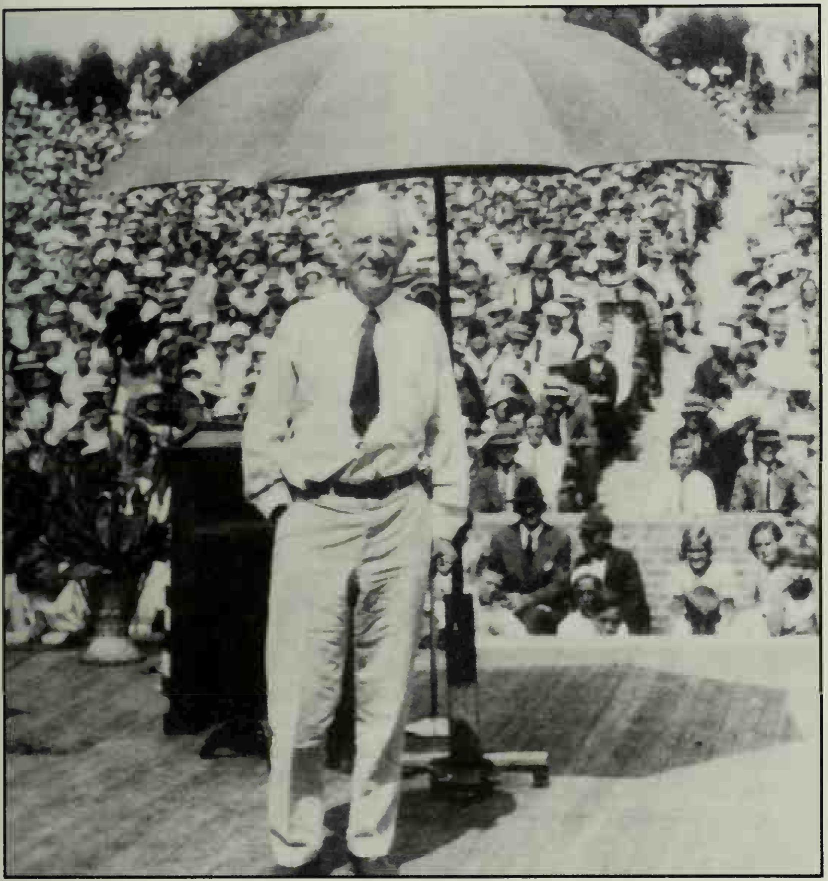
In 1934 Sinclair's campaign emerged as the most important among various nascent protest movements. Some had long histories of social, economic or political action like the Socialist party and various church social action youth groups. But others surfaced in response to the exigencies of the Depression. Elderly people, desperate without pensions, supported the Ham and Eggs movement, the Townsend Plan, and a proposed federal social security. The jobless formed Unemployed Councils, often organized with the active support of the Communist party. The Utopian Society, incorporating some secret rites and with somewhat vague aims, nevertheless attracted thousands to its meetings and public discussions. Dean McHenry, chancellor emeritus of the University of California at Santa Cruz, and his fiancee joined the Utopian Society in the summer of 1934 when he was a twenty-three-year-old graduate student in political science at the University of California at Berkeley; so did teenagers Ray Rees and Mort Newman. The group's discussions made them receptive to Sinclair's program.

Reformer Upton Sinclair, sketched wearing pince-nez during his gubernatorial campaign by Peter Van Valkenburgh. Bancroft Library

College students and young people recently out of school also looked for change. Claudia Williams, a student at UCLA, became active in the Young Women's Christian Association on campus and eventually went on to become a stalwart of the Young Democrats, as did Stanley Mosk and Jim Burford after 1934. Richard Criley returned to UC Berkeley in 1934 as a graduate student in history where he was elected executive secretary of the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

Another organized segment of great importance to EPIC was the thriving cooperative movement. Jo Rhodehamel describes the activities

Sinclair's campaign came as a refreshingly naive and exciting event. "Production for use." "Pensions to the elderly." "Return foreclosed farms and homes to those who had owned them!"



The tireless Sinclair addressed audiences around the state, including this gathering in Inglewood on July 1, about his measures to end the nation's economic stalemate.
Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana

of her late brother-in-law, Carl. A musician who had played with the Canadian Kilties Band before World War I, he became head of the Unemployed Exchange Association (UXA) in Oakland, a cooperative with more than 1,200 members. Beginning with a small group of women operating a handloom in Berkeley, the UXA eventually involved thousands of unemployed workers who hauled crops, wood, and fruit from farmers who were unable to sell their products, in exchange for all kinds of services. Walter Paine, now seventy-nine and a long-time Socialist, remembers flying with a friend who had a pilot's license from field to field up and down the state negotiating barter exchanges with small farmers.

These burgeoning groups produced the loose coalition of people who supported Sinclair's campaign. The UXA, for example, never formally endorsed Sinclair, but thousands of coop members staunchly supported EPIC. LaRue McCormick tells of an informal coop organized in her own home. Buying milk at a quarter a gallon, day-old bread at five cents a loaf, macaroni ends at two cents a pound, and vegetables from a Japanese truck gardener at a penny a bunch, the coop provided inexpensive food in return for chores and services to the suppliers. With scrap paper obtained free from a paper mill and printed on a mimeograph machine featuring material contributed by writers and artists, the coop turned out leaflets in support of EPIC. McCormick also describes the work of the Relief Workers' Protective Union, a community group which responded to emergency calls when unemployed families were evicted or had utilities turned off. The Protective Union moved furniture back into homes and negotiated with landlords and utility companies for extension or forgiveness of debts. Families in trouble were strongly attracted to Sinclair's campaign with its cooperative proposals.

After Sinclair's announcement of his candidacy, hundreds of EPIC clubs sprang up around the state. Ted Molter worked in the Westlake Club in Los Angeles. Melba Windoffer, at home with two small children, addressed "endless envelopes and postcards" and occasionally attended outdoor meetings of a Fresno EPIC club. Newman aided the EPIC cause by substituting a Sinclair windshield sticker for the Frank Merriam sticker his Republican boss had placed on the printshop delivery truck. "For his own good," Newman insists. "In the areas I delivered in, the residents wouldn't have appreciated the Merriam boost and might have done the truck some injury." Richard Criley joined the EPIC club on the Monterey Peninsula on the advice of his neighbor, writer Lincoln Steffens. Criley tried to do precinct work in his Model T Ford on the sparsely populated but mostly conservative peninsula, but says "he was not very productive."

The organization of the campaign at higher levels seems to have been mostly *ad hoc*. The most telling account of EPIC's helter-skelter approach is Frank Taylor's. Taylor had a job as a trader in a securities firm in Los Angeles. What he learned about banks, stocks and bonds, and the economy on his job frightened him. "I was a Republican, a good Christian young man," he says, "and what I heard scared the hell out of me." Since he worked from 7 A.M. to 1 P.M., he ambled into Sinclair headquarters one afternoon to ask Dick Otto, Sinclair's campaign manager, the exact nature of EPIC's economic plan. Taylor discovered to his surprise that they had all been so busy helping the new EPIC clubs organize that no one had evolved a concrete plan. "You do it," Otto said, and Taylor became EPIC's Director of Research. Taylor set up an organization called Research Associates with a number of local faculty members as advisors and with the help of Frank O'Brien, who had been fired from his job as economic advisor to the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. (The Chamber took exception to O'Brien's advice to stop recruiting people to move to Los Angeles for ecological reasons.) Sinclair and Otto hammered out an organization of twelve directors, jokingly called The Twelve Apostles, assisted by a secretary who, it was later discovered, had been planted

OTHER HATS IN THE RING

Three parties in addition to the Democrats ran gubernatorial candidates in the 1934 campaign. Socialist candidate Milen Dempster, who recently was honored by the American Civil Liberties Union for his continuing activity in Marin County, received less than 3,000 votes. Dempster recalls that two months before the 1934 election, Norman Thomas, the national leader of the Socialist party, suggested that Dempster withdraw in favor of Sinclair. Although consumed by indecision, Dempster did not do so. "In retrospect," he says, "I should have withdrawn and supported Sinclair publicly. I didn't do the Socialists any good, although I didn't really do Upton Sinclair any harm."

Raymond Haight, a corporation lawyer with an awakening social conscience, ran as the Commonwealth party candidate and received 320,519 votes. Raymond Haight, Jr., who at age thirteen accompanied his father on speaking tours throughout the state, describes his father as a "conservative Christian Republican" in the 1920s. Deeply affected by the miseries he saw during the Depression, the elder Haight began to read widely and in 1932 voted for Socialist Norman Thomas for president. Haight, Jr., remembers a proffered $100,000 bribe from Republicans and the promise of some affluent clients if his father would drop out of the race and leave the field to Merriam. Haight refused, running his campaign on modest loans from friends, the last of which was paid back out of Haight's estate when he died in 1948. Haight met with Sinclair twice during the campaign to discuss the possibility of one dropping out in favor of the other, but nothing came of the discussions.

The Communist party ran Sam Darcy for governor in what turned out to be a shrill anti-EPIC campaign. Although the Communist party supported social legislation and in many cases led the efforts for pensions, relief, unemployment insurance, and job programs, it maintained that these were only temporary patches on a system gone rotten and that Sinclair was misleading his supporters by working within the Democratic party. At the community level, many people like Mickey Lima, who was twenty-six and had just joined the Communist party, thought Sinclair's EPIC program utopian but worked for him. The upper echelons of the Communist party, however, attacked Sinclair as a "Socialist fascist." Archie Brown, Communist candidate for state treasurer in 1934, admits the tone of the campaign was intemperate but remains convinced that Sinclair's campaign was less militant and less politically advanced than it should have been. Sinclair, he maintains, made the Communist party appear as the main enemy, and when Party bookstores were burned, leaders jailed, and offices wrecked, Sinclair blamed the Communists for having incited violence. Louise Todd Lambert, who joined the Communist party in 1930, marvels instead at the failure of the Communists to oppose Merriam.

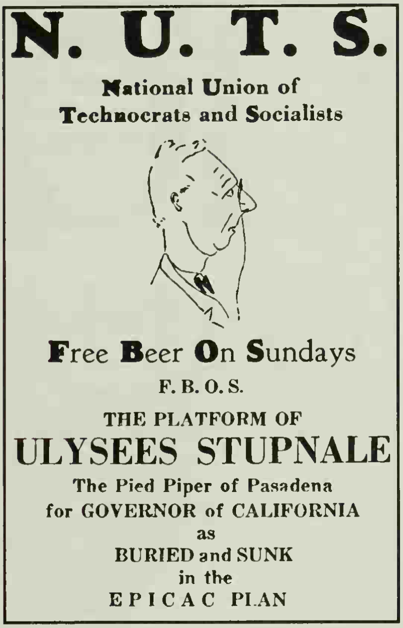
The Communist leadership strategy never worked. Rank-and-file members often worked and voted for Sinclair. Darcy won a little over 5,000 votes while other Communists on the ticket such as Anita Whitney received almost 60,000 votes. ☐

Sinclair, who was not prepared to become governor and only intended to wage an educational campaign, speculated about resigning if he were elected and turning the office of governor over to his campaign manager.

in their midst by the Republican party and who reported regularly to them. Taylor was appalled to learn that Sinclair, who was not prepared to become governor and only intended to wage an educational campaign, speculated about resigning if he were elected and turning the office of governor over to Dick Otto. Sinclair somewhat facetiously said, and repeated in a speech broadcast over KPFA in 1964, "I was afraid I was going to win. Had I, a big business friend in New York promised to tell me how to run the State of California."

Ellis Patterson, former congressman and lieutenant governor, gives another instance of Sinclair's less than encyclopedic grasp of economic matters. In a speech in Monterey before an audience of about 500, Sinclair gave a rousing talk, but when members of the audience asked a few technical questions, Sinclair admitted frankly that he did not know the answers. "Of course," Patterson laughs, "neither did the other speaker, Republican candidate Merriam."

Patterson's own campaign was unorthodox and unprecedented. A Republican assemblyman since 1928, he lost the Republican nomination in 1934. Already convinced that Sinclair "stood for the decent things," Patterson had 100,000 pencils imprinted with "Write in Ellis Patterson" and tossed them into passing cars, distributing them house to house in San Luis Obispo and Monterey counties and at street corners and factory gates. In November Patterson, whose name did not appear on the ballot, was elected by a write-in vote to join others in Sacramento elected on the EPIC slate.



N. U. T. S.

National Union of
Technocrats and Socialists

Free Beer On Sundays
F. B. O. S.
THE PLATFORM OF
ULYSEES STUPNALE
The Pied Piper of Pasadena
for GOVERNOR of CALIFORNIA
as
BURIED and SUNK
in the
EPICAC PLAN

Sinclair's opponents produced a plethora of campaign literature portraying Sinclair as a fool, fiend, and dupe.

In the primary election in August 1934, Sinclair accomplished a miracle. Running against George Creel, the machine Democrat, and six more would-be candidates, Sinclair garnered close to a half-million votes, more than all seven of his Democratic opponents' votes combined. No longer a freakish phenomenon, his campaign scared the Republicans, and in support of their candidate, Frank Merriam, they put together a bagful of "dirty tricks" unsurpassed until Watergate and the Plumbers of 1972. Bill Belton of Santa Cruz tells the story of Otis Lynn, the minister of a Presbyterian church in Walnut Creek, who committed the sin of renting the church hall to the Democratic party so that Upton Sinclair could be invited to speak. His congregation leaders cancelled the invitation, claiming the church was never to be used for political meetings, although they used the hall for a Republican rally in Lynn's absence and handed out Republican literature in church. Pastor Lynn's contract was not renewed.

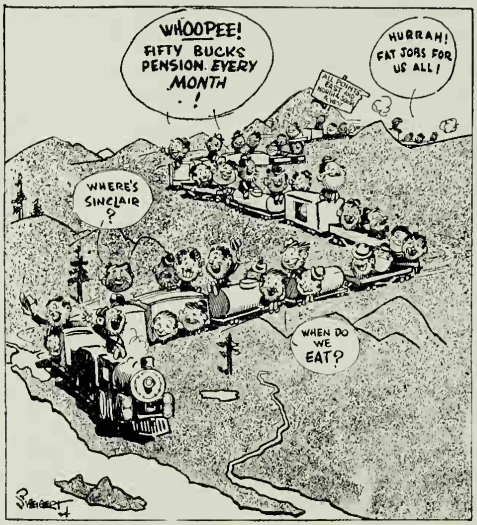
Ray Rees remembers a letter from Merriam's headquarters to the publishers of the weekly *Monterey Park Progress* where Rees was sporadically employed. "Defeating Upton Sinclair is so important to the future of our State," the message proclaimed, that the *Progress* should "donate to the cause" of Merriam's election a column-inch of campaign advertising for each paid column-inch.

George Kauffman, along with the entire work force at the Pig 'n Whistle restaurant, was required, on company time, to listen to a well-dressed man who informed the assembled employees that if Sinclair were elected, the Pig 'n Whistle chain of restaurants would be shut down. Albert ("Mickey") Lima, who worked in a Humboldt County lumber mill, recalls that the owner of the mill called a press conference in San Francisco at which he threatened to close down the company's mills if Sinclair were elected. The man also paid for billboards in the state which similarly announced his intentions. In the mill large posters showed Uncle Sam pointing a finger and sternly asking, "Is Your Job Safe?"

Many businesses taxed themselves heavily for a war chest to defeat Sinclair. Some companies exacted donations from their employees. This tactic was especially notorious in the Hollywood movie studios where a day's pay for the Merriam campaign became compul-

UPTON SINCLAIR Says: "If I am elected about half the unemployed in the whole country will climb aboard freight trains and head for California."

CALIFORNIA, HERE WE COME!


WHOOPEE! FIFTY BUCKS PENSION. EVERY MONTH . !
HURRAH! FAT JOBS FOR US ALL!
ALL POINTS EAST AND NORTH & SOUTH & WEST
WHERE'S SINCLAIR ?
WHEN DO WE EAT?

DO YOU WANT THIS HORDE OF OUTSIDERS TO MOVE IN ON YOUR JOB?

Sinclair's opponents suggested that the EPIC Plan would be an open invitation to the nation's unemployed who would "tramp" to California and take jobs belonging to Californians. Bancroft Library

sory. The studios managed to raise a campaign fund of a half-million dollars, and the studio heads also threatened to move the studios, lock, stock, and chaps, to Florida. One of the studios' more effective efforts was the production of several shorts to be shown as part of regular newsreels. David Platt of Long Beach, New York, describes one produced by MGM: "The film zeroes in on a dirty old man with a heavy foreign accent, 'Russian whiskers' and a menacing look in his eye—the full '30s Hollywood caricature of a radical. He is telling an 'inquiring reporter' that he is 'voting for Seenclair . . . because if his system worked so well in Russia, vy wouldn't it work here?' This was contrasted with a shot of a demure elderly woman rocking on her front porch who explains she is voting for Governor Merriam, the Republican incumbent, 'Because I want to have my little home. It's all I have left in the world.' " After the elections Irving Thalberg admitted he had produced the shorts.

Several people active in the Sinclair campaign believe that outright fraud was widespread in the counting of Sinclair's final vote. Frank Taylor collected testimony from several voters whose votes for Sinclair had not been recorded and sent the evidence to Senator George Norris in Washington, but Norris was never able to get his committee to take action.

On November 6, 1934, the tricks and the campaign contributions worked. Incumbent governor Merriam won the governorship with 1,138,620 while Sinclair trailed with 879,537 votes.

Sinclair never again ran for office. But the enthusiasm engendered by his EPIC campaign remains vivid. Jerry Voorhis, looking back with more than a touch of sadness, recalled before his death, "In 1934 we had hopes. We were down in the dumps, but people were helping each other. . . . There weren't any nuclear weapons in 1934. My generation is going to escape, [but] we're going to kill off our children and grandchildren. We should have been willing to take a risk for peace." ☐

The authors extend their grateful thanks to Claudia Williams and Elke Boettcher for their help in taping some of the interviews. They also thank the following interviewees, mostly EPIC participants, for their cooperation in the taped interviews, correspondence and telephone conversations on which this article is based: Archie Brown, James Burford, Kay Burton, Milton Chernin, Richard Criley, Hugh DeLacy, Philip Gerrard, Raymond Haight, Jr., Lincoln Haynes, Robert Holcomb, George Kauffman, Louise Todd Lambert, Albert Lima, LaRue McCormick, Dean McHenry, Ted Molter, Edward Mosk, Stanley Mosk, Walter Paine, Ellis Patterson, Lawrence Clark Powell, Raymond Rees, Jo Rhodehamel, Frank Taylor, Jerry Voorhis, Estolv Ward, Frank Wilkinson, Melba Windoffer.

NEW YORK DISCOVERS GOLD! IN CALIFORNIA

How the press fanned the flames of gold mania

by Barry L. Dutka

"We are on the brink of an Age of Gold," proclaimed one editorial. "The Eldorado of the Old Spaniards is discovered at last," trumpeted another. These exuberant comments appeared in different New York City newspapers in December 1848, corroborating previous rumors that gold had been discovered in California more than ten months earlier. The inconclusive reports which had appeared in the New York press the previous summer, however, had already catalyzed a manic response known as "Gold Fever." The press, including the *New York Herald*, the *New-York Daily Tribune*, and *The Evening Post*, not only reported this phenomenon but played a significant role in encouraging it.[1]

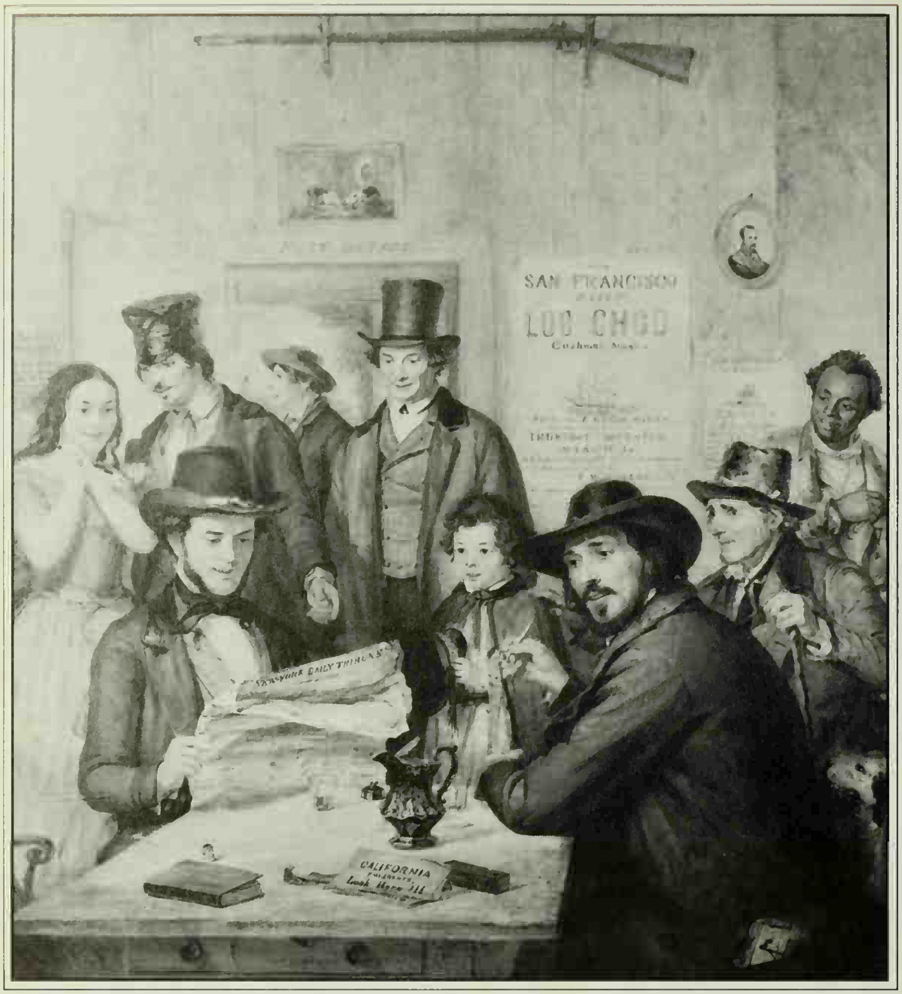
Information relating to the discovery of gold in California first appeared in the *Herald* on August 19, 1848. It printed a letter dated April 1, 1848, from a New York Volunteer in San Francisco, a former *Herald* subscriber, who stated that he was "credibly informed that a quantity of gold, worth in value, $30" had been recently found "in the bed of a stream of the Sacramento."[2] The press and the community initially responded to this news with skepticism, at best cautious optimism, an attitude which prevailed for the next two months.

Similar letters from California, however, began appearing in other New York newspapers with additional information about the discovery, the substantial mineral wealth of California, the gold mining process, the mania, and the quick fortunes being made. One letter signed "W.C." described the gold region as extending "a hundred miles in one direction and fifty in another" and predicted that "ten thousand men in ten years could not exhaust it." Apparently five thousand men were already engaged in gold mining. W.C. wrote further: "The farmers have thrown aside their plows, the lawyers their briefs, the doctors their bills, the priests their prayer-books, and all are now digging gold." One man, he reported, had panned $500 worth of gold in six days.[3]

Thomas O. Larkin, an early pioneer in California and former American consul in Monterey, asserted: "I do not think I am exaggerating in estimating the amount of gold obtained on the rivers I have mentioned at ten thousand dollars a day, for the last few days."[4] Letters like Larkin's, with their ever-increasing stream of information, were undoubtedly important in shaping the reaction of the New York City press and community.

The first editorial comment on the gold discovery appeared in the *Herald* in late September and urged the public to be cautious. It declared:

> *No doubt the golden tales of these golden streams will excite the imaginations of many ardent and sanguine minds, and lead them to think of packing up and moving off to regions*



"California News" by William Sidney Mount (1850) depicts the excitement engendered by New York City newspaper accounts of the discovery of gold. Courtesy The Museums of Stony Brook, Stony Brook, New York

(Facing) As depicted by the press, New York's goldseekers frequently sought not to pan for gold but to cash in on the demand for mercantile goods in California. CHS Fine Arts Collection, San Francisco

where they may hope to become rich thus rapidly. To all such we would say, beware of the mania of hasty money-making; beware of seeking to become rich by sudden and extraordinary means; be assured that all the gold in the world will not make you happy.[5]

Less than a week later the *Herald* softened its position, commenting enthusiastically that "the impetus thus given to trade and commerce" by the discovery would "promote the spirit of emigration to the shores of our new territory." The editorial cautioned that not all who emigrated in search of gold could expect to have their hopes fulfilled, that the gold excitement might die "a sudden death," yet it conceded that the inducements to move to California, namely, the rich soil and the healthful climate were not "in the least diminished."[6]

The *Post* and the *Tribune* refrained from making any speculation regarding the California gold prior to December. In contrast, the *Herald*'s enthusiasm increased with the flow of reports from California. An editorial in that newspaper at the end of November, for instance, asserted: "It is beyond all question that gold, in immense quantities, is being found daily in this part of our territory, and that every pursuit of trade or business is abandoned."[7] Notwithstanding the restraint observed by both the *Post* and the *Tribune*, a feverish excitement was beginning to grip the New York City community.

The city's mercantile community began exhibiting gold mania by early fall. In anticipation of the huge profit to be made as a result of the gold discovery, extensive commerce with California was inaugurated in October. The *Post*'s "City Intelligence" column reported on October 19 that a ship had sailed for California with a cargo worth in excess of $70,000 that "would supply a very extensive country store." A letter in the *Herald* observed: "Any person strolling along our docks cannot but be struck with the quantity of merchandize, of all kinds, which is marked and being shipped to the new El Dorado—California." It asserted further "that

Barry L. Dutka is Associate Professor of History at County College of Morris in Randolph Township, New Jersey. He extends his gratitude to Professor Philip J. Funigiello of the Department of History at the College of William and Mary for his incisive critique of the manuscript.

M.r HEXEKIAH JEROLOMANS DEPARTURE FOR CALIFORNIA

nearly a million of dollars worth of supplies" had been shipped "within the last thirty days."[8] Undeterred by admonitions that substantial losses would be suffered if the reports of gold from California were exaggerated, the New York merchants thus escalated their trade even in light of reports such as that from Captain Christopher Allyn of the ship *Izaak Walton,* who complained that seamen were deserting their ships and fleeing to the gold fields.[9]

Though the avenues of commerce were being established to California by the fall of 1848, there is no evidence in the press that an emigration movement of any significance had as yet shown life in New York City. Many people remained skeptical until official confirmation in December, at which time gold mania swept the urban centers of the East.

This new phase of gold mania was catalyzed by President Polk's annual State of the Union address delivered to Congress on December 5, 1848, and printed in the New York City press the following day. The message contained an entire paragraph acknowledging the California gold discovery. A letter written by California's territorial governor to the Secretary of War in mid-August had convinced Polk that the discovery was authentic. This letter, which appeared in the newspapers two days after the presidential message, added fuel to the escalating mania. "No capital is required to obtain this gold, as the laboring man wants nothing but his pick and shovel and tin pan, with which to dig and wash the gravel; and many frequently pick gold out of the crevices of rocks with their butcher knives, in pieces from one to six ounces."[10] During the rest of December a veritable deluge of information regarding California gold, appeared daily in the press.

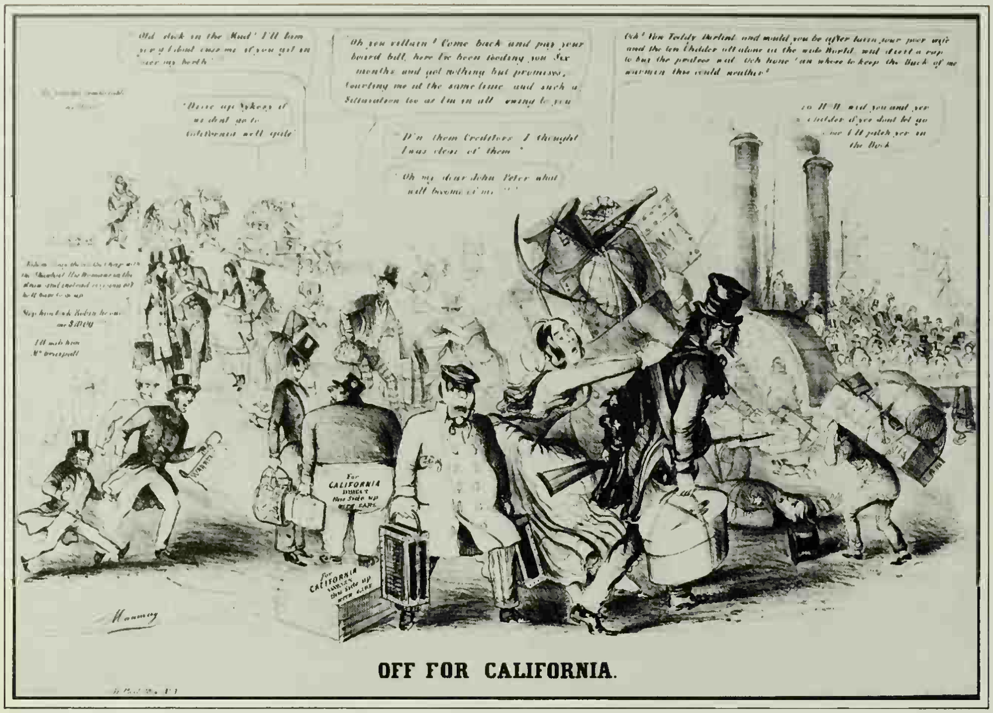
President Polk's message dissipated all remaining skepticism. The press became thoroughly imbued with gold mania. An editorial in the *Tribune* boldly predicted that California mines would yield "at least One Thousand Million of Dollars" within the next four years. The *Herald* characterized the gold discovery as the "greatest and most startling, not to say miraculous" that the previous half-millenium had produced. On December 7 the *Tribune* asserted: "The leading topic of conversation in the street for the last few days has been California Gold." A few days later the *Herald* described the prevailing excitement most colorfully when it declared: "The gold mania rages with intense vigor, and is carrying off its victims hourly and daily."[11]

The commercial and financial significance of the gold discovery became increasingly evident and a topic of much concern to the newspapers. The *Herald*'s "Commercial Affairs" column on December 7 predicted that the gold mines would "create a complete revolution in financial and commercial affairs" in New York City. An editorial in the same newspaper contended that the commercial ramifications of the gold discovery were unlimited. The paper naively observed:

> *Commerce, with all its abundant blessings, will be extended to a region comparatively unknown previous to this period. The aboriginal inhabitants of this hitherto wild and uncultivated part of the continent, will become consumers of manufactures; and in return for what they consume, they will give the wealth which they gather from the soil and streams of their country.*

The *Herald* further identified the need for a transcontinental railroad to allow the East to avail itself of commercial opportunities on the West Coast, and ultimately in the Orient.[12]

Gold mania reached Wall Street in December. A strong speculative spirit began to pervade the financial


"Oh you villain! Come back and pay your board bill, here I've been feeding you Six months and got nothing but promises, Courting me at the same time and such a Situation too as I'm in all owing to you"
"D'n them Creditors I thought I was clear of them"
"Oh my dear John Peter what will become of me"
OFF FOR CALIFORNIA.

Many popular lithographs portrayed goldseekers as knaves seeking to abandon family responsibilities and escape creditors. CHS Fine Arts Collection, San Francisco

A rare informal daguerreotype shows nine gold miners displaying the tools of their new profession, including a pistol. **CHS, San Francisco**

community, manifesting itself in the activity of the stock market. On December 10 the *Herald*'s "Commercial Affairs" column reported: "The California gold fever rages in Wall Street to an enormous extent, and fancy stocks have taken an upward start on the strength of it." One day later the same column dramatically exclaimed: "We are about entering upon a new era in money matters." Despite the fact that no appreciable amount of California gold had been received in the East, nor was any anticipated in the near future, the financial community flourished and the *Herald* noted that the excitement was so intense "that the arrival of millions upon millions of dollars would hardly suffice" to satiate the community's hunger for gold.[13]

Expectations of profit pervaded the city's mercantile community. The *Post* understated the matter when it commented that the city's merchants were "coming to the conclusion that a new field is open to their enterprise." Some of the city's commercial firms had already formed joint-stock companies or associations to conduct trade with California. Some of these ventures were sizeable. The New York and California Joint Stock Company, for example, anticipated "a capital of $50,000 in shares of $10 each" and proposed to purchase a vessel to ship cargoes to California.[14]

Merchants unwilling or unable to relocate in California could easily secure agents eager to go to California in their behalf. One prospective agent advertised that he was "about to visit the gold regions of California for business purposes" and that he would "be glad to communicate with any capitalist, merchant or association desirous of making adventures of goods or capital in that quarter, and who may wish to intrust them upon mutual account to a competent and faithful agent." One mercantile firm offered such an agent $10,000 to take charge of their California business for one year.[15]

Merchants also seized the opportunity to increase their sales within New York City by catering to the needs of emigrants. They urged emigrants to buy not only the equipment and provisions they would need for themselves in California but also extra stocks to enable them to engage in trade in the gold region. The *Post* urged emigrants to take "such articles of necessary consumption as the market of San Francisco is not known to abound with."[16] That many emigrants availed themselves of this advice is evident from the volume of business in the city and from the volume of freight on ships leaving for California. Many goods and services were in no way related to mining or the California market.

The legion of advertisements in the newspapers starting in mid-December reflected the strong and widespread desire to capitalize on the prevailing excitement.

"Don Pedro" advertised himself as "A Professor of Long Experience in teaching the languages" who "wishes to open a course of Spanish for those persons who are desirous of departing for California." Burton's Theater announced the performance of a new play entitled "California Gold Mines." The *Herald* informed its readers that it soon would publish a special *California Herald* edition featuring information pertaining to California gold and related matters.[17]

As New York City's gold mania intensified, the emigration movement became increasingly evident in the press. Early in December an editorial in the *Herald* remarked: "The mania for emigrating to California is spreading in every direction." Would-be miners and businessmen were understandably impressed by the numerous reports from California, all favorable attesting to "rivers of gold." Encouraging excerpts from the San Francisco *Alta California* were quoted in the *Herald*, for instance, identifying an eight-week period during which California miners averaged "from $10 to $350 per day," and California merchants had received "about $250,000 worth for goods sold." The *Alta California* also reported that skilled labor was much in demand: "Carpenters and other mechanics have been offered $15 a day, but it has been flatly refused."[18]

The press even volunteered travel advice for those who planned to emigrate to California. The *Herald* recommended travel by sea, either by way of Panama or Cape Horn. It provided information as to the distance, the travel-time, and the expense. In response to the "numerous inquiries" apparently received "about the most practicable routes to California," the *Post* in comparison dismissed the Panama route as being too time-consuming, hazardous, and expensive, and ruled out the various overland routes because of their length and difficulty. It recommended instead the Cape Horn route as "unquestionably" the safest and least expensive route despite its great distance. The *Tribune*, also deluged by "a superfluity of private letters, soliciting advice and information," recommended travel to California through Panama; alternatively, it recommended several overland routes.[19]

Information and advice relating to the California gold was available from sources other than the press. A number of books and pamphlets were hastily published in December, some even before President Polk's message, and these were on sale for 25¢ to $2. One publisher, for instance, advertised on December 12 the imminent publication of *The Gold Mines of California*, an account based on "the notes of a returned Volunteer" revealing "the most interesting details of the Gold Mines . . . and every necessary information" and including "a Map of the country, and particularly of the Gold region."[20]

New York City newspapers stirred up expectations about the California Gold Rush that mixed fact and wildest fantasy. CHS Fine Arts Collection, San Francisco

(Facing) Frequently intended to be instructive as well as humorous, lithographs published in New York advised would-be goldseekers to begin their journeys prepared for any eventuality. CHS, San Francisco

By mid-December prospective emigrants could also attend what purported to be authoritative lectures on "Gold" and "California." One newspaper announced that Dr. R.H. Collyer, Professor of Chemistry, would be speaking at Clinton Hall regarding "the most approved modes of washing Gold, mining, and all the apparatus" used in other countries. Another newspaper announced that Dr. Boynton would deliver a lecture at the Broadway Tabernacle concerning "the structure and formation of rocks, in which the precious metals are found, and on the gold of California." Dr. Collyer was persuaded to repeat his lecture because of popular demand.[21]

While the newspapers did indeed help foster the gold mania, they occasionally printed words of caution and restraint. An editorial in the *Tribune* discouraged emigration by "the wealthy, who have already their share of this world's goods" and by "those who are well employed here, and have families that need care and protection." The editorial concluded that California was a desirable destination only for rugged and energetic young men capable of tolerating a hard life and coping with frontier conditions. The *Tribune* elaborated that emigrants should not place all their hope in the uncertain occupation of mining, advising them instead to take along agricultural items—seeds, grafts, roots, and tools. It predicted that the people who would prosper in California in the long-run would ultimately be those who farmed rather than mined. The *Post* also recommended a "more direct and honorable road to fortune than that which entices so many to the distant shores of El Dorado."[22]

This sound advice was ignored, that is if anyone even took notice of it. The *Herald* remarked that gold fever raged with greater intensity in the city than did the cholera epidemic. On December 9 one newspaper reported that "the rush of gold hunters to the mines is very large," while another newspaper noted: "Adventurers from every street in the city are concerting measures and collecting funds to pay their passages to California." A commentary on emigration in the *Tribune* perceptively observed that emigration would be "enormous, whatever may be the success of emigrants in digging gold."[23]

Young men composed the bulk of the emigrants. The *Herald* noted: "our young men—including mechanics, doctors, lawyers, and . . . clergymen, are taking leave of old associations, and embarking for the land of wealth." Not everyone, however, could afford the expense of the journey to the Pacific coast, and as a consequence, some sought financial backing through newspaper advertisements. One young man offered "half the profits of the adventure for 2 years" to a person who would "pay the expenses of his going and sustain

him while there." A second young man in need of financial support stated his desire to emigrate to California and begin a new tin and sheet-iron business, the occupation in which he was presently engaged. A third individual, claiming that he was a "good accountant" and that he possessed "a perfect knowledge of Spanish," publicized his wish "to engage as a clerk or assistant with some person about to establish business in California."[24]

Virtually all emigrants who departed from New York City in December for California went by sea, especially by the route which involved crossing the Isthmus of Panama. Many of them followed the procedure urged by the *Post*, traveling in a cooperative fashion. A significant number of emigrant companies or associations were thereby being formed. As early as December 9, Harnden & Company, located at 6 Wall Street, advertised: "Persons desirous of emigrating, and having a cash capital of over $200 can join an Association upon the most favorable terms." Within two days it had received 500 applications, mostly from young men. Other organizations of men included the "United Californians," described as "A Mutual Benefit Society" for gentlemen with $500 capital, and a projected company of "twenty-five young men" which intended to "purchase tools, clothing, tents, [and] two months provisions" at a cost of about $180 for each member.[25]

All types of vessels, whatever the size or the facilities they offered, were in great demand. Starting December 9, numerous advertisements for passage appeared daily in the press; in the December 14 issue of the *Tribune*, for instance, there were almost a score of such advertisements. Some vessels were already booked to capacity. One vessel "was so full of passengers," according to the *Tribune*, "that four or five were taken, at their earnest request, with no better sleeping accommodations than the deck."[26]

Vessels traveling to California were unable to maintain predictable schedules due to the high incidence of crew desertion. In recognition of the tremendous allure of the gold fields, sailors were subsequently hired in New York for a dollar a month "with the privilege of leaving the vessel on its arrival."[27]

According to statistics later compiled by the *Herald*, from December 14 until the end of the month, 360 people departed New York City for California. Sixty made the passage in two vessels around Cape Horn, and 300 traveled in four vessels to Panama, where they crossed the territory and boarded ships on the Pacific coast to complete their journey.[28] Information concerning the number of emigrants who left New York City for California using land routes was not provided in the newspapers, and ocean routes were evidently preferred by residents of the port city and its environs. Overland travel was arduous, especially for those accustomed to urban life.

Despite the gold mania reported—and created by—the New York City press, the actual emigration from the city in December 1848 was numerically small. Many would-be goldseekers probably experienced difficulty in raising the price of the passage or in securing a place on one of the few California-bound ships. Others must have felt restrained by the beginning of the winter season and the need to settle affairs in New York City before embarking for the Pacific coast.

The impression of a city gripped by gold fever remains valid. On December 9 one newspaper perceived that gold mania was "only in its commencement."[29] Residents of New York City were destined to be found in significant numbers in the ranks of those who participated in the Gold Rush of 1849. Their involvement in that celebrated frontier phenomenon was testimony to the paramount role played by the press in nurturing New York City's gold fever epidemic of 1848.☐

(see notes beginning on page 341.)

by Kevin Starr

THE WORLD OF OSCAR LEWIS

An appreciative salute
to the revered patriarch of
California writer-historians

Ever since 1913—the year he published his first article—the San Francisco Bay Area has been enriched by the persistent literary activity of Oscar Lewis. In and of himself, Oscar Lewis represents a certain continuity in San Francisco letters. As a young man in the early 1920s, Lewis used to attend soirees given by the aged poet Ina Coolbrith, who came to San Francisco as a young girl in the mid-1850s and who, along with Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Charles Warren Stoddard, Prentice Mulford and others, made the magazine *The Golden Era* (1852–1893) such a lively literary journal and San Francisco such a lively literary city. Symbolically at least, Oscar Lewis began his writing career with the blessings of the last survivor of the Literary Frontier.

Purity of heart, suggested the Danish philosopher Soren Kierkegaard, is to seek one thing, and Oscar Lewis has this purity. For more than seventy years now, Lewis has sought to write well about The City of San Francisco and the State of California. Born in San Francisco in 1893 in a house at Jackson and Baker, just a few blocks away from where he now lives on Union Street, Lewis grew up in The City, Sebastopol, Red Bluff, and Berkeley. His father, a building contractor with offices at 18 Post Street on the ground floor of the Lick House, built many a Victorian home still standing in San Francisco.

Lewis graduated from Berkeley High School, then tried the University of California, Berkeley, for a while. He wanted to write. B.H. Lehman, then chairman of the English Department, gave Lewis some rather unorthodox advice. If you want to write, said Lehman, start writing. So Lewis quit school, rented an office and a typewriter, and started to write. That was in 1912, and Lewis has not stopped writing since, with the exception of the time he spent in the Ambulance Service in France during World War I and the wandering about Europe and North Africa he did just after the War.

Throughout the '20s, '30s, '40s and '50s, the years of San Francisco's provincial contentment, Oscar Lewis lived (on Taylor, then later on Union Street) and worked in The City. He has been a busy figure in a landscape—a reserved, good-humored protagonist in what is now a lost and elegiacally revered San Francisco. The artist Maynard Dixon lived across the street from Oscar at 1644 Taylor Street. Dixon was then married to photographer Dorothea Lange whose sensitive portraits of Dust Bowl migrants later made photography the major means of documenting the suffering of impoverished migrants. Also living on that block of Taylor Street was Erskine Scott Wood, bon vivant, raconteur, and author of the local classic *Heavenly Discourse*. Colonel Wood—horror of horrors!—lived without benefit of clergy with the poet Sara Bard Field.

Oscar Lewis also knew Gertrude Atherton, the dowager empress of local letters, who lived with her daughter on Green near Fillmore, where she held weekly salons for the literati. The talk there was of London and Paris and Ambrose Bierce, who once in the late 1880s, compulsive womanizer that he was, tried to kiss young Gertrude (so she claimed) in the train station at Sunol, where Bierce was staying for his health.

Lewis knew Edward Robeson Taylor in his last years, the lawyer-physician-poet whom San Franciscans asked to lead The City as mayor after the scandals of the Ruef trials. Another Lewis friend was Edward O'Day, editor of the *Recorder*, who

For more than seventy years, historian Oscar Lewis has chronicled the history of California. CHS, San Francisco loved to quote Latin, and Robert Cowan, the bibliographer living out in the Mission on Treat Street, who became the first librarian of the William Andrews Clark Library in Los Angeles. Tall, dapper, learned, extraordinarily industrious, literary critic Joseph Henry Jackson of the *Argonaut*, later of the *Chronicle*, and another member of Lewis' circle, was providing The City with a high level of literary journalism that ceased completely with his passing. Another friend was John Barry, who wrote a wonderful column for *The Call-Bulletin* and who commuted daily to The City by ferry from Sausalito where he lived in an old, rustic hotel.

When Lewis worked as secretary to the Book Club of California in the 1920s, poet George Sterling, the Uncrowned King of Bohemia, used to drop by to autograph books of poetry for Lewis to send out. Sterling was by turns shy and riotous. When arrested for wading at midnight into Stowe Lake in Golden Gate Park to pick water lilies in the company of a disrobed chorus girl, he paid his fine with inscribed books of poetry. During the 1920s, Lewis traveled down to Montalvo, Senator Phelan's summer retreat near Saratoga, for lunch on the great verandah. He knew Clarkson Crane, the Berkeley novelist, and Charles Caldwell Dobie, whose *San Francisco, A Pageant* (1933) is one of the best books ever written about The City.

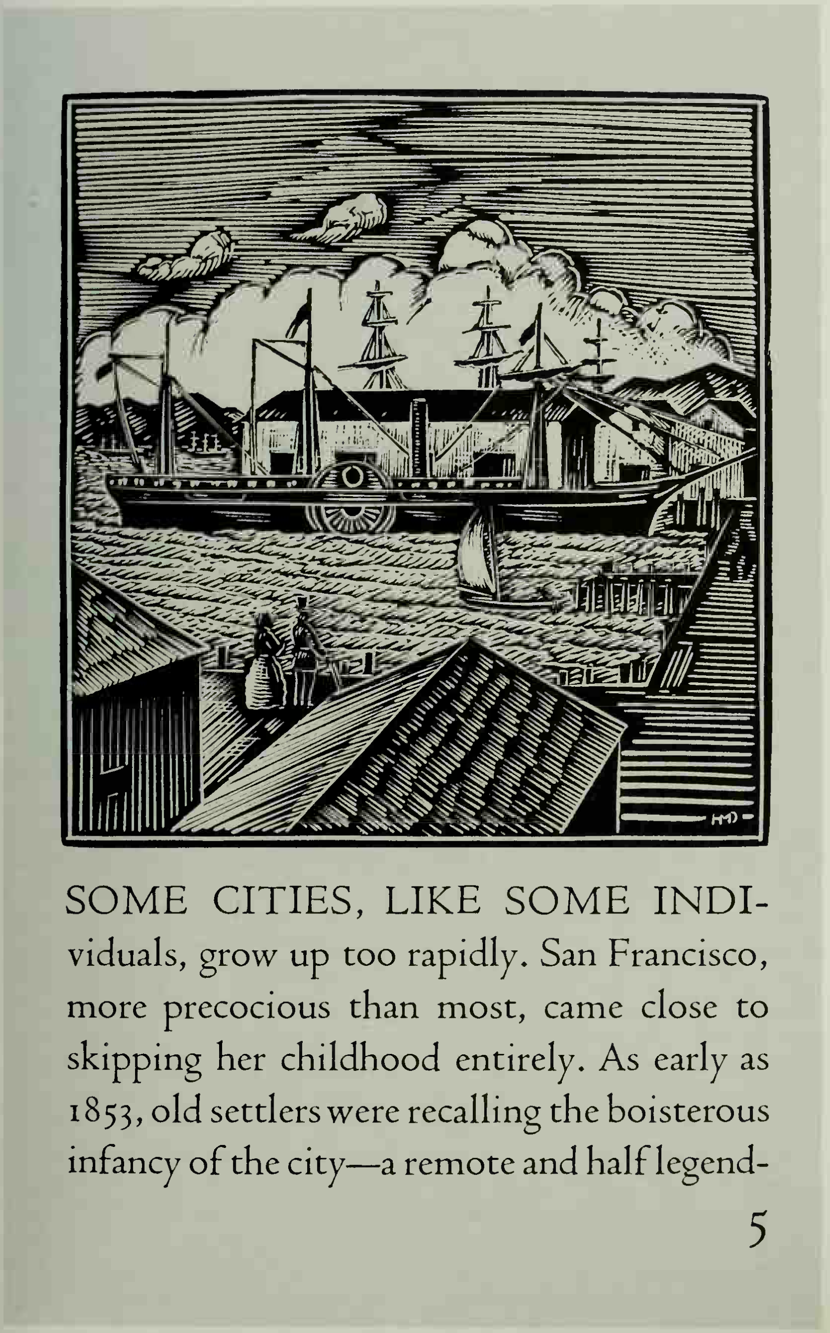
Kevin Starr is the author of the forthcoming *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (Oxford University Press) and other books and articles on California history.

The fine printing scene, then as now, was lively. Lewis knew the great John Henry Nash, who worked behind his trays in a blue smock in his own building on Sansome Street, looking every inch the master printer, which he was; the Grabhorn brothers at 47 Pine, in a shop above the Orange Blossom candy store, who along with their designer Valenti Angelo were making printing history; and young William Matson Roth, founder of the Colt Press, obsessed in those days with fine printing, later active as a UC Regent and the developer of Ghirardelli Square.

Operating in this landscape of local creativity, Oscar Lewis has worked steadily, patiently over the years, and the harvest of his effort will some day fill a rather extensive bibliography. One of its high points is *The Big Four* (1938), already a classic of western history, kept in print by its publisher Knopf for more than forty years. Its companion volume *Silver Kings* (1947) is likewise a masterpiece of narrative and portraiture. Many of Oscar Lewis' books—*George Davidson: Pioneer West Coast Scientist*, *The War in the West: 1861–1865*, *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields*, and my favorite, *Bay Window Bohemia*—broke new ground in scholarship and interpretation. Others—*San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis*, for instance—are masterpieces of summarizing statement. Historian Lawrence Clark Powell believes that Lewis' 1942 novel, *I Remember Christine*, is the finest San Francisco novel since Frank Norris' *McTeague* (1899). I agree. Lewis is also one of our leading chroniclers of Nevada, which, from a slightly nineteenth-century perspective, he sees as of a piece with the California story.

What makes Lewis' narratives classics? Each proceeds, as all good historical writing must, on two levels, one depicting the specific story and the other suggesting a larger process. From this perspective, the *Big Four* and *Silver Kings* are about the railroad and the Comstock Lode; but, of equal importance, they are enduring case studies in the interactive energies underlying the creative work of capital in the nineteenth-century Far West. Contained in each of Lewis' narratives is a specific story and the functioning structure, the process, of a more encompassing process. The same is true for his biography of George Davidson, which is, as well, a narrative paradigm of the special role played by Yale-trained scientists in the opening of the Far West. *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields* thus becomes an important insight into the maritime history of California, and *Bay Window Bohemia* tells a San Francisco story but also shows the process whereby the creative imagination translated to California the high-art past of the European heritage.

This is why the books written by Lewis do not date. Since they are not energized by a tightly structured academic perspective or ideology, they survive changes in academic fashions. Skillful narrative proves resilient long after over-wrought analytical structures have made other works of history smell either of the lamp or of out-of-date interpretation. At the same time, generation after generation of historians, no matter what their perspective, can return to Lewis' books to find out what happened. Take *The Big Four* for instance. As a narrative, it is useful to either a Marxist or an



SOME CITIES, LIKE SOME INDIviduals, grow up too rapidly. San Francisco, more precocious than most, came close to skipping her childhood entirely. As early as 1853, old settlers were recalling the boisterous infancy of the city—a remote and half legend-

5

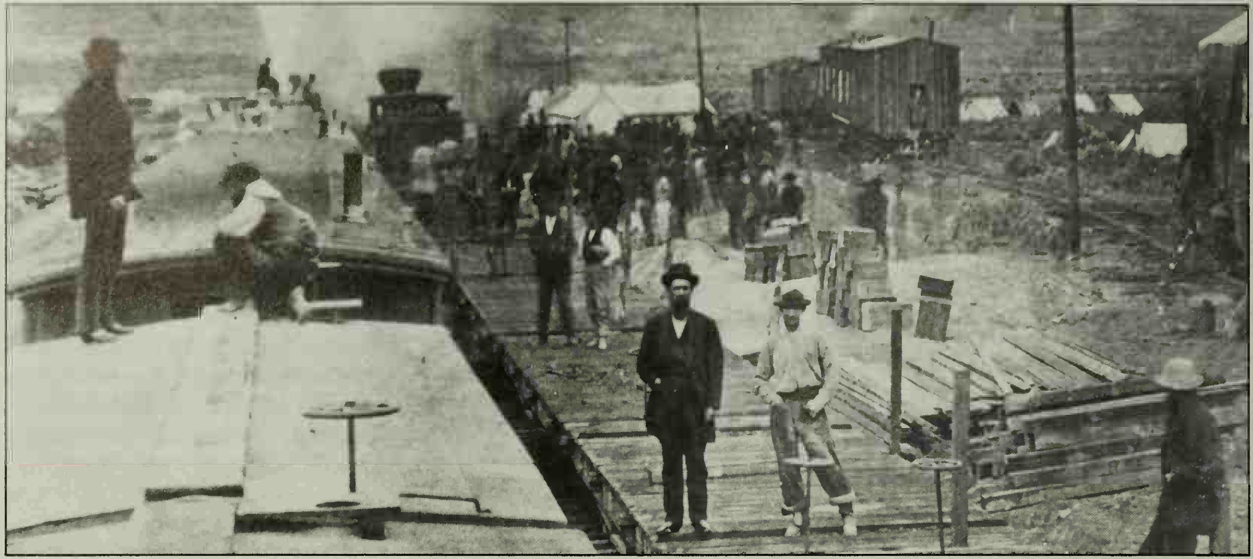
Page from Lewis' **Lola Montez: The Mid-Victorian Bad Girl of California** *(1938), illustrated with Mallette Dean's woodcuts.*

apologist for capitalism. The interpretation may vary, but the story—as told so masterfully by Lewis—endures. That is the definition of a classic, a work of intellect and creative imagination that has the ability to endure beyond shifts of fashion.

In each of his works, whether focused or panoramic, scholarly or summarizing, Oscar Lewis displays one persistent trait: sympathy. Oscar Lewis genuinely likes and admires the people he writes about—or at least tries to find something likable or admirable in them. There is in all of Oscar Lewis' books a kindliness, a sympathy for the human condition, that perfectly expresses the essential *anima naturaliter christiana* of the man.

And his prose—elegant, luminous, unpretentious, and always clear and to the point. Oscar Lewis writes beautiful English. His prose style, as is appropriate in a man of his age, is touched more than slightly by the tone and style of the nineteenth-century English and American essay. I can hear often the voice of Charles Lamb or Oliver Wendell Holmes in Lewis' writings: a supple, appreciative tone, a restrained conversationality that resists chattiness, a preference for an open style that avoids the cadences and repetitiveness of the periodic sentence.

How fortunate for us all to have yet amongst us a man of letters whose career and personality so elegantly express the taste and commitment to local culture of a vanishing San Francisco. The values Oscar Lewis has so successfully pursued in his life and work—values of work and steady civility—are much needed amidst the confusions of our urgent, headlong present. ☐



The raw April of 1869 ended and the seven-year job drew toward its close. The Central Pacific's rails reached Promontory [Utah] first, for an uncompleted rock fill held up track-layers of the rival road, and its rails did not reach the junction point until a day later. On May 2 General Dodge wrote his wife: "There will not be much of a time here—no demonstration; but in the east and further west I expect they will celebrate."

The prediction proved incorrect. Back at the Central's head office at Sacramento plans for a celebration had been under way for weeks. On May 7 the first of several special trains arrived at the railhead, its occupants expecting to witness an immediate wedding of the rails. Instead they found the little village drenched and forlorn in a driving rain, its sodden street an extensive mudhole, colored bunting hanging limp and dripping across the façades of its wooden shacks.

This was not the gala reception the Californians had pictured. A hundred feet from the Central's railhead, the end of the Union's tracks could be seen through the rain. Of the eastern party and the trainloads of celebrants rumored to have left Omaha two days earlier nothing was visible. Stanford and his guests stared moodily at the landscape, then climbed gingerly down the damaged steps of his private car—it had been struck by a coasting pine log on its passage down the east side of the Sierra—to file messages of inquiry with telegraph operators of both lines, housed in adjacent damp tents.

But the storm was general throughout the Rockies, and the Union's headquarters at Ogden reported floods and washouts on its line east of the town. Nothing was said of a further complication; money was lacking to pay many of the Union's workmen, and Vice-President Durant had to cope with still another strike. Word reached Promontory that the eastern party would not arrive until Monday. It was then Friday. Stanford's party faced without enthusiasm the prospect of three days' contemplation of the wet landscape.

Back on the Coast, plans had been made for elaborate celebrations on Saturday. Stanford wired news of the delay, but the West had always considered Saturday the proper day for celebrating, and the message was ignored. Thus while San Francisco, Sacramento, and a dozen lesser towns commemorated the event with bands and fireworks and illuminated parades, time dragged in the car of the Central Pacific's president. Some of the party relieved the boredom by a visit to the nearest Union Pacific construction camp. There Jack Casement loaded them into a battered coach and a long day was spent on a tour of flooded Weber Canyon. They returned to Stanford's car tired and damp and hungry, late Saturday evening. The downpour continued. That night the car was drawn back thirty miles to a siding at Monument Point and the next morning its windows framed the same landscape from a new viewpoint, one that included the gray surface of Salt Lake. Throughout the morning the steward's shotgun was intermittently active on the lake shore, and at luncheon a mess of plover lent variety to the bill of fare.

Stanford's car had not been moved back from the end of the track solely to provide his guests with a view of Salt Lake. Two days of fraternizing among the officials had not meant that the rivalry was at an end. Both continued to jockey for advantages until the rails were

A rugged tent and boxcar railroad camp on the Lower Canyon of the Truckee River in 1868. CHS, San Francisco

---

Reprinted with permission from *The Big Four, The Story of Huntington, Stanford, Hopkins and Crocker, and of the Building of the Central Pacific* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1938).

THE BIG FOUR

joined. Rival officials recognized that the company building a siding at Promontory would have an advantage in the future control of the settlement. The Central Pacific's plans were laid in secret. A hundred miles back, a worktrain had been made up, loaded with men and materials; only the storm delayed execution of the coup. Sunday night the rain ceased and the sky cleared. The Central construction train moved from the rear, timed to reach Promontory at daybreak. It arrived on schedule—and was greeted by derisive shouts from Casement's Irish track-layers. They had been working all night; the Union Pacific siding was completed.

It was the last skirmish before the lines were joined. Monday, May 10, was clear and cold. During the night Promontory's liquid street had turned to ice. The spot was five thousand feet high and the wind had a penetrating quality that kept unacclimated visitors shuttling between the town's five saloons and the glowing stoves of the cars. As the morning advanced, crews set to work closing the remaining yards of the gap. It had been planned that two special trains arrive at the same moment, from east and west, as an impressive prelude to the joining of the rails. Instead, battered construction trains rolled in from both directions, loaded with graders and track-layers and teamsters, all intent on seeing the show.

The entire population of the ephemeral town augmented the crowd, and throughout the morning other groups filtered in from near-by construction camps on foot or on the broad backs of draft horses. Stanford's party again made the thirty-mile trip from Monument and was pushed to the siding to make room for another flag-decorated special from the Coast. This bore other company officials, including lean, spare Mark Hopkins, his shoulders hunched against the wind. The two remaining partners were absent. Huntington was in New York, and Crocker, who always delighted in celebrations, had unaccountably remained behind at Sacramento.

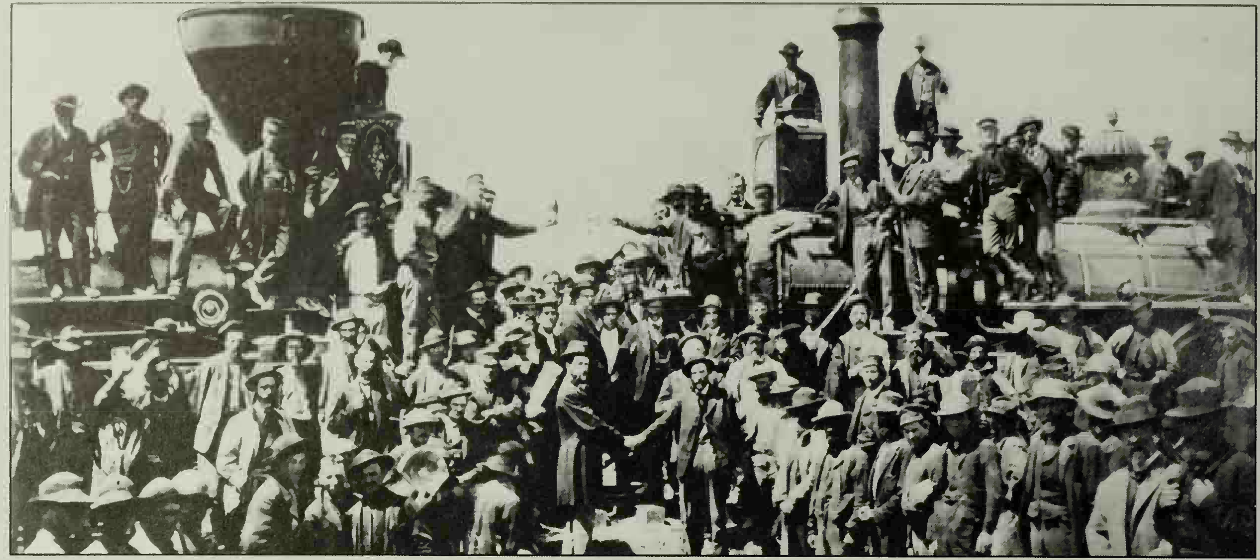
Midmorning passed with no sign of the Union Pacific's special. The crowd faced the cold wind and gathered in shivering groups while work crews completed the final few feet of track, leaving one rail on the side nearest the lake to be placed later. Delay succeeded delay. Noon passed—it was after one o'clock, after two. Telegraph instruments on tables beside the track chattered impatient inquiries from east and west. What was wrong? The wind died down and it grew uncomfortably warm. The crowd, hungry and impatient, intruded on the cleared space and had to be periodically forced back. The stage had long been set and the audience was near the end of its patience. It was a lamentably late curtain.

At last the screech of a Union Pacific locomotive was heard and the crowd set up an ironical cheer. A group of Central Pacific officials, led by Stanford and Hopkins, descended from their car and tramped through the mud to greet the arriving dignitaries. Spectators surged forward, staring at Durant's shining Pullman, at the dapper vice-president's velvet coat, and cheered again as formal greetings were exchanged. The celebration took on an unplanned military aspect, for the train carried several companies of the 21st Infantry, and the regimental band, bound from Fort Douglas to San Francisco's Presidio. The soldiers were put to work forcing back the crowd and opening a lane for the cameramen, there to preserve the historic event.

Perhaps five hundred persons were present: Irish and Chinese laborers, teamsters, cooks, engineers, train crews, officials, guests, and parties of excursionists from California and Salt Lake City. The latter, to the disappointment of the Californians, did not include Brigham Young. The Prophet had sent his apologies and two aides: Bishop John Sharp and Colonel Savage, the latter carrying one of the heavy box cameras. A number of women were among the excursion parties, including the wives of two Central Pacific officials: Mrs. Strobridge and Mrs. Ryan. A group of Promontory's strumpets were also on hand, though their presence passed unrecorded in the official dispatches.

The belated wedding got under way. Ceremonial spikes, ties, and the final rail were carried forward by a picked squad of Chinese, their denim pantaloons and jackets newly scrubbed, their pigtails neatly braided and tied. While necks craned, a laurel tie was embedded, the rail put in place, the telegraph operators reporting each step over wires kept open throughout the nation. A Massachusetts pastor offered an invocation so comprehensive that at its end the telegrapher tapped out: "We have got done praying; the spike is about to be presented."

Not one, but several spikes were presented, each with a speech. One was of Comstock silver;



another was an alloy of gold, silver, and iron, symbolical of Arizona Territory's varied mineral resources; gold and silver spikes from Idaho and Montana followed; then two of gold from California and a silver sledge-hammer for their driving. The spikes, except the final one of gold, were placed in holes provided for them, hammered home by inexpert taps of officials and distinguished guests. Nearly an hour was so consumed. At last the final spike was inserted, a telegraph line was attached to it and another to the hammer, so that the actual blows might be carried throughout the nation—to such devices were the ingenious driven in an age deprived of radio. The nation waited while Stanford raised his hammer for the historic stroke. The silver hammer missed the spike, but the telegrapher, prepared for the contingency, simulated the blow with his key. At once the magnetic ball dropped from its pole above the Capitol dome at Washington. San Francisco's dozens of fire bells began tolling, salvos of cannon boomed, and factory whistles screeched in scores of cities from coast to coast. In a country town north of San Francisco a boy under six was lifted on his father's shoulder and stared over heads at a sheet of paper newly pasted on a newspaper office door; he was told that all these men were cheering because soon everyone would be rich.

At Promontory, while the crowd shouted and locomotive whistles responded to taut cords, Amos Bouscher elbowed his way to the side of a San Francisco jeweler who was busily collecting five dollars from all who wished watch-charms made from the historic golden spike. Sixty years later Bouscher still retained his tattered receipt and a growing belief that the stranger must have been an impostor. Meantime, Vice-President Durant completed the driving of the spike. The 21st Infantry band played *America*. Photographers went through their routine as plate after plate was exposed. Two engines moved cautiously over the new-laid rail, touched cowcatchers, and their engineers were given the first drinks from the foaming neck of a champagne bottle. In San Francisco, F. Bret Harte, who realized that magazine verse should be timely, inquired in the pages of his *Overland Monthly*:

What was it the engines said,
Pilots touching—head to head. . . .

Officials and a few guests retired to Durant's shining car to frame a message to President Grant, while workmen, prudently detailed to the task in advance, drew out the silver and gold spikes, removed the laurel tie. Souvenir-hunters, undiscouraged, proceeded to cut chips from the substituted tie, even to hack bits off the iron rail. In the ensuing months both rail and tie had several times to be replaced.

By then the afternoon was nearly gone; officials hurried to a belated luncheon on Stanford's car, and *hoi polloi* sought the food and drink promised them by the two companies. They received both in abundance. By nine o'clock the celebration had reached a stage where a grand ball, a banquet, and a torchlight procession were in simultaneous progress. Two weeks later Central Pacific auditors O.K.'d bills totaling $2,200 "on account of celebration upon completion of the railroad." On the gray morning of the 11th the specials started on their return trips east and west; before nightfall transcontinental trains were moving cautiously over the new rails under the eyes of Promontory's diminished population. ☐

After several hours' delay, chief engineers of the Central Pacific (left) and Union Pacific railroad shake hands at Promontory, Utah, on May 10, 1869.
Bancroft Library

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

***In 1945 John Steinbeck and his wife Gwendolyn visited Cuernavaca, Mexico, with Jack Wagner, co-writer of* A Medal for Benny.** Bancroft Library

The True Adventures of John Steinbeck, Writer.

By Jackson J. Benson. (New York: The Viking Press, 1984. xiv, 1116 pp. $35.00 hard.)

John Steinbeck: The California Years.

By Brian St. Pierre. (San Francisco: Chronicle Press, 1984. $7.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Graham C. Wilson, *Professor of English, San Francisco State University, and author of* Steinbeck Country.

With the publication of the *The Grapes of Wrath* in 1939, John Steinbeck, age 37, completed a wonderfully productive—and, to the critics, unpredictable—decade: *Cup of Gold* (1929), a historical romance about pirate Henry Morgan; *The Pastures of Heaven* (1932), a volume of related short stories set in the Corral de Tierra area between Monterey and Salinas; *To a God Unknown*, a man-and-nature novel set largely around Jolon in the southern part of the Salinas Valley; *Tortilla Flat* (1935), in which the metaphor of tide-pool colonial life combines with King Arthur's Round Table in a story of the Paisanos living on the slopes above Monterey; *In Dubious Battle* (1936), a strike novel, equally condemned by the Left and by the Right; *Of Mice and Men* (1937), a novel of have-not itinerant farm laborers; *The Red Pony* (1937), a group of short stories which is usually presented to children, though more proper auditors would be parents; *The Long Valley* (1935), a collection of stories laid in what has come to be known as Steinbeck Country, within the beauty of which human beings strive for happiness and largely fail; "Their Blood is Strong" (1938), a pamphlet reprint of a series in the *San Francisco News* on the plight of the almost 90,000 migrants a year piling into California in the late 1930s; and *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), a novel in which Steinbeck brought together experience, observation, technique, imagination, and indignation to produce the book by which he will probably be best remembered.

After 1939 there would be a dozen more books, including *The Sea of Cortez* (1941), co-authored by Edward F. Ricketts, the "Doc" of *Cannery Row* (1945) and *Sweet Thursday* (1954); and *East of Eden* (1952), which was intended to be, Steinbeck wrote in *Journal of a Novel* (1969), "the story of my country and the story of me . . . and of the whole [Salinas] Valley which I am using as a microcosm of the whole nation."

In none of Steinbeck's California works, however, nor anywhere else in his lifetime did he write much about himself. Since his death in 1968 there have been several limited efforts to perform this task for him, but only now has Jackson Benson given us an 1100-page volume which is and probably will remain the definitive biography of John Steinbeck. Details will emerge or be modified, but this book will certainly remain *the* biography.

As readers of his work on Ernest Hemingway know, Benson is an acute critic of literature. As a reader of the volume under discussion will soon discover, he is also a very good teller of stories. The title is not frivolous; Steinbeck's life was full of adventures. Then too, Benson's energy is inexhaustible—or at least it was through the decade-and-a-half of preparing this book, and it is a good thing he started so long ago. Many of these interviewees, numbering in the hundreds, have since died, among them Carol Henning Brown, Steinbeck's first wife and his courageous critic-editor through *The Grapes of Wrath;* and Gwyn Conger Steinbeck, his second wife and the mother of his two sons, Thom and John IV.

So much research has made possible the writing of a much fuller account of Steinbeck's life than we have ever before had. Benson is the first to deal adequately with Steinbeck's life from 1941 to his death in 1968, during which period he only intermittently resided in California. Much of the story is in general circulation for the first time—for instance many details of his work, indeed military service—in Great Britain and in the Mediterranean during the Second World War. We also lose a number of good stories: Steinbeck did not make a trip west from Oklahoma with a Joad-like family, or any other migrant family. But there is plenty left to tell. It is a long way from assistant night chemist at Spreckels' Sugar Factory to presidential adviser and Air Force One, even after having become the first native Californian Nobel Prize winner for Literature.

But the book is not a calendar of events. Benson writes about the background and preparation for each work, fiction or non-fiction. *Travels with Charley in Search of America* is, after all, a worthy part of the Steinbeck canon. *The True Adventures* is a fine and affectionate book, though never overly indulgent of its subject.

Brian St. Pierre's John Steinbeck: The California Years is the latest in Chronicle Books' "The Literary West" series: "Designed for a popular audience," according to the publisher, "these fast-paced entertaining editions are revealing portraits of the writers and demonstrate the influence of the West on their work."

St. Pierre satisfies this description. He starts with Steinbeck's touching goodbye to California, the passage in *Travels with Charley* (1962) in which he makes one last trip up Mount Frémont, the dominant landmark of his youth, from which he saw the whole of the Salinas Valley (or did if there was no low-lying fog that day), the valley about which thirty years before he had written to his friend, George Albee, "I think I would like to write the story of the whole valley, and of all the farms and ranches in the wilder hills. I can see how I would like to do it so it would be the whole valley of the world."

And he did. And for millions of readers it still is. St. Pierre tells the California story briskly and smoothly. His excellent discussion of the origins, background, and writing of *The Grapes of Wrath*—with all the accompanying interruptions in Steinbeck's personal life—says about as much as can be said in fifteen pages.

In fact in just 115 pages total, St. Pierre tells us an immense amount about John Steinbeck, and intelligently assesses the novels and novelist. The compression occasionally squeezes a minor detail off the page: the purse-seiner, *Western Flyer*, seems to have gone to the Sea of Cortez without a captain; Pearl Buck is deprived of the Nobel Prize for Literature; Steinbeck's summer of 1923 at Stanford's Hopkins Marine Center gets surprisingly short shrift considering that the summer zoology course gave him the idea of the super-organism (later promoted to phalanx)—an idea which, for better or for worse, is everywhere in Steinbeck's work from 1933 to 1948.

Nevertheless, for the big picture, well limned, in a small frame, St. Pierre's book is the place to go. For the big picture in the big frame, see Benson. ☐

Two Californias: The Truth About the Split-State Movement.

By Michael DiLeo and Eleanor Smith. (Covelo: Island Press, 1983. 250 pp. $10.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Gregory H. Tilles, *instructor of history and political science, Solano Community College, Suisun City.*

In the preface to this intriguing study of separatism in California, past, present, and future, DiLeo and Smith boldly assert that they have composed "the complete anatomy of a feud, a venerable, deep-running, free-swinging, sociopolitical mother of a feud." For the most part, the book and the fascinating topic it dissects live up to this billing.

The authors devote considerable attention to the history of the idea of splitting California, emphasizing key issues which have brought various split-state drives to the fore over the last century and a half. During the Gold Rush years and the decades immediately following, for example, Southern Californians, feeling like the "very small tail to a very large kite," sought to separate themselves from the rest of the state and thereby avoid the disproportionate burden of state taxes imposed upon them by politically dominant golddiggers and wealthy entrepreneurs of the North. As the population of southern California grew in amazing proportions between 1900 and 1940 and the pendulum of power swung inexorably to the South, it was Northern Californians who took up the call for separation. Most recently, the diversion of Northern California water to the Southland, epitomized by the proposed Peripheral Canal, has spawned such separatist efforts as Senator Barry Keene's "Alta California" bill in the state legislature and a petition drive engineered by a Northern California group calling itself the Two Californias Committee.

Indeed, DiLeo and Smith confess that when they began this study, amid the heated debate which preceded the Peripheral Canal referendum vote of June 1982, they both had a strong sense that the creation of two Californias might be a good idea. However, their subsequent research convinced them that, on balance, the state would be better off continuing as a single entity. To support this conclusion the authors take the reader through the cultural and political dimensions of California separatism, contending that considerable mythology and unfounded folklore have distorted the true picture of the "two" Californias. They assert that in the 1980s Northern and Southern California are not, in the final analysis, all that different, either in culture or political ideology. They also suggest that recent North-South enmity over water has been largely misdirected. In fact, they argue, the real culprit in the "theft" of Northern California water is not the profligate sidewalk sprayer or swimming pool owner of metropolitan Los Angeles but rather California agribusiness—a "Third California" which consumes some 85 percent of the state's water.

Each of the last three of this book's six tightly-woven chapters warrants brief special mention. Chapter 4 is an incisive analysis of the evolution of California water policy and politics, placing recent water controversies in clear historical perspective. Chapter 5—perhaps the best in the book—is especially provocative, offering a handbook on how to split the state, an investigation of the profound political obstacles in the way of such a move, and speculation on what a divided state would really be like. Chapter 6, a noble attempt to suggest a comprehensive plan that would satisfy the competing water demands of the *three* Californias and thus avoid a future split of the state, borders on the quixotic and leaves the reader unconvinced that Californians will ever find the political consensus necessary to effect such unified action.

The particular appeal of *Two Californias* lies in the obvious precision and thoroughness that went into its writing. The historian can readily excuse some careless factual errors—the text, for example, places the 1878 state constitutional convention in Monterey and identifies William Gwin's home state as Mississippi—and recognize, along with the general reader, that this study is obviously the work of able researchers who have painstakingly examined an impressive list of books, newspaper and periodical articles, and government studies. Moreover, this book is rich in thoughtfully selected illustrative materials—maps, charts, drawings, and photographs. The inclusion of a number of delightful political cartoons indicates DiLeo and Smith's willingness to convey the humorous side of this "serious business." Throughout, the text is written with flair and wit.

This tale of two Californias is clearly intelligent and entertaining reading. ☐

Overland to California with the Pioneer Line: The Gold Rush Diary of Bernard J. Reid.

Edited by Mary McDougall Gordon. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983. xii, 247 pp. $19.95.)

Reviewed by Warren A. Beck, *Professor of History, California State University, Fullerton, and the author of several books on the American West.*

The California gold rush remains one of the most exciting episodes in America's history, and books about this dramatic event continue to pour from the presses. In recent years John M. Faragher's *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*, John D. Unruh's *The Plains Across*, and John P. Reid's *Law for the Elephant: Property and Social Behavior on the Overland Trail* have been highly successful. But as valuable as these commentaries are, the diaries, memoirs, and letters of those who struggled on the overland trail to reach the Garden of Eden supposed to be located in California are even more worthwhile. J. S. Holliday's *The World Rushed In* successfully combined the drama contained in an overland diary with letters from back home. *Overland to California with the Pioneer Line* is similar in that the diary is interspersed with letters, but the editor has also included brief biographies of those who were in the company as well as a summary of the life of the diarist both before and after the California experience. In addition, Mary McDougall Gordon has extensively consulted other diaries and sources about the gold rush. The historiographical detective work that went into the research is truly exceptional.

The diarist, Bernard J. Reid, was both typical and atypical of the Forty-Niners. Like so many Americans of the mid-nineteenth century, he was apparently "born with an itch in his bones." Although only twenty-six when he headed towards the goldfields, he had travelled in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia and lived and worked in several different places. He had difficulty settling on a vocation and at one time taught school, edited a newspaper, and worked as a surveyor. It was in the latter capacity that he moved to St. Louis in 1847 where he began his trek westward.

Reid was atypical among the Forty-Niners in that he paid $200 to a private company, the Pioneer Line, to take him speedily and in comfort the gold fields. (They did neither). With a better-than-average education he appreciated the different flowers along the trail and apparently knew enough geology to wax eloquent in describing the unique formations in the City of Rocks. He was also more of a humanitarian than most of his contemporaries, and on one occasion he stood up to a group on the trail intent on hanging an Indian who they believed had run off their oxen. In the midst of a heated situation wherein Reid was in danger, the animals were found and the would-be executioners put aside their rope and treated the potential victim to dinner. Reid's rigid code of ethics is apparent throughout the diary and can be attributed to the fact that he was a devout Catholic. Incidentally, he makes the point that he encountered no religious hostility on the trail.

The adventures of Reid and his friends were similar to all who went to California overland. They were cursed with cholera in the early part of the trip and scurvy in the latter part. Many died en route, and Reid carefully records the names on

graves beside the trail. The dangers of fording or ferrying rivers are detailed, as well as the challenge of the desert and the crossing of the Sierra. He understood the trials and tribulations of the journey as the following indicates: "Perhaps there is no situation so trying upon the infirmities of human temper as a long trip like this under circumstances not favorable for promoting cheerfulness and good humor. Grown men are apt to become children again and make mouths at one another on very slight provocation" (p. 97). For those who believe that the trek overland was truly high adventure, here is another book on the subject well worth reading. ☐

California's Mission Revival.

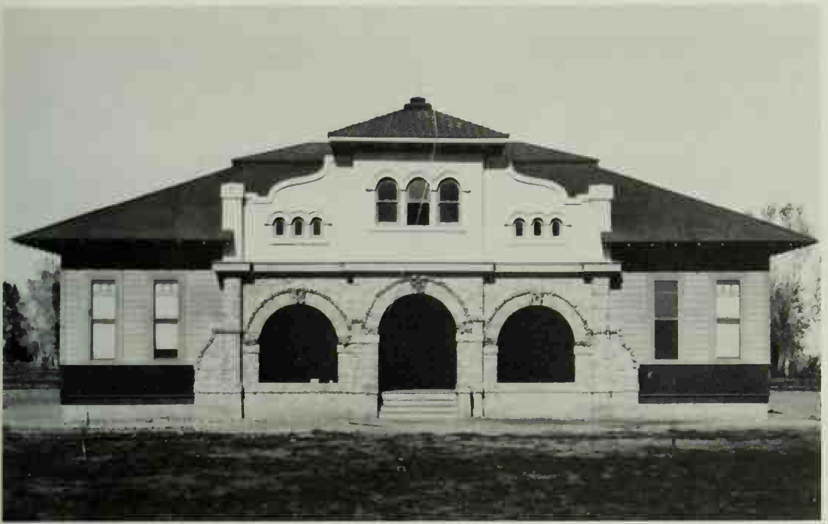
By Karen J. Weitze. (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1984. xiv, 160 pp. $22.50 paper.)

Reviewed by Eric Sandweiss, *Historian at The Foundation for San Francisco's Architectural Heritage, who is working on a survey of the buildings of downtown San Francisco.*

The study of architectural history has for some years been colored by a search for the origins of modernism. Architectural scholars often start from the unspoken question, "When did we begin thinking of buildings as we do today?" The answer has been found in any number of different places, for any number of different reasons. Whether the current notion of what is new reflects the aesthetic of functionalism and utility, or whether as in recent years it involves the creative use of symbolism and ornament, some kind of "modern" ideals may be detected anywhere one cares to look. We tend to treat each period as a step along the road of history, forgetting to stop and consider what it was to those who experienced it: the expression in bricks and mortar of a shared past and future, the shaping of common experiences and the definition of common goals.

This is what is most interesting about *California's Mission Revival*. Karen Weitze has focused upon a period which perhaps more than most may be viewed as a fulcrum between tradition and innovation, between reverence for history and devotion to direct utility. At the same time, Weitze is careful to avoid the ideologue's trap of pitting the one against the other, or of seeing in this particular point the ascendancy of modern architecture. Instead, she accurately portrays the variety—and even the confusion—of motivations and interpretations that were brought to this important architectural movement.

From the 1880s through the 1910s the stucco, tiles, gables, and towers of California's eighteenth-century Franciscan missions were copied and mimicked in thousands of houses, hotels, office buildings, schools, and train stations around the state. Mission-style buildings represented California in national fairs and expositions; they formed the basis for promotional literature and real-estate schemes; and they served as the focus for discussions on developing a national architectural style. Weitze traces this fascination with the missions



With towers, bell niches, and arcades, Citrus Union High School in Azusa (left) imitates a California mission. Less successful in camouflaging the building's purpose is the Mission Revival portico projecting out of a clapboard school house in El Centro. Bancroft Library

from its beginnings in mid-nineteenth century romantic literature to its eventual diffusion into further revivalism and avant garde experimentalism.

The inspirations for and implications of the Mission Revival were many, and it is to Weitze's credit that she does not gloss over them. A style that was based upon crude manual construction techniques came to symbolize the possibilities of technical advancements in reinforced concrete. A design vocabulary which emphasized flowing lines and odd shapes fed the imagination of more austere modernists like Irving Gill. A revival of rural religious simplicity served to promote big-time land speculation and suburbanization. As the author points out, Mission Revival had something for everyone: it was touted for school design on the grounds that it imparted high moral standards to students; it was used for train stations with the reasoning that such buildings echoed the function of the missions as way stations; and so on.

With this no less than any other cohesive architectural movement, hindsight has a way of putting simple variety into terms of struggle and conflict. The Mission Revival architect was a revivalist, yes, but the style he revived had a "modern" simplicity and enduring practicality. This kind of opposition was representative not so much of struggle or conflict as of a single diverse, but internally consistent outlook. Weitze is careful enough not to depict the Mission Revival as a battleground on which the principles of modernism emerged unscathed. She describes it instead as a single spot in the continuum of tradition and innovation that propels architectural change at all times. ☐

Committee of Vigilance: The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce Law and Order Committee, 1916–1919.

By Stephen C. Levi. (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 1983. vi, 154 pp. $15.95.)

Reviewed by David J. Langum, *Dean and Professor of Law, Old College School of Law, Reno, Nevada.*

The Law and Order Committee of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce is a chapter in the troubled history of that city's labor relations during the early portion of the twentieth century. Organized in early July 1916 to deal with a specific strike-threatened commercial shutdown, its public popularity spread in the hysteria subsequent to the Preparedness Day bombing later in the same month. The author interprets the Committee as an aberration in the Chamber's "traditional role as a neutral observer in labor disputes" (p. 123) and owing its existence to "an ulterior driving design for San Francisco: the citywide open shop" (p. 3). He concludes that the war boom of 1917 created profit potential great enough to make unskilled non-union labor unproductive and strikes intolerable, and therefore the business community's desire for an open shop yielded to financial success. The primary power of the Committee was thereby broken in 1917, and the Chamber of Commerce returned to a policy of nonintervention in labor disputes. Notwithstanding the author's conclusion, however, in the early 1920s the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce was still active in promoting the open shop, then under a new name, the "American Plan," and with a new organization, the "Industrial Association."

During the period of its power the Committee intervened in numerous labor disputes, providing non-union laborers as strikebreakers, hiring guards to protect non-union workers, obtaining judicial restraining orders, offering financial help to employers, promoting boycotts of recalcitrant businesses, entering the political process by lobbying for favorable legislation, and engaging generally in public relations activities on behalf of employers and the open shop. As a result of these endeavors the author concludes that the Law and Order Committee was in reality a committee of vigilance, not in the tradition of "quick, extra-legal action" but in a more modern "sophisticated marshalling of all of the resources within the business community . . . People were to die but the method of shoot-first-ask-questions-later had been subordinated to the use of political pressure and public manipulation" (p. 3). This is such an attenuated notion of vigilantism that it is doubtful the lusty committees of 1851 and 1856 would acknowledge paternity. Besides, whether one likes the Law and Order Committee or loathes it, the fastening of a label does not appear to add much to analysis.

At times the author makes significant statements without any factual support. For example, it is undoubted that Charles Evans Hughes lost the 1916 presidential election because of his defeat in California. The author persuasively suggests this was more due to the Republican candidate's embroilment in a local San Francisco dispute, attending a luncheon in an establishment with an open shop plaque, than traditional explanations. But in asserting the Law and Order Committee's responsibility for the rejection of a compromise to temporarily remove the offending sign during the campaign luncheon, he resorts to pure speculation; employs such scholarly weasel words as "it can be safely assumed" and "the Committee undoubtedly realized"; and offers not a shred of factual evidence (p. 61). The same sort of unsupported allegation is made regarding the Committee's alleged role in the infamous Mooney-Billings trial. Although there is no question that the trial was a sham, the basis upon which the author draws in the Committee is speculative and without evidence (pp. 106-107, 128).

In other places the author cites undoubtedly biased evidence, without evaluation, for factual propositions. For example: the "Committee pressured Dyer Brothers to break off negotiations and declare . . . an open shop" (p. 91). The source cited is a union newspaper, the *Labor Clarion*. Another example: "The fact that the violence, in this case, had been because of the armed guards hired by the Committee" (p. 100, referring to the United Railroads strike). The source cited is the pro-union mayor, James R. Rolph.

This book is not for scholars, and therefore the cautions of this review toward lacunae in proof should not deter the general reader. It is an easily read account of one aspect of San Francisco's labor history and presents in an interesting manner the interplay between politics and personalities in the 1916–17 phase of the struggle over the open shop. ☐

On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Century.

By Richard Longstreth. (New York, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: The MIT Press for The Architectural History Foundation, New York, 1982. xiv, 455 pp. Forward by Donlyn Lyndon. $40.00.)

Reviewed by Anne Bloomfield, *consultant on Bay Area architectural history, whose articles have appeared in* California History, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians *and* The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects.

Most Californians can name at least one San Francisco architect at the turn of the century, the Palace of Fine Arts' beloved creator Bernard Maybeck. Almost as famous is attention-seeking Willis Polk, responsible for Filoli and those shingled houses on Russian Hill. Ernest Coxhead is known for his trend-setting shingled houses and churches, and from lecturer John Beach's delight in his architectural surprises. The last member of this quartet is A.C. Schweinfurth, whose premature death in 1900 concluded his strikingly individual designs with Berkeley's First Unitarian Church.

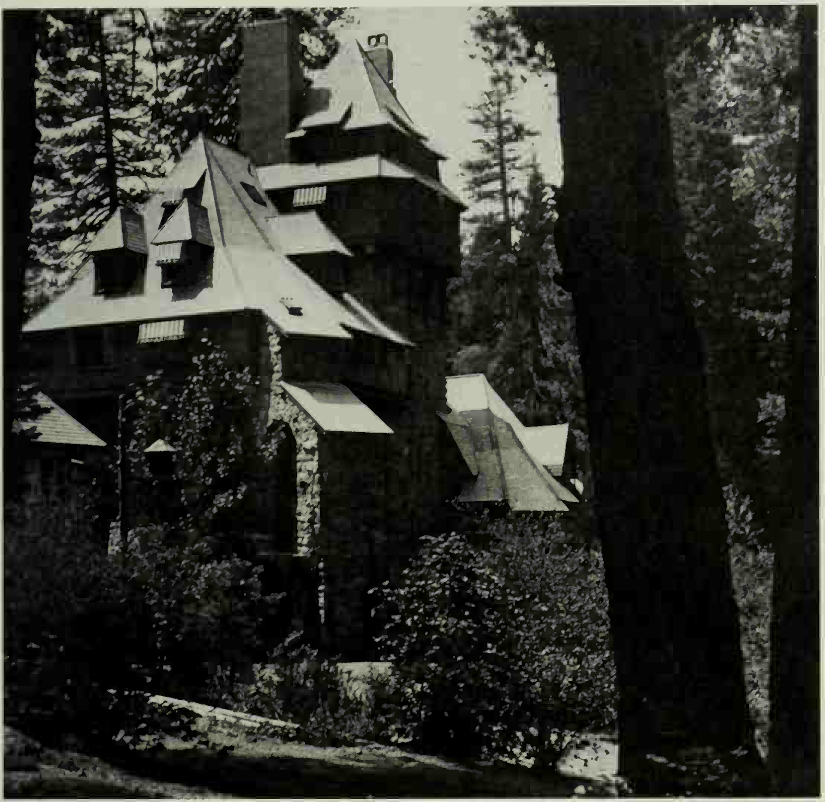
Longstreth concentrates on these men's pioneering work of the 1890s. He lays the foundation in academic eclecticism, the guiding principle of western-world architecture for half a century from the 1870s, which held that universal ideals of ordered and serene beauty, as taught at Paris' Ecole des Beaux Arts, should be clothed according to the client's program in a limitless choice of well-researched historical precedents.

Different chapters take up the four men's training, the cultural and physical setting, preparation by A. Page Brown, Coxhead's and Polk's rustic urban houses, their suburban and country houses, civic projects, and Schweinfurth's advocacy of California precedents. A penultimate chapter shows Polk and Coxhead's careers dwindling after 1900, the torch they lit diluted by competitors and followers. The triumphant ending leads into Maybeck's successes.

In revealing description, dissection of inspiration, and analysis of effect, Longstreth focuses on about one-fourth of the buildings and unexecuted projects listed in his exhaustive appendix of Coxhead, Polk, Brown, and Schweinfurth's works.

Longstreth's main concerns can be illustrated by comparing three accounts of the house Maybeck built for Charles Keeler: Longstreth's, Kenneth Cardwell's in *Bernard Maybeck* (Peregrine Smith, 1977) and Freudenham & Sussman's in *Building with Nature* (Peregrine Smith, 1974). The last relates the house to Keeler's ideal of fitting buildings into the landscape, to Japanese architecture and to Maybeck's principles of emphasizing structure as ornament. Cardwell discusses it among what Maybeck called his "Gothic houses," stressing German precedents, natural redwood, steep roofs, and the post-and-beam structural system enriching the interior.

Longstreth relates the structural system, "a veritable forest of timberwork" (320), to a twelfth-century Norwegian stave church, which he illustrates from a book Maybeck had been translating. Guided by information from Keeler's daughter, Longstreth has reconstructed the house's original plan, enabling this reader for the first time to understand the photographs in all three books.



Wyntoon, Maybeck's mountain lodge built for Phoebe Apperson Hearst in Siskiyou County, embodies dreams about what a medieval castle should be.
CHS, San Francisco

Other illustrations show a preliminary design, the built exterior, two interiors and another prototype. The author traces inspiration for the house to German architecture, to Coxhead and Polk's "use of diminutively scaled elements to make a small, inexpensive design seem grand" (318), and to Viollet-le-Duc's fascination with medieval structure.

Only very minor statements by Longstreth seem questionable: echoing Polk's total disdain for San Francisco's prior architects, claiming the city of 1890 had little open space besides Golden Gate Park, ignoring difficulties for pedestrians in Polk's grand project for the intersection of Market and Embarcadero, attributing much of A. Page Brown's work to Schweinfurth. Longstreth may have become the partisan of his architects.

This book's handsome design and other accessories are a scholar's delight. Each illustration falls within a page of the relevant text. The end-of-book footnotes have—oh joy!—text page numbers as running heads so the occasional note reader can find the one he wants. Scholastic and illustrative debts are freely acknowledged in individual notes and captions.

Longstreth really sees the buildings, reads their essences from photo, drawing, life, and oral history; he makes the reader see and understand them too. Coxhead's Pasadena church tower was "woven out of shingles" (48). In his living room for the Murdocks, "ornateness and simplicity confront one another" (134). Three Polk houses in Marin County "perform acrobatics with image, space and scale" (148). His city house for Bourn is a "warren at ground level" (215). Schweinfurth made a "tough, prickly mass" of the Moody house in Berkeley (293). Maybeck generally "mined a spectrum of theoretical approaches" (325).

Longstreth countermines, successfully probing the spread of ideas and their interpretation by four creative individuals. ☐

William Byron Rumford: The Life and Public Services of a California Legislator.

By Lawrence P. Crouchett. (El Cerrito: Downey Place Publishing House, Inc., 1984. xxv, 152 pp. $14.95 hardcover.)

Reviewed by Albert S. Broussard, *Assistant Professor, Department of History, Southern Methodist University.*

Lawrence P. Crouchett's *William Byron Rumford: The Life and Public Services of a California Legislator* is the first full length biography of a black California legislator. The biography spans Rumford's formative years in the Arizona Territory through his nine terms as a state assemblyman between 1948 and 1966. Crouchett also examines Rumford's post-legislative career, including his narrow defeat for the California senate in 1966 and his role in the economic and political development of the Bay Area Black communities. Through Rumford's multifaceted political career, we glimpse the status of Black Californians as they struggled for civil rights during the post-World War II years, as well as the interaction between Rumford and California's most influential white politicians.

Although perceived as a moderate, Rumford possessed the most successful civil rights record of any California legislator during his eighteen years in office. He introduced and supported numerous bills which ended segregation throughout the state, including the desegregation of the California National Guard, the creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, and the Fair Housing Act of 1963, which prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. While Crouchett also credits the support of Governors Earl Warren and Edmund G. Brown for these legislative triumphs, Rumford, he argues, was the political catalyst.

A biography of William Byron Rumford is long overdue. The book is useful in detailing the rise and maturation of Rumford's political career, and it also scantly explores discrimination in housing, employment, and public accommodations against blacks throughout the state. California's housing discrimination, in particular, resembled the pattern that evolved in northern cities such as Chicago, which Arnold P. Hirsch documented in his recent book, *Making the Second Ghetto, Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (Chicago, 1983). Finally, Crouchett illustrates the conservative backlash by both California voters and politicians following the passage of the 1963 Fair Housing Act.

Despite its promise, the book is poorly organized, contains tangential material concerning Rumford's family, and lacks sufficient analysis. The biography reads like a personal memoir of black politicians reminiscing about the joys and tribulations of California politics, rather than a comprehensive, analytical expose of Rumford, his major achievements, and his shortcomings. Numerous organizations that fought for civil rights during this era are neglected such as the Bay Area Civic Unity councils, California Federation For Civic Unity, American Council on Race Relations, American Civil Liberties Union, and the West Coast Regional Office of the NAACP. Moreover, Crouchett omitted both footnotes and bibliography, which makes this work of limited value to serious scholars. Thus, Crouchett's work has utility as a general introduction to the subject, but the definitive biography of William Byron Rumford and his generation of black leaders has not been written. ☐

The New Deal and the West.

By Richard Lowitt. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984. xviii, 283 pp. $25.00 hardcover.)

Reviewed by Charles E. Larsen, *May Treat Morrison Professor of American History, Mills College, author of* The Good Fight: The Life and Times of Ben B. Lindsey *(1972), contributor to* American Journal of Legal History, American West, Dictionary of American Biography, *and* Pacific Historical Review. *Professor Larsen is currently working on a study of Westbrook Pegler.*

Defining the West as that part of the continental United States west of the eastern borders of the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, Richard Lowitt, best known as the biographer of Senator George Norris, explores the impact of federal programs in this vast area during the Depression, giving special attention to land use, water resources, petroleum policy, forestry and national parks. Although the book is largely a political and administrative history, there is a lengthy chapter on "The State of the West, 1933–1934" dealing primarily with economic and social conditions as described by Lorena Hickok in her letters to Harry Hopkins. A short chapter, "Whither the American Indian?" suggests some of the limitations of New Deal policies toward Native Americans but does not examine them in any depth. The research, especially in secondary sources and government reports, is prodigious, but Lowitt has also selectively used primary sources, notably the Roosevelt papers at Hyde Park and the Harold Ickes papers in the Library of Congress.

Lowitt sympathetically and dramatically describes the involvement of New Deal agencies in bringing relief to the farmers and farm workers of the Great Plains as they suffered through drought, dust storms, and grasshopper infestation. He has high praise for occasional administrative improvisation and interagency cooperation when Congress proved dilatory or obstructionist. A case in point was the proposed shelterbelt project for planting trees in strips from Texas to the Dakotas as a means of lessening wind erosion. When Congress initially failed to appropriate the necessary funds, the Forest Service, W.P.A., and the Civilian Conservation Corps cooperated to start the project.

Beyond the Great Plains, the major figure in the West, Lowitt argues persuasively, was Harold Ickes. Ickes' clout as head of the Department of Interior assured his influence on matters dominant west of the Plains such as conservation, hydroelectric power, national parks, and (to some degree) mineral policies. A shrewd and aggressive administrator, "Honest Harold" recognized that his power was enhanced by his position as Public Works Administrator, which gave him considerable leverage in determining priorities for projects in the Inland Empire, the heart of his domain. An example of Ickes' influence of special interest to Californians was his allotment of $38 million for Boulder Dam (as it was then called), thus furthering completion of the project well ahead of schedule. P.W.A. funds also accelerated completion of the two great bridges across San Francisco Bay, although both were pre-New Deal non-federal projects.

Although Lowitt's sympathies with Roosevelt and the New Deal are clear, he is not uncritical. As others have suggested before him, Lowitt finds some New Deal "planning" excessively fragmented, and he is occasionally critical of Roosevelt for bowing too quickly to expediency when major economic interests opposed him. Two major examples were the failure to adopt a sound conservation policy toward oil and federal subsidization of silver producers.

There is a final irony implicit in the thesis of this book. It is Lowitt's contention that the New Deal uplifted much of the West from economic disaster and paved the way for its general prosperity today. Looking at election results from the region in recent years, old New Dealers might conclude that it was a Pyrrhic victory. ☐

CALIFORNIA CHECK LIST

by Bruce L. Johnson, CHS Director of Libraries

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Albright, Thomas. *Twentieth-Century Art in the San Francisco Bay Region: An Illustrated History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. $39.95 (cloth), $19.95 (paper). Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Baer, Morley (photographer). *The Wilder Shore*. Text by David Rains Wallace; Foreword by Wallace Stegner. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1984. $50.00. Order from: Westminster Distribution Center; Random House, Inc.; 400 Hahn Road; Westminster, MD 21157.

Bail, Eli. *From Railway to Freeway: Pacific Electric and the Motor Coach*. Interurbans Special 90. Glendale: Interurban Press, 1984. $29.95 ($1.50 postage). Order from: Interurban Press, Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.

Bell, Geoffrey. *The Golden Gate and the Silver Screen* [San Francisco in the History of the Cinema]. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; and New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1984. $24.95. Order from: Cornwall Books; 440 Forsgate Drive; Cranbury, NJ 08512.

Bohakel, Charles A. *Historic Tales of East Contra Costa County*. Volume 1. Antioch: Charles A. Bohakel, 1984. $5.00 (paper; includes tax and postage). Order from: Charles A. Bohakel; Post Office Box 817; Antioch, CA 94509.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer*. 1936; reprinted, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984. $40.00. Order from: University of Arizona Press; 1615 East Speedway; Tucson, AZ 85719.

California Women Tell How to Win and Lose in Politics. Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, 1984. May be purchased at cost for deposit in noncirculating collections. Contact: Regional Oral History Office, Room 486; The Bancroft Library; University of California; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Davies, J. Kenneth. *Mormon Gold: The Story of California's Mormon Argonauts*. Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1984. $12.95 (paper). Order from: Olympus Publishing Co.; 1670 E. 1300 South; Salt Lake City, UT 84105.

DeSantis, Marie. *Neptune's Apprentice: Adventures of a Commercial Fisherwoman*. Novato: Presidio Press, 1984. $15.95. Order from: Presidio Press; 31 Pamaron Way; Novato, CA 94947.

Emanuels, George. *Walnut Creek: Arroyo de las Nueces*. Walnut Creek: Diablo Books, 1984. $17.95 ($1.40 postage). Order from: Diablo Books; 1317 Canyonwood Court, #1; Walnut Creek, CA 94595.

Engberg, Robert (ed.). *John Muir Summering in the Sierra*. 1874–75, in the San Francisco Evening *Bulletin*; reprinted, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984. $21.50 (cloth), $12.95 (paper). Order from: University of Wisconsin Press; 114 North Murray Street; Madison, WI 53715.

Engelbert, Ernest A. (ed.), with Ann F. Scheuring. *Competition for California Water: Alternative Resolutions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. $8.95 (paper). Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Everett, William B. and Gary B. Coombs. *Mule Car and Trolly* [the story of the Santa Barbara Street Railway]. Goleta: Institute for American Research, 1984. $20.00; first printing limited to 500 numbered and signed copies. Order from: Goleta Depot Fund; Post Office Box 2125; Goleta, CA 93118.

Femling, Jean. *Great Piers of California: A Guided Tour*. Photographs by Marcel Mathevet. Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1984. $6.95 (paper). Order from: Capra Press; Box 2068. Santa Barbara, CA 93120.

Fey, Marshall. *Slot Machines: An Illustrated History*. Reno: Nevada Publications, 1983. $29.50 ($1.75 postage). Order from: Liberty Belle; 4250 South Virginia; Reno, NV 89502.

Frady, Steve. *Red Shirts and Leather Helmets: Volunteer Fire Fighting on the Comstock Lode*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984. $19.95 (cloth), $12.95 (paper). Order from: University of Nevada Press; Reno, NV 89557-0076.

Gauvreau, Robert. *Modesto: Images of Yesterday, Images of Today: A Rephotographic Survey*. Modesto: The McHenry Museum, 1984. $34.95 ($2.45 postage). Order from: The McHenry Museum; 1402 I Street; Modesto, CA 95354.

Heckman, Marlin L. *Overland on the California Trail, 1846–1859: A Bibliography of Manuscript and Printed Travel Narratives*. American Trail Series, Volume 13. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1984. $50.00; edition limited to 500 copies; printed letterpress by the Sagebrush Press. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Box 230; Glendale, CA 91209.

Heig, James (ed.). *Pictorial History of Tiburon: A California Railroad Town*. San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1984. $25.00. Order from: Scottwall Associates; 95 Scott Street; San Francisco, CA 94117.

Helfrich, Devere, Helen Helfrich, and Thomas Hunt. *Emigrant Trails West: A Guide to Trail Markers Placed by Trails West, Inc. Along the California, Applegate, Lassen, and Nobles' Emigrant Trails in Idaho, Nevada, and California*. Reno: Trails West, Inc., 1984. $15.00 (paper). Order from: Trails West, Inc.; Post Office Box 12045; Reno, NV 89510.

Katzman, Louise. *Photography in California, 1945–1980*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, Inc., in Association with the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1984. $45.00 (cloth), $19.95 (paper). Order from: Viking Penguin, Inc.; 40 West 23d Street; New York, NY 10010.

Kimes, William F. and Maymie B. Kimes. *The Complete John Muir: A Reading Bibliography*. Revised Edition. Layton, UT: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., 1984. $175.00. Order from: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc.; Post Office Box 667; Layton, UT 84041.

Lowe, Chuan-hua. *Facing Adversities with a Smile: Highlights of My 82-Year Odyssey from China to California*. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center

Publications, 1984. $15.00; edition limited to 1,000 copies. Order from: C.H. Lowe; 88 Castro Street; San Francisco, CA 94114.

Makinson, Randell L. *Greene & Greene: Architecture as Fine Art* [and] *Greene & Greene: Furniture and Related Designs.* 2 Volumes in slipcase. Layton, UT: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., 1984. $39.90 (paper). Order from: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc.; Post Office Box 667; Layton, UT 84041.

Martin, Stoddard. *California Writers.* New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1984. $20.00. Order from: St. Martin's Press; 175 Fifth Avenue; New York, NY 10010.

Meier, Matt S. (comp.). *Bibliography of Mexican American History.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984. $39.95. Order from: Greenwood Press; 88 Post Road West, Box 5007; Westport, CT 06881.

Mosley, Leonard. *Zanuck: The Rise and Fall of Hollywood's Last Tycoon.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1984. $19.95. Order from: Little, Brown & Co.; 34 Beacon Street; Boston, MA 02106.

O'Neill, Elizabeth Stone. *Meadow in the Sky: A History of Yosemite's Tuolumne Meadows Region.* Fresno: Panorama West Books, 1983. $6.95 (paper). Order from: Panorama West Books; 2002 North Gateway, Suite 102; Fresno, CA 93727.

Perry, Charles. *The Haight-Ashbury: A History.* New York: Random House/Rolling Stone Press, 1984. $16.95. Order from: Westminster Distribution Center; Random House, Inc.; 400 Hahn Road; Westminster, MD 21157.

Purdy, Tim I. *Sagebrush Reflections: The History of Amedee & Honey Lake.* Susanville, CA: Tim I. Purdy, 1983. $9.45 (paper; $1.00 postage). Order from: Tim I. Purdy; 500 Cottage Street; Susanville, CA 96130.

Quartuccio, Anthony. *Rambling through Baja California with Pen and Brush.* San Jose: Anthony Quartuccio, 1984. $12.00 (paper). Order from: Anthony Quartuccio; 4819 Kingdale Drive; San Jose, CA 95124.

Robertson, David. *West of Eden: A History of Art & Literature of Yosemite.* Yosemite National Park: Yosemite Natural History Association; and Berkeley: Wilderness Press, 1984. $29.95 (cloth), $19.95 (paper). Order from: Yosemite Natural History Association; Post Office Box 545; Yosemite National Park, CA 95389.

San Pedro: A Pictorial History. San Pedro: San Pedro Bay Historical Society, 1983. $29.77 (includes tax; $2.50 postage). Order from: San Pedro Bay Historical Society; Post Office Box 1568; San Pedro, CA 90733.

Schaelchlin, Patricia A. *The Little Clubhouse on Steamship Wharf; San Diego Rowing Club, 1888–1983.* Leucadia, CA: Rand Editions, 1984. $6.95 ($1.30 postage). Order from: Rand Editions; Post Office Box 2610; Leucadia, CA 92024.

Schultz, John A. *Spain's Colonial Outpost.* San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Co., 1984. $6.95 (paper). Order from: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Co., 3627 Sacramento Street; San Francisco, CA 94118.

Spence, Mary Lee (ed.). *The Expeditions of John Charles Fremont.* Volume 3: *Travels from 1848 to 1854.* Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1984. $37.50. Order from: University of Illinois Press; 54 East Gregory Drive; Champaign, IL 61820.

Weber, Msgr. Francis J. (ed.). *Father of the Missions: A Documentary History of San Carlos Borromeo.* Hong Kong: Libra Press, 1984. $18.00. Order from: Dawson's Book Shop; 535 North Larchmont Blvd.; Los Angeles, CA 90004.

Weber, Msgr. Francis J. (ed.). *Holy Cross Mission: A Documentary History of Santa Cruz.* Hong Kong: Libra Press, 1984. $18.00. Order from: Dawson's Book Shop; 535 North Larchmont Blvd.; Los Angeles, CA 90004.

Weber, Msgr. Francis J. (ed.). *Some Fugitive Glimpses at Fray Junipero Serra.* Hong Kong: Libra Press, 1984. $18.00. Order from: Dawson's Book Shop; 535 North Larchmont Blvd.; Los Angeles, CA 90004.

Weitze, Karen J. *California's Mission Revival.* California Architecture and Architects, No. 3. Santa Monica: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1984. $19.95 (paper). Order from: Hennessey & Ingalls; 1254 Santa Monica Mall; Santa Monica, CA 90401.

Williams, George III. *The Murders at Convict Lake.* Riverside: Tree By the River Publishing, 1984. $9.95 (library cloth), $4.95 (paper). Order from: Tree By the River Publishing; 4375 Highland Place, Post Office Box 413; Riverside, CA 92506.

Williams, George III. *The Redlight Ladies of Virginia City, Nevada.* Riverside: Tree By the River Publishing, 1984. $10.95 (library cloth), $5.95 (paper). Order from: Tree By the River Publishing; 4375 Highland Place, Post Office Box 413; Riverside, CA 92506.

Williams, Gerald O. *The Bering Sea Fur Seal Dispute, 1885–1911: A Monograph on the Maritime History of Alaska.* Eugene, OR: Alaska Maritime Publications, Inc., 1984. $9.95 (paper). Order from: Alaska Maritime Publications; 5260 Miramar; Eugene, OR 97405.

Wood, Raymund F. (comp.). *Monuments to Jedediah Smith.* Stockton: The Jedediah Smith Society, 1984. $10.00 (paper; $1.40 postage). Order from: Publications Office; Jedediah Smith Society (HAPCWS); University of the Pacific; Stockton, CA 95211.

Historical sources you can bank on.

Henry Wells

Wm. G. Fargo

Wells Fargo Bank now presents two important historical collections, the Wells Fargo History Room in San Francisco and the Wells Fargo Museum in Los Angeles.

You can share the experience of more than 130 years of Wells Fargo and Western history at both locations. See an authentic Wells Fargo stagecoach — like those that transported goods and valuables to early California settlers. Browse through displays of gold specimens, mining tools and Wells Fargo memorabilia or examine the extensive collections of Western documents, photographs and fine arts.

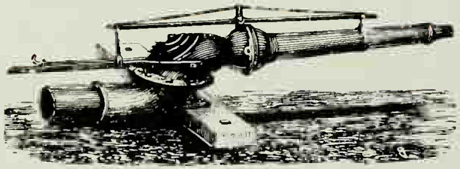
You might also visit the Old Sacramento Agency — a restored Gold Rush-era Wells Fargo Express & Banking Agency — in Sacramento's Old Town.

Come in and see why we're proud to count a significant part of Western history among Wells Fargo's most treasured assets.

Wells Fargo History Museum
444 South Flower Street
Los Angeles, CA 90017
(213) 683-7166

Wells Fargo History Room
420 Montgomery Street
San Francisco, CA 94104
(415) 396-2619

Wells Fargo Old Sacramento Agency
B.F. Hastings Bldg.
1000 Second Street
Sacramento, CA 95814 (916) 440-4262



NOTES

Snyder, "Buildings and Bridges," pp. 280-293

1. J. Leonard, Oakland, to C. Derleth, Jr., Berkeley, May 1, 1906, L.S., C. Derleth, Jr., Manuscripts, Part II, Vol. II, Bancroft Library, University of California.
2. J. Leonard, "A Memory Outline of the Pioneer Leonard Family of Union City, Michigan," October 2, 1941 (the author is indebted to Leonard's great-nephew, Gary Knecht, for a copy of this manuscript); L. Byington, *The History of San Francisco*, II (Chicago and San Francisco, 1931); 208.
3. P. Collins, *Concrete: The Vision of a New Architecture* (New York, 1959), pp. 60-61; see also C. Condit, *American Building* (Chicago, 1968).
4. *California Architect and Building Review*, later *California Architect and Building News*, May 1880, June 1881, November 1884, September 1885, August 1887, May, June, and August 1893, April 1897, January and June 1898; "Concrete," *California Architect and Building News*, September 1885, pp. 154-155 (Ransome came to San Francisco in the 1860s from England, while Percy arrived in 1876 from Boston); Collins, *Concrete*, 62; E. Ransome and A. Saurbrey, *Reinforced Concrete Buildings*, (New York, 1912), pp. 4-5; P. Turner, "The Collaborative Design of Stanford University," *The Founders & The Architects*, (Stanford, 1976), p. 53; *A Nation in Motion*, (Washington, D.C., 1976), p. 58.
5. *San Francisco City Directories*, 1889–1895; J. Leonard, "Reconstruction of the Car Ferry Transfer Aprons at Port Costa and Benicia," *Transactions of the Technical Society of the Pacific Coast*, (1895), pp. 12-20.
6. *San Francisco City Directories*, 1898–1900; "Work of the Healy-Tibbits (sic) Construction Company," *Architect and Engineer of California*, October 1908, C; *San Francisco City Directory*, 1904.
7. Truckee-Carson Irrigation Project Records, Nevada Historical Society, Reno; W. Day, "The Reno Reinforced Concrete Bridge," *Architect and Engineer of California*, March 1906, pp. 53-55.
8. F. Butler, "Longest Reinforced Concrete Bridge in the United States," *Architect and Engineer of California*, January 1906, pp. 51-54; J. Leonard and W. Day, *The Concrete Bridge* (San Francisco, 1913), pp. 15, 23, 36.
9. C. Whittlesey, "California's Largest Reinforced Concrete Building," *Architect and Engineer of California*, March 1906, pp. 18-27; C. Whittlesey, "Victory for Pure Type of Reinforced Concrete," *Architect and Engineer of California*, November 1906, p. 48; Germany sent a representative, Professor Kohnke, to interview Whittlesey about the building in 1906. Kohnke also sought out Leonard for plans of the Dry Creek and Ripon Bridges.
10. This periodical was later published as *Architect and Engineer* and finally as *Western Architect and Engineer of California*, August 1905, p. 79.
11. R. Hart, "Fireproof Reinforced Concrete Storage Warehouse," *Architect and Engineer of California*, October 1905, pp. 55-57; O. Morgan, "Will Not Supplant Stone or Brick," *Architect and Engineer of California*; J. Leonard, "Reinforced Concrete," *Architect and Engineer*, December 1905, pp. 55-59.
12. J. Leonard, San Francisco, to S.K. Lindley, Los Angeles, n.d., L.S. A copy of the letter, as printed in the Union City, Michigan, newspaper in 1906, was furnished to the author by Gary Knecht.
13. O. Morgan, "A Los Angeles Architect's Impressions of the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire," *Architect and Engineer of California*, May 1906, n.p.; C. Derleth, Jr., Berkeley, to J. Leonard, San Francisco, April 30, 1906, L.S., Derleth Manuscripts, Part II, Vol. II; J. Galloway; C. Snyder; L. Hicks; L. Hunt; J. Leonard; F. Edinger; Mr. Hoyt; C. Derleth, Jr., "Notice to Structural Engineers," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 11, 1906, p. 6; "Engineers Plan for the New City—Important Meeting in Ferry Building—Construction Methods Discussed," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 18, 1906, p. 5.
14. *Structural Association of San Francisco Weekly Bulletin*, later *Engineering Supplement to American Builders Review*. The official organ of the Association, the *Supplement* ran

weekly until December 1906. See all issues for detailed information on association activities. Bancroft Library.

15. Turner, "Stanford," 54-57.
16. J. Leonard, "How Reinforced Concrete Stood Earthquake and Fire," *Architect and Engineer of California*, May 1906, pp. 1-5; "Brickmakers Opposition to Re-enforced Concrete," *Architect and Engineer of California*, May 1906, p. 68.
17. Charles Hall Page & Associates, Inc., *Splendid Survivors* (San Francisco, 1979), p. 111; W. Day, "The Macdonough Estate Building," *Architect and Engineer of California*, December 1907, pp. 52-57; Page, *Survivors*, 142; "Popularity of Reinforced Concrete in San Francisco," *Architect and Engineer of California*, September 1907, p. 77.
18. "The Hotel St. Mark," *American Builders Review*, November 1906, pp. 38-43; E. Soule, "A Reinforced Concrete Hotel Building in Oakland, Cal.," *Engineering Record*, December 21, 1907, pp. 686-688.
19. Telephone interview with Kimberley Gresham, Monterey County Historical Society, November 2, 1981; *Architect and Engineer of California*, August 1908, p. 24.
20. Included among these graduates were A.V. Saph, E.L. Soule, D.M. McPhetres, and W.P. Day. All went on to important engineering careers. J. Leonard, see articles in *Architect and Engineer*, June 1906, February and August 1908; C. Derleth, Jr., "Buildings of Reinforced Concrete," paper read at 34th Annual Meeting of the Fire Underwriters Assn. of the Pacific, San Francisco, January 11-12, 1910.
21. J. Leonard, "The Failure of the Bixby Hotel," *Architect and Engineer of California*, November 1906, p. 48 ff.
22. J. Simons, "The Bixby Hotel Disaster as Viewed by a Brick Man," *Architect and Engineer of California*, December 1906, pp. 51-52; T. Keough, "Failure of the Bixby Hotel," *Architect and Engineer of California*, December 1906, pp. 67-70.
23. Advertisements for the firm listing services performed and building inspected appeared in *Architect and Engineer of California*, August 1906 and August 1907.
24. "Popularity of Reinforced Concrete in San Francisco," *Architect and Engineer of California*, September 1907, p. 77; "Talks on Fireproof Construction," *Architect and Engineer of California*, October 1908, p. 76; J. Leonard, "The Use of Reinforced Concrete in San Francisco and Vicinity," *National Association of Cement Users, Proceedings*, 1910, p. 7.
25. W. Day, "Reinforced Concrete Bridges, with Specific Descriptions," *Architect and Engineer of California*, August 1910, pp. 43-50; J. Snyder, "Report on Gianella Bridge," California Department of Transportation, Sacramento, December 1, 1977.
26. *Historic Civil Engineering Landmarks of San Francisco and Northern California*, W.A. Myers (ed.) (San Francisco, October 1977).
27. W. Day, "A Reinforced Concrete Railroad Bridge," *Western Engineering*, May 1913, pp. 373-378.
28. W. Day, "Oakland Avenue Reinforced-Concrete Bridge in Piedmont, California," *Engineering News*, September 14, 1911; "A California Concrete Bridge in Mission Style," *Concrete-Cement Age*, January 1912, p. 7.
29. Copies are in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (signed by Leonard); the Environmental Design Library, University of California, Berkeley; the California State Library, Sacramento; and the Transportation Library, California Department of Transportation, Sacramento.
30. F. Panhorst, "Century of Bridge Progress," *California Highways and Public Works*, Centennial Edition, September 9, 1950, p. 123; G. Tinkham, *History of Stanislaus County* (Los Angeles, 1921), pp. 79-80.
31. "Historical Property Survey Report for the Proposed Replacement of the Honcut Road Bridge on Honcut Creek, Yuba County, California," Yuba County Department of Public Works, Marysville; Tinkham, *Stanislaus*.
32. L. Aldrich and J. Leonard, *Report of Highway Research at Pittsburg, California, 1921 and 1922*, n.p., n.d.; D. Barnes, "Highway Research Conducted at Pittsburg, California in The Years of 1921 and 1922," University of California, Berkeley, November 3, 1924.
33. Interview with Mr. Harold B. Hammill, November 17, 1981; (Hammill was Leonard's employee in the early 1920s); "Bridge Report, S. Fk. American River (Chili Bar)," California Department of Transportation, Sacramento, July 31, 1939; H. Hammill, "Five Highway Bridges Across the Van Duzen River, California," *Western Construction News*, March 25, 1927, pp. 38-39; "The Upper Blackburn Grade Cutoff Bridge," *Concrete Highways and Public Improvements*, December 1927, p. 274; "The San Francisco Bay Bridge Project," *Architect and Engineer*, February 1926, pp. 104-107.
34. "Give Us Better Inspection," *Architect and Engineer*, February 1926, pp. 104-107; "Leonard Urged As Inspector," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 10, 1928, p. 10; "S.F. Engineer Takes Office," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 18, 1928, p. 4; "New Building Inspector," *Architect and Engineer* August 1934, p. 62.
35. J. Leonard, "A California Uniform Building Code," *Architect and Engineer*, April 1928, p. 106; "Am. S. C. Engineers Addressed by Editor," *Architect and Engineer*, July 1937, p. 60.
36. "Engineers With Bay Exposition," *Architect and Engineer*, February 1936, p. 58; "Architects and Engineers," *Architect and Engineer*, November 1942, p. 47.

Hoffman, "Martin Aguirre," pp. 294-304.

1. The leading proponent of Chicano resistance to Anglo rule is Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (New York: Harper and Row, 2nd ed., 1981), Chapters 1–5. See also Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), pp. 130–131; Pedro Castillo and Albert Camarillo, eds., *Furia y Muerte: Los Bandidos Chicanos* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Center, Monograph No. 4, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973); and Carlos Larralde, *Mexican-American Movements and Leaders* (Los Alamitos: Hwong Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 111, 113.
2. Ramon F. Adams' classic bibliographical treatise on west-

NOTES

ern outlaws and gunmen, *Six-Guns and Saddle Leather* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, rev. and enl. ed., 1969), contains numerous entries for Murieta, Vasquez, Cortina, and Cortez, but none for Aguirre. The mundane tasks of peace officers in the West are recorded in Frank Richard Prassel, *The Western Peace Officer: A Legacy of Law and Order* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972).

3. Margaret Romer, "The Story of Martin Aguirre, Famed Los Angeles County Sheriff," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, 43 (June 1961), 125–136. Romer's article is heavily based on the obituary articles for Aguirre in the *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1929, and personal interviews with people who knew Aguirre.

   Aguirre seems to have suffered from an above-average number of factual errors concerning events in his life, possibly because of unqualified acceptance of the details in the obituary articles and oral reminiscences. The *New York Times*, February 27, 1929, claimed Aguirre had served as sheriff "for ten years." The famous flood of January 19, 1886, has been variously dated by writers as occurring on February 22 and in 1884. Romer has Aguirre elected sheriff in 1887; Leonard Pitt, *Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 269, put the date in 1885. Such errors have been minor pitfalls in retracing Aguirre's career.
4. Mary H. Haggland, "Don Jose Antonio Aguirre: Spanish Merchant and Ranchero," *Journal of San Diego History*, 29 (Winter 1983), 54–68. Romer, borrowing heavily from Harry Carr, *Los Angeles, City of Dreams* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1935), pp. 321–322, states that Aguirre's mother died when Martin was two years old. Ruth Pico, "The Girl Who Runs a Cattle Ranch," *Los Angeles Times Sunday Magazine*, April 26, 1931, p. 8, and *An Illustrated History of Los Angeles County, California* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company , 1889), p. 701, correctly notes it was Aguirre's father who died.
5. Biographical details are based on Romer, "Story of Martin Aguirre," pp. 125–128; John Steven McGroarty, *Los Angeles: From the Mountains to the Sea* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1921), III, 737; *An Illustrated History*, p. 701; Carr, *Los Angeles*, pp. 321–322; and Pico, "Girl Who Runs a Cattle Ranch," p. 8. All sources have minor disagreements in details, especially as to dates.
6. "Constable" and "deputy sheriff" were apparently used interchangeably, although some were elected and others were appointed. Aguirre's first elected position was as an elected county constable for the term 1886–1888.
7. Boyle Workman, *The City that Grew* (Los Angeles: Southland Publishing Co., 1936), p. 228.
8. *Los Angeles Daily Times*, January 20, 1886.
9. *Los Angeles Daily Times*, January 20, 1886, offers a contemporary account oddly ignored by many later writers. For a modern description, see Dudley Gordon, "To the Rescue," *Westways*, 69 (May 1977), 20. Other versions include Romer, "Story of Martin Aguirre," p. 129; William Andrew Spalding, *William Andrew Spalding: Los Angeles Newspaperman*, ed. Robert V. Hine (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1961), pp. 122–123; and Carr, *Los Angeles, City of Dreams*, p. 322. Carr's account gives an incorrect date for the flood as does the biographical sketch of Aguirre in McGroarty, *Los Angeles*, III, 737. A different version of the events of January 19, 1886, appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1929, in the obituary articles tracing Aguirre's career. In the second version no mention was made of the streetcar, only that Aguirre rescued people directly from the river. Carr based his 1935 book's version on the obituary article he himself wrote for the *Times* on February 26, 1929; Romer closely followed the Carr version. The accounts vary as to how many people were rescued by Aguirre; 19 and 21 are the usual numbers.
10. *Los Angeles Daily Times*, January 23, 1886.
11. Robert W. Blew, "Vigilantism in Los Angeles, 1835–1874," *Southern California Quarterly*, 54 (Spring 1972), 11–30; Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1944).
12. *Los Angeles Times*, October 21 and 25, and November 5, 1888. Emphasis in the original.
13. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, pp. 269–271; *Los Angeles Times*, November 8 and 9, 1888. The city vote was much closer—6,349 to 5,388—a point noted by Richard Griswold del Castillo in his careful tracing of electoral patterns in Los Angeles. He attributed this pattern not to loss in political representation by Californios but to declining numerical strength in the face of Anglo-American immigration. Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850–1890: A Social History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 160, 162.
14. Los Angeles *Evening Express*, November 22, 1889.
15. Carr, *Los Angeles, City of Dreams*, pp. 322–323; cf. *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1929, the obituary article written by Carr.
16. Los Angeles *Evening Express*, May 3 and August 24, 1889; *Los Angeles Times*, May 3–5, and June 28, 1889. Unaccountably, the *Times* report of May 3 identified Renault as "Jerry Smith."
17. *Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1889; Los Angeles *Evening Express*, May 20 and June 27, 1889.
18. Los Angeles *Evening Express*, August 23, 24, and 26, 1889; *Los Angeles Times*, August 23, 1889. No mention was made of the resolution of the rape charge.
19. *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1889.
20. Examples of Aguirre at work can be seen in the Los Angeles *Evening Express*, September 2 and 24, October 12, November 22, 25–27, and 30, and December 2, 1889.
21. *Ibid.*, September 18, 1889.
22. *Los Angeles Herald*, October 10 and 12, 1890.
23. *Ibid.*, October 26, 1890.
24. *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1890.
25. *Los Angeles Herald*, October 11, 1890.
26. *Ibid.*, November 5 and 6, 1890.
27. John Kendall, "Sheriff—a Hand-Me-Down Job Held by Only Three People in 50 Years," *Los Angeles Times*, March 11, 1972, describes the nonpartisan blandness of modern elections at the county level. Voters would have to guess

the political affiliation of a present-day candidate for sheriff.

28. H. Brett Melendy and Benjamin F. Gilbert, *The Governors of California: Peter H. Burnett to Edmund G. Brown* (Georgetown, Calif.: Talisman Press, 1965), p. 259; *Sacramento Bee*, May 22, 1899.
29. Romer, "Story of Martin Aguirre," pp. 130–131; McGroarty, *Los Angeles*, III, 738; *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1929.
30. Kenneth Lamott, *Chronicles of San Quentin: The Biography of a Prison* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1961), p. 161.
31. Ed. Morrell, *The Twenty-Fifth Man* (Montclair, N.J.: New Era Publishing Co., 1924), p. 304.
32. Charles Howard Shinn, "The California Penal System," *Popular Science Monthly*, 54 (March 1899), 644–654.
33. California Board of Prison Directors, *Biennial Report of the State of California for the Fiftieth and Fifty-First Fiscal Years, 1898–1900* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1900), pp. 52–53.
34. Aguirre's statement is quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1929. Donald Lowrie, *My Life in Prison* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1912), p. 77. The certificate is in the San Jacinto Municipal Museum, San Jacinto, California. I am grateful to Mary H. Haggland of Riverside, California, for calling my attention to it.
35. *San Francisco Call*, May 24–27, 1902; Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors of California*, p. 270.
36. *Los Angeles Times*, May 27, 1902.
37. *San Francisco Call*, August 10, 1902.
38. *Ibid.*, August 19–20, 1902.
39. *Ibid.*, August 21–22, 1902.
40. *ibid.*, August 23 and 31, 1902; *Los Angeles Times*, August 25 and 30, 1902; Lamott, *Chronicles*, p. 163.
41. *San Francisco Call*, July 3, 13, and 21, 1903.
42. Lowrie, *My Life in Prison*, p. 207.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 85; *Los Angeles Times*, February 24, 1903; *San Francisco Call*, March 1, 1902. On March 4, 1902, the *Call* editorially defended Aguirre's use of the strait jacket.
44. Morrell, *Twenty-Fifth Man*, pp. 312–313. Note the photograph on p. 310. See also Lowrie, *My Life in Prison*, pp. 208–220; Jack London, *The Star Rover* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), pp. 23–33.
45. Romer, "Story of Martin Aguirre," p. 131. According to the *San Francisco Call*, July 30, 1903, however, at the end of his term Aguirre expressed a willingness to continue working at San Quentin, even as a subordinate under the new warden.
46. The box and scroll are in the possession of Mrs. Ruth Pico of Riverside, California. Mrs. Pico is Aguirre's niece. It is possible that the date on the scroll should have been 1903, not 1902, since the presentation was logically made as Aguirre prepared to leave at the end of his term.
47. *Los Angeles Record*, October 11, 1928. The article erroneously gave Aguirre's age as of the interview as 84.
48. In 1980 the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department organized an exhibit featuring Aguirre and his times.

Dutka, "California Gold," pp. 313-319

1. *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 9, 1848; *New York Herald*, December 9, 1848. The subject of gold in California, in all its aspects, appeared in newspaper editorials, letters to the editor, news columns, and advertisements.
2. *New York Herald*, August 19, 1848.
3. *New-York Daily Tribune*, September 16, 1848. "W.C." was probably the Reverend Walter Colton, Alcalde of Monterey.
4. *New-York Daily Tribune*, September 20, 1848.
5. *New York Herald*, September 27, 1848.
6. *New York Herald*, October 2, 1848.
7. *New York Herald*, November 28, 1848.
8. *The Evening Post*, October 19, 1848; *New York Herald*, December 2, 1848.
9. *New-York Daily Tribune*, November 27, 1848.
10. *New York Herald*, December 8, 1848.
11. *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 9, 1848; *New York Herald*, December 9, 1848; *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 7, 1848; *New York Herald*, December 11, 1848.
12. *New York Herald*, December 7, 11, 1848.
13. *New York Herald*, December 10, 11, 18, 1848.
14. *The Evening Post*, December 13, 1848; *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 13, 1848.
15. *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 13, 1848; *The Evening Post*, December 11, 1848.
16. *The Evening Post*, December 18, 1848.
17. *New York Herald*, December 19, 1848; *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 19, 1848; *New York Herald*, December 23, 1848.
18. *New York Herald*, December 9, 1848; *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 19, 1848.
19. *New York Herald*, December 13, 1848, *The Evening Post*, December 18, 1848; *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 21, 1848.
20. *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 12, 1848.
21. *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 15, 1848; *The Evening Post*, December 16, 1848; *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 18, 1848.
22. *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 21, 27, 1848; *The Evening Post*, December 18, 1848. The advice about the pursuit of agriculture was well-intentioned but no doubt unrealistic for emigrants from an urban environment such as New York City.
23. *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 9, 1848; *New York Herald*, December 9, 1848; *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 14, 1848.
24. *New York Herald*, December 11, 1848; *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 18, 19, 13, 1848.
25. *The Evening Post*, December 18, 1848; *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 9, 1848; *The Evening Post*, December 11, 1848; *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 19, 29, 1848.
26. *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 14, 11, 1848.
27. *The Evening Post*, December 11, 1848.
28. Compiled from data in the *New York Herald*, April 14, 1849.
29. *New York Herald*, December 9, 1848.

CHS Register of Historic California Businesses

The Historic Business Register program seeks to preserve and promote the state's business and economic history and to provide recognition for businesses that have existed in California for over one hundred years.

The California Historical Society recognizes the following centennial businesses for their support of the HBR Program.

SPONSORS—$10,000 and above

Chevron USA, Inc., San Francisco
Foremost-McKesson Foundation,
San Francisco
Pacific Telesis, San Francisco
Security Pacific Charitable Foundation,
Los Angeles

$5000–$9999

Homestake Mining Company,
San Francisco

$1000–$4999

Barker Bros., Los Angeles
Bixby Ranch Company, Long Beach
Butterfield & Butterfield, San Francisco
Conklin Bros., San Mateo
Crocker National Bank Foundation,
Los Angeles
Guittard Chocolate Company,
Burlingame
Halsted-N. Gray, San Francisco
Matson Navigation, San Francisco
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Sherman & Clay Co., San Bruno
Wente Bros., Livermore

MEMBERS—$100–$999

H.S. Crocker Co., San Bruno
Del Monte, San Francisco
Ducommun, Incorporated, Los Angeles
Gensler-Lee Diamonds, San Francisco
Ghirardelli Chocolate Company,
San Francisco
Haas Brothers, San Francisco
Hibernia Bank, San Francisco
Levi Strauss Foundation, San Francisco
Los Angeles Herald Examiner,
Los Angeles
MJB Coffee, San Francisco
Pacific Gas and Electric Company,
San Francisco
Patrick & Co., San Francisco
South Pacific Co., San Francisco

CHS Donors

The California Historical Society gratefully acknowledges all contributions. Gifts to the Society may include cash, securities, gifts to the collections, real estate, life insurance, services and other in-kind gifts, memorial gifts, and bequests. Listed below are individuals, foundations, corporations and public agencies whose contributions to CHS are valued at $1000 and above. We extend our appreciation to these donors.

MAJOR—$5000 and above

Mrs. Alysse W. Allen, San Francisco
Atlantic Richfield, Co., Los Angeles
Mr. North Baker, San Francisco
Mrs. Hancock Banning, Jr., San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Robert J. Banning, Pasadena
Ms. Caroline Schiller Bartol,
Carefree, Arizona
Mrs. Carole Bayer, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
The Bothin Helping Fund, San Francisco
The Braun Foundation, Pasadena
Henry and John Braun, Pasadena
The Broadway Department Stores,
Los Angeles
Mrs. Ernest Bryant III, Laguna Beach
Dr. & Mrs. John N. Callander,
San Francisco
The Callison Foundation, Pacifica
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph K. Cannell, Pasadena
Chevron USA, Inc., San Francisco
The Chronicle Publishing Company,
San Francisco
The Cook Company, Sacramento
The S.H. Cowell Foundation,
San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. J. Hewes Crispin,
Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. George Ditz, Jr.,
San Francisco
Ms. Katherine E. Doyle, Menlo Park
Mr. Frederick H. Duhring,
Los Altos Hills
Ms. Josephine Elmore, San Francisco
Fireman's Fund Insurance Company
Foundation, San Francisco
Foremost-McKesson Foundation,
San Francisco
Mrs. Linda Irvine Gaede, Long Beach
Mr. George D. Gavin, Tucson, Arizona
Mr. Joe Gobert, Brisbane
Richard & Rhoda Goldman Philanthropic
Fund, San Francisco
Mrs. Catharine Grant, Honolulu
Miriam & Peter Haas Fund,
San Francisco
Walter & Elise Haas Fund, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George N. Hale, Jr.,
San Francisco
Mrs. Margaret A. Hall, Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. Ivan B. Hart, Piedmont
William Randolph Hearst Foundation,
San Francisco
Mr. Clarence E. Heller, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. George H. Hendricks,
Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Louis C. Hendricks,
San Francisco
Heritage Cruises, Inc., New York
Hewlett-Packard Co. Foundation,
Palo Alto
Helen and George High, San Bruno
Homestake Mining Co., San Francisco
Mr. Preston Hotchkis, San Marino
The James Irvine Foundation,
San Francisco
The William G. Irwin Charity
Foundation, San Francisco
Ms. Elizabeth Bixby Janeway,
Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. William R. Kimball,
San Francisco
The Koret Foundation, San Francisco
Mrs. Leroy Krusi, Walnut Creek
Mrs. Charles B. Kuhn, San Jose
Estate of Charlotte Landram, Merced
Lane Publishing Company, Menlo Park
Dr. Oscar Lemer, San Francisco
Mrs. Henry F. Lippitt II, Los Angeles
Mr. George Livermore, San Francisco
Livingston Bros., San Francisco
Mrs. Western Logan, Piedmont
Mrs. Maurice Machris, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Bernard Maushardt,
San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James K. McWilliams,
San Francisco

Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence V. Metcalf, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert P. Miller, Jr., Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph A. Moore, Jr., San Francisco
Moore Dry Dock Foundation, San Francisco
Mrs. Albert Moorman, Atherton
Mrs. Virginia Morell, Menlo Park
Mr. Lee P. Morris, Medford, Oregon
Mr. Ross E. Morris, Vallejo
Dan Murphy Foundation, Los Angeles
Mr. Graham Nash, Pasadena
National Endowment for the Arts
National Endowment for the Humanities
National Historical Publications & Records Commission
Miss Jane Newhall, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Byron Nishkian, San Francisco
Northrop Corporation, Los Angeles
Pacific Telesis Company, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Packard, Los Altos Hills
Mrs. Joseph Paul, Ross
Miss Mary E. Pike, Santa Monica
Estate of Hannah E. Praxl, San Francisco
Mr. William Roth, San Francisco
Mrs. Madeleine Haas Russell, San Francisco
San Francisco Foundation
Estate of Kathleen Schiller, Carefree, Arizona
Security Pacific Charitable Foundation, Los Angeles
Mr. Porter Sesnon, San Francisco
Albert Shumate, M.D., San Francisco
Mrs. Betty Siegel, Berkeley
Dr. Carey Stanton, Santa Cruz Island
Mr. John Sutorius, Los Angeles
The Swig Foundation, San Francisco
The William Gorrill Swigert Foundation, Pasadena
Teevan Painting Company, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Norman B. Terry II, Los Angeles
Ticor, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. R. Lockwood Tower, San Francisco
Travel Dynamics, Inc., New York
Union Pacific Foundation, New York City
J.B. and Emily Van Nuys Foundation, Los Angeles
Wells Fargo Foundation, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Charles S. Wheeler III, Corona del Mar
Mr. & Mrs. William T. White III, East Irvine
Mrs. Dorothy Wiles, Redding

SUPPORTING—$1000–$4999

The Albertson Foundation, Los Angeles
Ampex Corporation, Redwood City
The Annenberg Fund, Inc., Beverly Hills
Architectural Resources Group, San Francisco
Atlantic Richfield Foundation, Los Angeles
Dr. Joseph A. Baird, Jr., San Francisco
Barker Bros., Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Henry Bettman, Burlingame
Mrs. Gail Roy Bivans, Glendale
Mrs. James S. Black, Jr., Hillsborough
The James G. Boswell Foundation, Los Angeles
Mr. Walter Braun, Beverly Hills
Dr. & Mrs. Earl Bubar, Los Angeles
Estate of Lynda Buchanan, San Francisco
Butterfield & Butterfield, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Richard Call, Pasadena
Dr. & Mrs. John N. Callander, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Buffington Carter, Colusa
The Columbia Foundation, San Francisco
Conklin Bros., San Mateo
Ms. Jean Connolly, San Francisco
Mr. John C. Cosgrove, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Gordon B. Crary, Jr., Los Angeles
Crocker National Bank Foundation, San Francisco
Crowley Maritime Corp., San Francisco
Cutter Foundation, Emeryville
Mr. Henry S. Dakin, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul L. Davies, Jr., San Francisco
Delta Queen Steamboat Co., Cincinnati
Mrs. Beverly Denenberg, San Francisco
Mr. Reid W. Dennis, Woodside
Mr. Harrison Dibblee, Ross
Mrs. Lewis T. Dobbins, Berkeley
Mrs. Jefferson Doolittle, San Francisco
Mr. James K. Edmund, San Francisco
Mr. Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Mrs. Virginia Woods Fallon, Santa Rosa
Mr. Charles Faye, San Francisco
Mr. Karl Feichtmeir, Federal Way, Washington
Mrs. Joseph C. Fennelly, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Attilio Ferrari, San Francisco
Mr. Alfred Fromm, San Francisco
Garrison & Slavin, San Francisco
Gauger, Sparks, Silva, Inc., San Francisco
General Electric Company, Campbell
Ms. Jerry Gordon, San Francisco
Mrs. Gerald Gray, Lafayette
Guittard Chocolate Co., Burlingame
Halsted-N. Gray, San Francisco
Mrs. George L. Harding, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Heritage Cruises, New York
Hilton Hotels Corp., Beverly Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Harry Holmes, Pebble Beach
Mr. George Hornstein, San Francisco
Hotchkis Foundation, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Jaquelin H. Hume, San Francisco
Hyatt on Union Square, San Francisco
Mrs. Douglas Johnson, Belvedere
Kawaguchi-Kihara Memorial Foundation, Los Angeles
Ms. Idabel Kleinhans, Pittsburgh
Mrs. Gladys Q. Knapp, Santa Barbara
Mr. Donald B. Lamont, New York City
Dr. & Mrs. Stephen Leavitt, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Ernest A. Lewis, Lake Wildwood
Ralph B. Lloyd Foundation, Beverly Hills
Loomis-Sayles & Co., San Francisco
Estate of Mary Evelyn Lorenz, Atherton
Ignacio E. Lozano, Jr., Los Angeles
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Edward A. McDevitt, San Francisco
Mrs. Milbank McFie, Los Angeles
Dr. Wallace E. Moore, Jr., San Antonio, Texas
Mr. & Mrs. David H. Murdock, Beverly Hills
National Maritime Museum Association, San Francisco
National Medical Enterprises, Inc., Los Angeles
National Trust for Historic Preservation
Mrs. V. Aubrey Neasham, Hillsborough
Mr. Greg Nelson, Reno
Mr. Harry L. Nickerson, Castro Valley
Mrs. Lionel E. Ogden, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Otter, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Packard, Los Altos
Pasadena Foundation, Pasadena
Mrs. Edwin Pauley, Beverly Hills
Dr. Edith Lamm Piness, Claremont
Plant Builders, Inc., San Francisco
Mr. Thomas V. Reeve II, Villa Park
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. John Dowling Relfe, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John P. Renshaw, Hillsborough
Jane Anne Rey, Tiburon
Mr. Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles
Mr. William M. Roth, San Francisco
Sacramento Pioneer Assoc., Sacramento
Mrs. Janet Scott, Novato
The Seaver Institute, Los Angeles

Mrs. Ashley Shaw, Pacific Grove
Drs. A. Jess and Ben Shenson, San Francisco
Sherman & Clay Co., San Bruno
Mr. & Mrs. Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Simpson III, Pasadena
Mr. Henry Sleeper, Sacramento
Harriet and Robert Speer, Gleneden Beach, OR
Harry G. Steele Foundation, Newport Beach
Mrs. D. Daniel Stuart, Camarillo
Sunco Mechanical, Burlingame
Mr. & Mrs. Hart H. Tantau, San Francisco
Estate of Madeline Tibbe, San Francisco
Dr. and Mrs. Stanley R. Truman, Oakland
Union Pacific Foundation, New York City
U.S. Leasing Corp., San Francisco
Mr. Daniel G. Volkmann, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Ruth C. von Platen, San Marino
The Waste Family Fund, San Francisco
Wente Bros., Livermore
Whisler-Patri, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William T. White III, East Irvine
Mrs. Warren B. Williamson, Pasadena
Mr. Howard Willoughby, Piedmont
WIM Fine Arts, Oakland
D. Zelinsky & Sons, San Francisco

CHS Members

The California Historical Society is grateful for the annual support of over 8000 members nationwide. We offer our special thanks to those individuals, foundations, and corporations listed below whose exemplary annual membership gifts help ensure the continuing vitality of the Society's collections, publications and educational activities.

Individual Members

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL—
$1000 & above

Mr. North Baker, San Francisco
Mrs. Hancock Banning, Jr., San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Robert J. Banning, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen D. Bechtel, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. William J. Bettingen, Beverly Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Johnson S. Bogart, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
Mr. James G. Boswell, Los Angeles
Mr. Alan Braun, Pasadena
Mr. Henry Braun, Pasadena
Mr. John Braun, Pasadena
Mrs. Ernest A. Bryant III, Laguna Beach
Dr. & Mrs. John Callander, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph K. Cannell, Pasadena
Mr. Robert H. Carpenter, Los Angeles
Mrs. Henry Cartan, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Buffington Carter, Colusa
Mr. Frank Caufield, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Sherman Chickering, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas E. Clarke, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. J. Hewes Crispin, Santa Barbara
Lady Ruth Crocker, San Marino
Mrs. Ralph K. Davies, Woodside
Mr. & Mrs. Alan S. Davis, San Francisco
Mr. Stuart Davis, Beverly Hills
Margaret & Bernard DeRoche, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. George Ditz, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Dewey Donnell, San Francisco
Mr. James K. Edmund, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Fred S. Farr, Carmel
Mr. & Mrs. David Fleishhacker, San Francisco
Mr. Alfred Fromm, San Francisco
Mrs. Linda Irvine Gaede, Long Beach
Mr. & Mrs. James R. Galbraith, Encino
Mr. Walter B. George, Millbrae
Mr. & Mrs. George N. Hale, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William R. Hambrecht, San Francisco
Mrs. George L. Harding, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. James R. Harvey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Mr. Clarence E. Heller, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Alander F. Hogland, San Francisco
Mr. Preston Hotchkis, San Marino
Mrs. Warren R. Howell, San Francisco
Mrs. Gladys Q. Knapp, Santa Barbara
Mrs. LeRoy F. Krusi, Walnut Creek
Mr. & Mrs. Charles B. Kuhn, San Jose
Mr. & Mrs. Ernest Allen Lewis, Lake Wildwood
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Livermore, Danville
Mrs. Ruth M. Logan, Oakland
Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
Mr. Floyd Myers Marsh, Williams
Mr. & Mrs. Bernard L. Maushardt, San Francisco
Mrs. Edgar N. Meakin, Hillsborough
Drs. Knox & Carlotta Mellon, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence V. Metcalf, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James S. Miller, Geyserville
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph A. Moore, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Byron Nishkian, San Francisco
Mr. Charles E. Noble, San Francisco
Mrs. Lionel E. Ogden, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Otter, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. Byron Nishkian, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Packard, Los Altos Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Richard H. Peterson, San Francisco
Miss Mary E. Pike, Santa Monica
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Pike, San Marino
Dr. Edith Lamm Piness, Claremont
Mr. & Mrs. Robert H. Power, Nut Tree
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John P. Renshaw, Hillsborough
Mr. William Roth, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. W.J. Shirley, Pasadena
Albert Shumate, M.D., San Francisco
Dr. Carey Stanton, Santa Cruz Island
Mr. & Mrs. D. Daniel Stuart, Camarillo
Mr. & Mrs. Hart H. Tantau, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Norman B. Terry II, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Lockwood Tower, San Francisco
Mrs. Paul L. Wattis, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Charles S. Wheeler III, Corona del Mar
Mrs. Alice Whitson, Willow Creek
Mrs. Nick B. Williams, South Laguna
Mr. Howard Willoughby, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Edward Galland Zelinsky, Belvedere

THE FRIENDS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—
$500–999

Mr. & Mrs. John A. Blume, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert L. Bridges, San Francisco
Mr. James Bronkema, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Guy C. Earl, Jr., Warner Springs

Mr. & Mrs. A. Barlow Ferguson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Devoe Field, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. William R. Fielder, Atherton
Dr. Harvey Glasser, San Francisco
Mr. James C. Greene, Los Angeles
Mr. George Gund, San Francisco
Mr. Alfred Harrison, Berkeley
Dr. & Mrs. Donald T. Hata, Redondo Beach
Mr. & Mrs. David Huntington, Glenbrook, Nevada
Ms. Leslie D. Jaffe, Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. George D. Jagels, Pasadena
Dr. & Mrs. Robert W. Jamplis, Atherton
Mrs. Judith G. Kelly, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. L. W. Lane, Jr., Portola Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Robert P. Miller, Jr., Pasadena
Dr. Ynez O'Neill, Los Angeles
Mrs. Russel D. Niles, San Francisco
Mr. Clair L. Peck, Jr., Los Angeles
Mr. Churchill C. Peters, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Potter, San Francisco
Mr. Bryce Rhodes, Santa Cruz
Mr. William Robbins, Jr., Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. Laurence Robertson, Beverly Hills
Mr. Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles
Ms. Clytie P. Mead Smith, Newport Beach
Mr. Warren D. Sorrells, Fort Worth, Texas
Mrs. Doreen B. Townsend, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Walter G. Warren, Los Gatos
Mrs. Genevieve M. Watts, San Francisco
Mrs. Helen Woodward, Los Angeles

$250–499

Mr. & Mrs. Frank H. Abbott III, San Francisco
Mr. Jack B. Adams, Los Angeles
Mr. Edward C. Allred, Los Angeles
Ms. Alice O'Neill Avery, Los Angeles
Mr. Paul H. Baastad, Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. Guilford C. Babcock, San Marino
Mr. Kahn Balin, San Francisco
Mr. George Hugh Banning, La Jolla
Mr. & Mrs. Hancock Banning III, Newport Beach
Mrs. Walter C. Bateman, Jr., Pasadena
Dr. & Mrs. James S. Benedict, San Pedro
Mr. & Mrs. Freeman R. Brant, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Louis C. Burnett, San Francisco
Mrs. Donohoe Carter, Gilroy
Mr. James C. Clark, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Eleanor A. Clayton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Henry Sutcliffe Coe, San Jose
Mr. & Mrs. Steven S. Conner, El Cajon
Mr. George L. Cook, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. David Cookson, Hillsborough
Mr. Newton A. Cope, San Francisco
Mrs. George M. Cox, Los Angeles
John & Barbara Craig, San Francisco
Mrs. Chester R. F. Cramer, Greenbrae
Mr. Michael D. Cullivan, Alameda
Dr. & Mrs. William N. Davis, Jr., Sacramento
Mr. John N. Dayton, San Francisco
Mr. Penn DeRoche, Oakland
Mr. Frank Dicky, Woodside
Mr. & Mrs. Caspar H. Escher, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Edward R. Evans, San Marino
Mr. Karl E. Feichtmeir, Federal Way, Washington
Mr. & Mrs. Mervin D. Field, San Francisco
Mrs. Mortimer Fleishhacker, Jr., San Francisco
Dr. John Douglas Forbes, Charlottesville, Virginia
Mr. & Mrs. Winston R. Fuller, Pasadena
Dr. & Mrs. John R. Gamble, San Francisco
Mr. Stephen Gavin, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Richard N. Goldman, San Francisco
Mr. Laurence K. Gould, Jr., Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Henry B. Grandin, Jr., Sausalito
Mrs. John E. Grant, Bakersfield
Mr. J. J. Greene, San Francisco
Horace & Margaret Guittard, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Peter E. Haas, San Francisco
Mr. Raymond T. Haas, San Rafael
Dr. & Mrs. George Haberfelde, Pacific Palisades
Mr. & Mrs. Charles W. Hammond, San Marino
Mrs. George Fiske Hammond, Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. Clifford V. Heimbucher, Berkeley
Mrs. Elise Higgins, Mountain View
Mr. & Mrs. Harry Holmes, Pebble Beach
Mr. & Mrs. Robin Hood, Aptos
Mr. Preston B. Hotchkis, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Steven Huss, San Carlos
Mrs. Robert B. Hutchins, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. G.F. Jewett, Jr., Ross
Mrs. Douglas Johnson, Belvedere
Mrs. F. A. Jostes, San Francisco
Mrs. Gustav Knecht, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. William C. Landreth, San Francisco
Mr. Oscar T. Lawler, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Charles E. Lowrey, San Francisco
Mrs. Jane Luthard, Los Altos
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh L. MacNeil, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Robert D. Marshall, Belvedere
Mr. Peter McFarland, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Donald McNear, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Gerald Lewis McVey, Moraga
Mr. & Mrs. John F. Merriam, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Joseph D. Messler, Pasadena
Mrs. Bruce E. Michael, Woodside
Mr. Robert Folger Miller, Hillsborough
Mrs. John Mock, Los Angeles
Ms. Mary Tilden Morton, Rutherford
Mrs. V. Aubrey Neasham, Hillsborough
Ms. Elizabeth O'Shaughnessy, San Francisco
Mrs. Charles E. Osthimer III, San Francisco
Ms. Ann Pearson, San Francisco
The Honorable Robert F. Peckham, Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. David Plant, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Donald E. Priewe, Danville
Mr. & Mrs. Herbert C. Puffer, Folsom
Mr. & Mrs. Jack Raub, Newport Beach
Jeanne & Chris Redlich, Hillsborough
Dr. & Mrs. John D. Relfe, San Francisco
Ms. Win Woodward Rhodes, Corona del Mar
Mrs. Alfred Riccomi, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Henry J. Rooney, Oakland
Mrs. Walter Schilling, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. Edward J. Schneider, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Eugene A. Shurtleff, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Alan D. Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mr. W. L. Simmons, Napa
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Simpson III, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. G. D. Simpson, Orinda
Mr. Edgar Sinton, San Francisco
Mr. David P. Smith, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. H. Russell Smith, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Roger W. Souza, Suisun
Mrs. Keith Spalding, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Irving Stahl, San Francisco
Mr. J. O. Steiny, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Ellis M. Stephens, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. Barry Sterling, Santa Monica
Mr. William D. Swanson, Oakland
Ms. Kathryn E. Taylor, San Francisco
Mr. Waller Taylor II, Los Angeles
Mrs. Adolph Teichert, Jr., Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Thede, Menlo Park
Mrs. Joseph Thompson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Tilton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Jerry Tone, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Tuller, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. John R. Upton, San Francisco
Mrs. Ogden Vest, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred S. Wilsey, San Francisco
Mrs. Nancy L. Winton, San Francisco
Mrs. Dean Witter, San Francisco
Dr. Charles Wollenberg, Berkeley
Peter & Midge Zischke, Orinda

Corporate Members

PATRON—$5000-up

Altantic Richfield Co., Los Angeles
Ticor, Los Angeles

AFFILIATE—$2500–4999

F. Korbel & Bros., Guerneville
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Moore Dry Dock Foundation, San Francisco
Times Mirror Foundation, Los Angeles

CENTENNIAL—1000–2499

Architectural Resources Group, San Francisco
Bechtel Power Corporation, San Francisco
Bixby Ranch Company, Los Angeles
The James G. Boswell Foundation, Los Angeles
Chronicle Broadcasting Co., San Francisco
Crocker National Bank Foundation, Los Angeles
Emporium-Capwell, San Francisco
Foremost-McKesson Foundation Inc., San Francisco
Fluor Corporation, Irvine
Gilmore Company, Los Angeles
Great Western Financial Corporation, Beverly Hills
Hewlett-Packard Co., Palo Alto
Hilton Hotels Corp., Beverly Hills
Homestake Mining Company,
Lane Publishing Company, Menlo Park San Francisco
Matson Navigation Company, San Francisco
Memorex Corp., Santa Clara
National Medical Enterprises, Inc.,
Newhall Land & Farming Co., Valencia
Pacific Lighting Corp., Los Angeles
Pacific Mutual Life Insurance, Newport Beach
Louis and Flori Petri Foundation, San Francisco
Santa Cruz Island Company, Port Hueneme
Security Pacific Charitable Foundation, Los Angeles
Shaklee Corporation, San Francisco
Sunco Mechanical, Burlingame
Transamerica Corp., San Francisco
Union Bank, Sacramento
Union Oil Co. of California Foundation, Los Angeles

BENEFACTOR—$500–999

The R. C. Baker Foundation, Orange
The Bank of California, San Francisco
Beaver Insurance Company, San Francisco
Burnett & Sons, Sacramento
Chevron, USA, Inc., San Francisco
Chronicle Broadcasting Co., San Francisco
Cocolat, Berkeley
Cocuzza Lenchner Foundation, San Francisco
Columbia Channel Gold Mining Co., Oakland
Crowley Maritime Foundation, San Francisco
Ducommun, Inc., Los Angeles
Eastern-Columbia, Inc., Los Angeles
Great American First Savings Bank, San Diego
Halsted-N. Gray, San Francisco
Holt Brothers, Stockton
Industrial Indemnity Co., San Francisco
International Business Machines, San Francisco
Levi Strauss Foundation, San Francisco
MJB Coffee, San Francisco
Orrick, Herrington, Rowley & Sutcliffe, San Francisco
Pacific Gas & Electric Co., San Francisco
The Pacific Lumber Co., San Francisco
Pope & Talbot, Inc., San Francisco
Sharlands Investment Corp., Oakland
Stone and Youngberg, San Francisco
Sweco, Inc., Los Angeles
Tubbs Cordage Co., San Francisco
U.S. Leasing Corporation, San Francisco
United Vintners, Inc., San Francisco

ASSOCIATE—250–499

Bankamerica Foundation, San Francisco
Richard F. Bowen Co., San Francisco
John Breuner Company, San Ramon
California Federal, Los Angeles
California First Bank, San Francisco
Coast Federal Savings & Loan Association, San Francisco
H. S. Crocker Company, Inc., San Bruno
Deans & Homer, San Francisco
Del Monte Corp., San Francisco
Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco
1st Nationwide Savings, San Francisco
First Western Savings & Loan Association, Danville
Flax's, San Francisco
Franklin Savings & Loan Association, San Francisco
Fritz Companies, Inc., San Francisco
Guittard Chocolate Company, Burlingame
The Hibernia Bank, San Francisco
Hill & Co., San Francisco
Earle M. Jorgensen Company, Los Angeles
Joy of California, San Jose
Lawrence Engineering & Supply Inc., Burbank
Lippin & Grant, Los Angeles
Los Angeles Herald Examiner, Los Angeles
Marsh & McLennan, Inc., San Francisco
Maxwell Galleries, San Francisco
Nut Tree, Nut Tree
Pacific Coast Holdings, Inc., San Francisco
Phoenix Leasing, Inc., Mill Valley
Plant Contractors, Inc., San Francisco
Price Waterhouse & Co., Los Angeles
RJB III Co., Sacramento
Rollins, Burdick, Hunter, San Francisco
San Francisco Commercial Club, San Francisco
San Francisco Federal Savings & Loan Association, San Francisco
Southern Pacific Transport Company, San Francisco
Stauffer Chemical Co., San Francisco
Sidney Stern Memorial Trust, Pacific Palisades
Sutro & Company, Inc., San Francisco
Syntex Corporation, Inc., Palo Alto
Tadich Grill, San Francisco
Transit Casualty Company, Los Angeles
Wells Fargo Foundation, San Francisco
Woodwards Gardens Veterinary Hospital, San Francisco
Yosemite Park & Curry Company, Yosemite National Park

From the Family Farm to Agribusiness

The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850–1931

by Donald J. Pisani

"A pioneering study. . . .There is in print no book-length history of irrigation and the development of water rights in California during the years 1850 to 1931. Consequently, it fills an important gap in the historical literature of California and the western part of the United States."
—Robert G. Dunbar $29.95

As Long as the River Shall Run

An Ethnohistory of Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation

by Martha C. Knack and Omer C. Stewart

Presented here is the dramatic history of the relentless nibbling away of Pyramid Lake reservation by ranchers, state and federal politicians, and federal agencies—a process still at work today. "A milestone in American Indian history. A brilliant inter-disciplinary volume that will be of intense interest to both historians and anthropologists."—Wilbur R. Jacobs $28.50 until 12/31/84, $35.00 thereafter

New in paperback—

Prehistoric Rock Art of Nevada and Eastern California

by Robert F. Heizer and Martin A. Baumhoff

"A fascinating picture book. . . . Everyone interested in American archaeology and all those studying primitive art will welcome this volume."—*Society of Antiquaries* $12.95

Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577–1580

Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of Drake's Circumnavigation of the Earth

Edited by Norman J.W. Thrower

With a message from Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh

The four hundredth anniversary of Drake's voyage provided the occasion for scholars to present new work on the cartographic, geographic, historical, and literary puzzles poised by the exploit. This volume also includes a bibliography of early sources, along with many illustrations and maps. $34.50

The Suburban Squeeze

Land Conversion and Regulation in the San Francisco Bay Area

by David E. Dowall

Communities nationwide have faced the dilemma of how to protect the environment yet accommodate the demand for housing. Many have adopted controlled-growth policies. Dowall examines the consequences of such policies in six Bay Area suburbs. $24.50

Third Edition, Expanded

Implementation

by Jeffrey L. Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky

The first edition of this book opened a debate on how government programs are implemented. Three new chapters and a new preface in this third edition explore and elaborate the relationship between the evaluation of programs and the study of their implementation. $28.50 hardcover, $6.95 paperback

The University of California/Sotheby Book of California Wine

Edited by Doris Muscatine, Maynard A. Amerine, and Bob Thompson

In this remarkable new book the most knowledgeable winemakers and wine authorities join together to explore the history and culture of California wine. They cover everything from cultivation and winemaking techniques to the art of the wine label, from the legal and political history of California wine to how to taste it properly. Rich in information and anecdotes, and beautifully designed by Ernest Born, this book is certain to become the classic work on California wine. $55.00 until 12/31/84, $65.00 thereafter

University of California Press

Berkeley 94720

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1871, is a statewide, non-profit educational institution designated by the Legislature as the state historical society. With regional centers in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Marino, the Society encourages the collection, preservation, and interpretation of information about the history of California. The Society's resources are made available for the education, research, and enjoyment of the people of California.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present.

OFFICERS

Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
President
Mrs. Norman B. Terry, Los Angeles
Vice-President
George N. Hale, Jr.,
Treasurer
Mrs. James K. McWilliams, San Francisco
Vice-Treasurer
Lawrence V. Metcalf,
Development Committee Chairman
J. S. Holliday, San Francisco
Secretary

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

North Baker, San Francisco
Mrs. Ernest Bryant, Laguna Beach
Louis C. Burnett, Sacramento
Mrs. John N. Callander, San Francisco
Mrs. Robert B. Carter, Colusa
Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino
J. Hewes Crispin, Santa Barbara
James K. Edmund, San Francisco
Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Mervin D. Field, San Francisco
James R. Galbraith, Encino
James C. Greene, Pasadena
Donald T. Hata, Jr., Redondo Beach
Clarence Heller, Atherton
William Johnston, Los Angeles
Richard B. Lippin, Los Angeles
George Livermore, San Francisco
Mrs. Bernard L. Maushardt, San Francisco
Burnett Miller, Sacramento
Robert P. Miller, Jr., Pasadena
Julian Nava, Northridge
Byron Nishkian, San Francisco
Richard C. Otter, Belvedere
Edith L. Piness, Claremont
Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles
Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mrs. Frank Simpson III, Pasadena
Carey Stanton, Santa Cruz Island
Hart Tantau, San Francisco
R. Lockwood Tower, San Francisco
Charles Wollenberg, Berkeley

EMERITI

Mrs. Francis D. Frost, Jr., Pasadena
Trustee Emeritus
Albert Shumate, San Francisco
President Emeritus

STAFF

J. S. Holliday, *Executive Director*
Pamela L. Seager, *Associate Director*
Kay Sprinkel Grace, *Development Director*
Bruce L. Johnson, *Library Director*
Louise Braunschweiger, *Southern California Director*

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—WHITTIER MANSION: Leslie Scott, *Assistant to the Director;* George Johnson, *Staff Assistant;* Sandra McPartlon, *Development Coordinator;* Connie Ingram, *Membership Coordinator;* Robin Endsley-Fenn, *Historic Business Register;* Howard Maull, *Comptroller;* Claire Voizard Barosi, *Accounting, Publications, and Membership Assistant;* Kathryn Orrell, *Weekend Receptionist;* Renee Eaton, *Regional Planning Director;* Nancy Jones, *Program Director;* Julie Vinsonhaler, *Program Coordinator;* Jean Tozer, *Program Assistant;* Colin Oakey, *Buildings and Properties Manager;* Valerie Simonetti, *Buildings Assistant;* Marilyn Ziebarth, *Director of Publications/Education Coordinator;* Heidi Swarts, *Courier Editor.*

LIBRARY: Judith Sheldon, *Head Reference Librarian;* Joy Berry, *Reference Librarian;* Douglas Haller, *Curator of Photographs;* Stephen J. Fletcher, *Assistant Curator of Photographs;* Glenn E. Humphreys, *Reference Librarian and Curator of the Kemble Collections;* Denis McLaughlin, *Technical Assistant;* Sandy Larson, *Archivist (Special Projects);* Gerald D. Wright, *Reference Librarian and Curator of the* Chronicle *Archives.*

EL MOLINO VIEJO: Margaret O. Eley, *Director;* John E. Anderson, *Caretaker.*

HISTORY CENTER: William Wurtz, *Assistant Curator;* Judy Cowan, *Special Projects;* Daniel Hoye, *Program Coordinator.*

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Richard W. Reinhardt, *Chairman;* James J. Rawls, *Vice-Chairman;* Frank G. Goodall, Donald Hata, Bruce L. Johnson, William L. Kahrl, Gary Kurutz, W. Michael Mathes, Henry Mayer, Knox Mellon, Jr., Luther Nichols, Robert H. Power, Charles Wollenberg

CALIFORNIA HISTORY
Individual copies $5.95
Published quarterly ©1984 by CHS

Annual membership $35.00
Teacher membership $20.00
Student membership $15.00

$10.00 of each membership is designated for subscription to California History

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS—WHITTIER MANSION
2090 Jackson Street
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

LIBRARY
2099 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS—HISTORY CENTER
6300 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90048
(213) 651-5655

EL MOLINO VIEJO
1120 Old Mill Road
San Marino, California 91108
(818) 449-5450

Articles for publication, books for review and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Managing Editor, 2090 Jackson Street San Francisco 94109. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors.

LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897
Second-class postage paid at San Francisco.
Publication number 084180

California History

VOLUME LXIII, No. 1-4, 1984

Index

Compiled by Marcella Genz

California Historical Society
SAN FRANCISCO·LOS ANGELES·SAN MARINO

Acuna, Jose Antonio Maria, 253
Agnew & Deffenbach, printers, 175-176
Agribusiness, 183-184
Agricultural Park (Los Angeles), 27
Aguirre, Joseph, 302
Aguirre, Martin, 295-304
Albee, George, 328
Aldrich, Lloyd, 290
Allan, Stuart, 258
Allen, Elsie, 146
Allyn, Christopher, 315
Almaguer, Tomás, Armando Valdez and Albert Camarillo, eds. *The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor, and Migration Studies: Proceedings of the First Stanford Symposium on Chicano Research and Public Policy*, rev., 261-262
Alvarado, Juan Bautista, 237, 238, 239
Alvord Lake Bridge, Golden Gate Park (1889), 282
Amateur Sports Act of 1978, 34
Ambassador Hotel (Los Angeles), 61
American Athletic Union (AAU), 33, 34, 36
American Bridge and Building Company, 282
American Broadcasting Company, 38
American Civil Liberties Union, 310
American Federation of the Arts, 78
American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO), 129
Anderson, Gilbert M., 157, 159
Angelo, Valenti, 322
Anglo-California Trust Company, 121
Anti-Debris Association, 277, 278, 279
Arapahoe Indians, 209
Arcadia Hotel (Santa Monica), 31
Architect and Engineer of California, 283, 286, 292
Architects, San Francisco, 332-333 history, 330-333, bridge design, 289-290
Architecture, International-style precursors, 287; Mission Revival style, 330-331; promotional (Los Angeles), 61-62
Argentina (ves.), 235
Argue, John C., 101, 102
Armour, P.D., 118, 121
Armour Packing Plant (So. San Francisco), 131
"Arnold Genthe's California Portraits," 152-153
Arnold, H.H., 43
Arrillaga, Jose, 231
Art deco murals, Grand Casino, Catalina Island, 76
Artic Oil Company warehouse (1885), 282
"As We Were in Avalon," by Julia Braun Kessler, 71-76
Ashford, Evelyn, 37
Associated Press, 39
Atherton, Gertrude, 142, 321
Attias, Elaine, "A Show of Culture," 77-79
Austin and Brown, Architects, 287
Azbill, Mary, 149

Baden (Calif.), 117-125
Ball, Frank, 39
Balter, Sam, "The Big Sportscast," 38-39
Bancroft, Hubert Howe, 177, 178, 180
Bank of California, 118
Bank of South San Francisco, 127
Banning, Hancock, 31
Banning, Phineas, 31
Banning, William, 31
Bannock Indians, 204
Banton, Travis, 83
Bar Association of Los Angeles, 297
The Barbary Coast (movie), 156-157
Barker Brothers (Los Angeles Home Furnishing Store), 78
Barnes, Mary, 146
Barry, John, 321
Bartlett, Dana, 255
Bartlett, Washington A., 117
Barton Lee and Co., 224
Basie, Count, 72
Baumeister, Willy, 79
Bausch, James, 19 (photo)
Baxter, Leone, 306
Bay City Iron Works, 282
Beach, John, 332
Beale, Edward F., 184
Bear Hunter, 204, 205
Bear River Valley, 277
Beck, Warren A., rev. of Gordon, *Overland to California with the Pioneer Line: The Gold Rush Diary of Bernard J. Reid*, 329-330
Beckman, Gabriel, 76
Beef Trust, San Francisco, 116, 120, 121, 122, 125, 130
Bekins warehouse (1905), 284
Belcher, Edward, 237
Bell, Geoffrey, "The Golden Gate and the Silver Screen," 154-163
Bell, Horace, 299
Bellamy, Edward, 307
Benson, Jackson J., *The True Adventures of John Steinbeck, Writer*, rev., 327-328
Bermack, Richard, 220
Bethlehem Steel, 131, 132
Belton, Bill, 311
Benton, Thomas, 55
Bernie, Ben, 72
Beverly Hills, 63
Beverly Wilshire Hotel (Los Angeles), 63
Bexley, O.A., 299
Bidwell, Annie K., 146, 149
Bierce, Ambrose, 321
"The Big Sportscast," by Sam Balter, 38-39
Bikila, Abebe, 46
Billings, Warren T., 21
Billington, Ray Allen, 180
Bithell, James, 173
Bixby Hotel (Long Beach), 287
Black, John, 95
Blair, James, 20 (photo)
Blair, Lee, 78
Blake, Fay M., 306
Blake, Fay M. and H. Morton Newman, "Upton Sinclair's Epic Campaign," 305-312
Bloomfield, Anne, rev. of Longstreth, *On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Century*, 332-333
Blum, Joseph A., 121
Blum, Joseph A., "South San Francisco: The Making of an Industrial City," 114-134
Bober, David, 82
Boettcher, Elke, 312
Bolton, Herbert Eugene, 180
Bonsal, Stephen, 184
Book Club of California, 322
Bordoise, Nick, 214, 220
Borough, Reuben, 308
Bosqui, Edward, 175
Bouchard, Hippolyte, 234, 235, 236, 238
Bourland, Cliff, 33
Bourn and Wise wine cellar, St. Helena (1888), 282
Bourne, Esther M., 172-176
Bourne, George Melksham, 173-174, 175
Bourne, William Oland, 173
Bower, David, 263
Boyce, H.H., 299
Boyd and Fraser, publishers, 177
Bradbury, Ray, "Once Was a Year When All Was Noon," 6
Bradley, Tom, 102
Bradshaw, Thornton, 102
Brady, Victoria, Sarah Crome and Lyn Reese, "Resist! Survival Tactics of Indian Women," 140-151
Brand, Stewart, 258
Brandiff, George, 255

Bricklayers and Masons International Union, 288
Bridge design, reinforced concrete, 289-290
Bridges, Harry, 213, 216, 217
Briggs, Peter, 257
Brisbane, Arthur, 12, 40
Brooks, Wiliam H., 253
Brother Company, 38
Brown, A. Page, 332-333
Brown, Archie, 310, 312
Brown, Benjamin C., 254
Brown, Carol Henning, 327
Brown Derby Restaurant (Los Angeles), 41, 61
Brown, Joe E., 76
Brown, Mabel, 145-146
Bruinsma, Ted, 101
Brundage, Avery, 34, 36, 70
Buck, Frank, 72, 195
Buck, Pearl, 328
"Buildings and Bridges for the Twentieth Century," by John W. Snyder, 281-292
Bullocks, Los Angeles, 61
Burford, James, 307, 308
Burke, Thomas, 10
"Burning the Wires—Press Rate," by Ed McCray, 40-45
Burton, Kay, 307
Bush, Jim, 35, 37
Butchers' Board of Trade of San Francisco and Alameda Counties, 122, 123, 124
Byers, Walter, 36

Cabot, Cabot and Forbes, (Land developers), 132
Caldwell, Conrad, 51
Calhoun, John C., 206
California Academy of Sciences (1889), 282
California Camera Club, 152
"California Checklist," by Bruce L. Johnston, 185-186, 265-266, 335-336
California Coastal Commission, 259
California Department of Parks and Recreation, 237
California Department of Public Works, 291
California Farmland: A History of Large Agricultural Landholdings, by Ellen Liebman, rev., 183-184
California Highway Patrol, 89, 220
California, images of, 256-259
California Institute of Technology, 55-56, 65
California Motion Picture Corporation, 160-161, 163
California Prison Commission, 303
California State Baseball League, 28
California State Board of Prison Directors, 303
California State University, Long Beach, 33
California Volunteers, Civil War, 200-211; First Cavalry, 201; First Infantry, 201; Second California Cavalry, 202; Third California Infantry, 202, 209
California's Mission Revival, by Karen J. Weitze, rev., 330-331
Calman, George C., 12
Caltrans, 89
Camarillo, Albert, Tomás Almaguer and Armando Valdez, eds., *The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies: Proceedings of the First Stanford Symposium on Chicano Research and Public Policy*, rev., 261-262
Cameron, Simon, 201
Caminetti Act (1891), 279
Camp Douglas (Utah), 203, 205, 208
Cannon, Joe, 138
Canon Company, 38
Caro, Patricia, 258
Carr, Harry, 297, 298
Carr, William Arthur, 16 (photo), 24, 25
Cartwright, William H., 180
Cary, Alice, 175
Casey, Michael, 215, 216
Cashbaugh, Jennie, 145
Castro, Jose, 237
Catalina Island, 71-79; Big band music, 72, 76; Glass-bottomed boats, 75, 76
Catecismo de Ortologia, 173
Central California Archeological Foundation, 237
Century Club (Los Angeles cycling club), 28
Cervantes, Rudy, 107
Chalfant, W.A., 181
Chamberlain, Lucia, 153
Chandler, Charles, 20 (photo)
Chandler, Harry, 11-12
Chandler, Raymond, 63
Chaplin, Charles, 58, 157
Chapman Park Hotel (Los Angeles), 12, 61
Chernin, Milton, 312
Cheyenne Indians, 209
Chicago (Illinois), meat industry, 116, 122
Chicanos and law enforcement, 295-304
Chicano Studies, 261-262
Chico Vecino School, 149
Children's books, 172-176
Crome, Sarah, Lyn Reese and Victoria Brady, "Resist! Survival Tactics of Indian Women," 140-151
Chronicles of California, 177
Civil War, 200-211
Clarion (ves.), 235
Clark, Alice J. Essay Contest, 121
Clark, Champ, 138
Clark, Ellery, 10
Clark, Leonard, 76
Clements, Kendrick A., rev. of Hoffman, *Vision or Villainy: Origins of the Owens Valley-Los Angeles Water Controversy*, 181-182; rev. of Kahrl, *Water and Power: The Conflict over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley*, 181-182
Cleveland, Grover, 138, 297
Cochran, Ray, 33
Coe, Sebastian, 47
Coghlan, Eammon, 47
Colbert, Claudette, 82
Colby, William, 138
Coleman, Georgia, 18 (photo)
Collyer, R.H., 318
Colma Creek, 117
Colonial Monterey Foundation, 237
Colorado Street Bridge (Pasadena), 65
Columbia Steel Company, Pittsburg, 290
Committee of Vigilance: The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce Law and Order Committee, 1916–1919, by Stephen C. Levi, rev., 331-332
Como, Perry, 72
Connor, Patrick Edward, 202-209
"The Controversial Career of Martin Aguirre," by Abraham Hoffman, 295-304
Cook, Philip St. George, 180
Coolbrith, Ina, 321
Copoloff, Steven R., 98, 100
Copper Trust, 129, 130
Cornero, Anthony, 41
Corney, Peter, 236
Cortez, Gregorio, 295
Cordoba, Alberto de, 232, 233
Costanso, Miguel, 232
Coubertin, Pierre de (Baron), 10, 23, 25, 77, 79
Cowan, Robert, 322
Coxhead, Ernest, 332-333
Crabbe, Buster (Clarence), 21, 44, 66 (photo), 69
Crane, Clarkson, 322
Creed, W.E., 290

Creel, George, 311
Criley, Richard, 310, 312
Crocker, Mrs. William H., 152
Crossley Building (San Francisco), 281, 282
Crown Distilleries, 121
Cuerro, Delfina, 146
Cummings, Homer, 196, 198
Cupeño Indians, 141
Cunningham, Bill, 12
Cunningham, Ebenezer E., 125-126, 130
Cuprien, Frank W., 253, 255
Curlett, William, 287
Cutter, Donald, 180
Cyane (ves.), 238, 239

"Dad," by John Riley, 50-51
Daley, Arthur J., 40, 41, 42, 43
Danzig, Allison, 43
Darcy, Sam, 310
Dart, Justin, 102
Dasmann, Raymond F., rev. of Schrepfer, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods. A History of Environmental Reform, 1917–1978*, 262-263
Davidson, B., 226
Davidson, George, 322
Davis, H.O., 11
Dawes Allotment Act (1887), 149
Dawson, John W., 206
Day, W.P., 289, 292
"The Day the City Stopped," by John Kagel, 212-223
Deady, Matthew P., 278
Dee, Frances, 82
De Forest, Lee, 260
De la Guerra, Jose, 234, 235
De Lacy, Hugh, 306, 312
Delano, Alonzo, 174
Democratic National Convention (1932), 194-199
Dempsey, Jack, 24, 51
Dempster, Milen, 310
Derek, Bo, 70
Derleth, Charles Jr., 285
De Young, Michael, 302
Dicky, Charles W., 287
Didrikson, "Babe" Mildred, 12, 15 (photo), 21, 45, 49
Diegeños Indians, 149
Dietrich, Marlene, 83
Di Leo, Michael and Eleanor Smith, *Two Californias: The Truth About the Split-State Movement*, rev., 328-329
Dillard, Harrison, 46
Dillon, Josephine, 69
Dinsmore, Nancy, 81
Ditzel, Paul, "Olympic Telecommunications," 91-100
Dixon, Maynard, 321
Doak Sheet Metal Co., 131
Dobie, Charles Caldwell, 322
Dodge, Grenville, 209
Dominguez Field, Los Angeles, 164
Don Estrada Buena Vista Ranch, 144
Donahue, Jim, 56
Donley, Michael, 258
Doty, James Duane, 207-208
Dow Jones Co., 39
Drake, Ducky, 36
Drury, Newton, 263
Dry Creek Bridge (Modesto), 283
Dubois, Constance, 149
Dubuque Packing Plant, 131
Duhaut-Cilly, 147
Dunlap, David, 20 (photo)
Dunne and McPike (law firm), 195
Dunne, John Gregory, 257
Dutka, Barry L., "New York Discovers Gold in California," 313-319
Dyer, Braven, 25
Dyer, John, 92

Eakins, Thomas, 79
Earhart, Amelia, 43
Eastlake Park (Los Angeles), 31
Eastman, Ben, 16 (photo), 24, 25
Eastside Cycle Club (Los Angeles), 27
Echo Park (Los Angeles), 31
Economic Research Associates (ERA), 106
Edison, Thomas, 260
"An Editors' Confession: The Golden State Series," by Norris Hundley, Jr. and John A. Schultz, 177-178
Edmundson, Alfred, 117
Edward F. Beale & the American West by Gerald Thompson, rev., 184
Egan, Ferol, "In the Spirit of Challenge," 46-48
Eisenstein, Sergei, 307
"El Castillo de Monterey, Frontline of Defense," by Diane Spencer-Hancock and William E. Pritchard, 230-240
Electronics industry, 260
Eliel, Paul, 214
Ellen, Fay, 85
"End Poverty in California" campaign (1934), 306-312
The Enterprise (newsp.), 125, 127, 128
Environmental battles, 275-279; San Francisco Bay Area, 129-130
Environmental organizations, 262-263
Enzer, Selwyn, 92
Erickson, Steve, "Where Fancies Flicker" 66-70
Ermine Skin Band, 47
Essanay Film Manufacturing Company, 157, 159, 163
Estrada, Jose, 235
Eucalyptus School of painting, 255
Exposition Park (Los Angeles), 31, 58, 89, 91, 92

Fairbanks, Douglas, 70
Fairly, Ron, 36
Faragher, John M., 329
Farley, James, 195, 196, 198
Farmer, Zack, 9, 11, 12
Farrell, Robert, 91
Fashion industry, influence of Los Angeles on, 80-83
Faulkner, Ralph, 67, 70
Fauntz, Jane, 51
"FDR's Forgotten Friend: Henry M. McPike and the 1932 Democratic Presidential Nomination," by Thomas T. Spencer, 194-199
Feitelson, Lorser, 77
Fernbridge (Eureka), 289
Ferris, Samuel, 21
The Fight to Save the Redwoods. A History of Environmental Reform, 1917–1978, by Susan R. Schrepfer, rev. 262-263
Fitzpatrick, Robert, 79
Fleishman, Sue, "Made in California," 80-83
"Flying—Some Practical Experiences," 164-171
Flynn, Errol, 70
Ford and Sanborn Department Store (Salinas), 287
Forsythe, Roger, 82
Fort Bridger (Utah), 205
Fort Mervine, 240
Francis, Kay, 82
Franklin Canyon Ranch, 81
Frash, Robert M., "Painters of Laguna Beach, 1900–1940," 252-255
Freeth, George, 31
Fremont, John C., 117
Fuji Company, 38
Fuller, (W.P.) Paint Company, 127, 130, 132

Gable, Clark, 69
Gabrieleño Indians, 147

Gage, Henry T., 301, 302, 303
Galitzen, Michael, 19 (photo)
Gallagher, Edward Clark, 50
Gallico, Paul, 12, 40, 49
Galloway, John D., 285
"The Games Schools Play," by Larry L. Meyer, 32-37
Garber, Jan, 72
Garbo, Greta, 44
Garcia, Mario T., rev. of Valdez, Camarillo and Almaguer, eds. *The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies: Proceedings of the First Stanford Symposium on Chicano Research and Public Policy*, 261-262
Garland, William May, 9, 11
Garner, John Nance, 195, 196, 198, 199
Garner, William Robert, 144
Gaylord Hotel (Los Angeles), 61
Genentech Corporation, 132
Generous, Tom, "Over the River Jordan," 200-211
Genthe, Arnold, 152-153
George, Henry, 183
Gerrard, Philip, 306, 312
Getty, (J. Paul) Museum, 57
Gianella Bridge (Hamilton City), 289
Gibbs, Isaac L., 205-207
Gifford, Frank, 36
Gigido, Revilla, 231, 323
Gilbert, Bill, *Westering Man: The Life of Joseph Walker*, rev., 179-180
Gill, Irving, 65, 331
Glass-bottomed boats, 75, 76
Goetzmann, William H., 180
Gold, discovery of, 313-319
Gold Rush, 142, 144, 329-330; Diaries, 329-330; New York newspapers reactions to, 313-319; Stock market in New York reaction to, 315-316
The Golden Era (1852–1893) (pub.), 321
Golden Gate (ves.), 226
"The Golden Gate and the Silver Screen," by Geoffrey Bell, 154-163
Golden Gate Series, 177-178
Golinken, Joseph, 78
Gomez, Alfereces Manuel, 235
Goodman, Benny, 72
Gordon, Mary McDougall, ed., *Overland to California with the Pioneer Line: The Gold Rush Diary of Bernard J. Reid*, rev. 329-330
Gould, Alan, 12
Grabhorn brothers, 322
Grace, (W.R.) and Company, 127
Graham, Norris, 20 (photo)
Grand Casino, Catalina Island, 71-79; Art deco murals, 76
Grange, Red, 24
Grant, Ulysses S., 184
Grauman, Sid, 64
Grayson, Hal, 72
Greed (movie), 163
Greeley, Horace, 175
Greenwood, Daniel D., 106
Greenwood, Robert, 173
Greer, Howard, 82
Gregg, Duncan, 20 (photo)
Grey, Zane, 76
Griffith, Griffith J., 31
Griffith Park (Los Angeles), 31
Gropius, Walter, 79
Gubernatorial campaign (1934), 305-312
Guggenheim Family, 129, 130
Gutierrez, Nicholas, 237
Gyzelaar, Henry, 235

Hague, Harlan, rev. of Gilbert, *Westering Man: The Life of Joseph Walker*, 179-180
Haight, Raymond L., 306, 310
Haight, Raymond Jr., 310, 312
Hamel, Gustav, 164-171
Hamilton, Peggy, 82
Hancock Park (Los Angeles), 62
Hanson, Dirk, *The New Alchemists: Silicon Valley and the Microelectronics Revolution*, rev. 260
Harding, Stephen S., 206, 207
Harlow, Jean, 82
Harriman, E.H., 138
Harrington, J.P., 147
Harrison, Benjamin, 137, 297
Harrison, William Preston, 254
Hart, James, 256, 258
Hart, Ralph Warner, 284
Harte, Bret, 161, 174, 321
Hawley, Philip, 102
Hayes, Helen, 70
Haymes, Dick, 72
Haynes, Lincoln, 312
Healy, Tibbetts and Company, 282
Hearst, William Randolph, 194, 216, 217, 218
"Heinrich Schliemann's Sacramento Connection," by James F. Wilhelm, 224-229
Helicon Home Colony (Englewood, N.J.), 305
Henie, Sonja, 68
Henry, William M., 11, 12, 21, 39
Herman, Woody, 72
Herrin, William, 138
Hetch Hetchy, 138, 139
Hill, Ralph, 16 (photo), 21
Hill, Winslow, 20 (photo)
Hills, Anna A., 253
Hinkle, Clarence, 254, 255
Hinckley, Ted C., rev. of Malone, ed., *Historians and the American West*, 180
Hirschl, Nikolaus, 51
Historians and the American West, ed. by Michael P. Malone, rev., 180
Hitchcock, Alfred, 163
Hitler, Adolph, 25, 46
Hoffman, Abraham, "The Controversial Career of Martin Aguirre," 295-304; *Visions or Villainy: Origins of the Owens Valley-Los Angeles Water Controversy*, rev. 181-182
Hoffman, Abraham, *Visions or Villainy: Origins of the Owens Valley-Los Angeles Water Controversy*, rev. 181-182
Holcomb, Robert, 312
Holder, Charles Frederick, 31
Hollenbeck Park (Los Angeles), 31
Holliday, J.S., 329; "The Politics of John Muir," 135-139
Hollywood, 64-65
Hollywood and Olympic winners, 67-70
Holm, Eleanor, 18 (photo), 21, 43, 44, 66 (photo), 69-70
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 323
Holt-Atherton Pacific Center for Western Studies, University of the Pacific, Stockton, 247
Homart Development, 132
Honcut Creek Bridge, Yuba County, 290
Hoover, Herbert, 196, 305
Hopkins Marine Center, 328
Hopkins, Miriam, 76
Horse racing, Los Angeles, 27
Hotel Green (Pasadena), 31
Hotel St. Mark (Oakland), 287
Houck, Curt, 72
Houk, Walter, "The Look of L.A.," 58-65
House of Rothschild, San Francisco, 224, 226
Houston, James D., "The New Anatomy of California," 256-259
Houston, Larry, 34
Hoyt, Samuel, 205
Huddle (movie), 51
Hughes, Charles Evan, 12, 332
Hundley, Norris Jr. and John A. Schultz, "An Editors' Confession: The Golden State Series," 177-178
Huntington, Collis P., 127
Huntington, Henry E., 31, 65
Hutchins, Julie, 150
Hutchings, James, 173

Hutching's California Magazine, 173, 174
Hutchings & Rosenfield, 173
Huxley, Aldous, 64
Hyatt, Thaddeus, 281
Hydraulic Miners Association, 277, 278
Hydraulic mining in the Sierra, 276-279

Iler, Peter, 121, 122, 125, 126
Illinois Athletic Club, 33
Illinois Womens Track Club, 34
Illustrated Los Angeles Herald, 54
"An Imaginative History of San Francisco: The Collages of Satty," by Pamela Seager, 242-244
"In the Spirit of Challenge," by Ferol Egan, 46-48
Industrial Association of San Francisco, 213
Industrial communities, 114-132
International Amateur Athletic Federation, 21
International Aviation Meet (1910), 54
"International City," by Richard Lillard, 52-57
International Labor Defense, 220
International News Service, 39
International Wrestling Federation, 51
Izaak Walton (ves.), 315
"Is the Hotel (As We Know It Now) Doomed?," by Basil Woon, 245-246

Jackson, Joseph Henry, 322
James, Harry, 72
Jarrett, Art, 70
Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL), 56
John Steinbeck: The California Years, by Brian St. Pierre, rev., 327-328
Johnson, Bruce L., "California Check List," 185-186, 265-266, 335, 336
Johnson, Hugh, 216, 220
Johnson, Robert Underwood, 138
Jolson, Al, 68
Jones, Thomas Catesby, 238
Jordan, David Starr, 257
Jordan River (Utah), 202
Jurgens, Dick, 72
Jury, R.H., 128

Kagel, John, "The Day the City Stopped," 212-223
Kahrl, William, 258
Kahrl, William L., *Water and Power: The Conflict Over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley*, rev. 181-182
Kamali, Norma, 82
Kauffman, George, 307, 311, 312
Kaye, Jeffrey, "Return Engagement," 101-107
Keeler, Charles, 332
Keene, Barry, 328
Keith, William, 153, 174
Kelley, Robert L., 279
Kelly, Fred, 33
Keough, T.E., 288
Kessler, Julia Braun, "As We Were in Avalon," 71-76
Keyes, James H., 277
Keyes v. Little York Gold Washing & Water Co. (1879), 277, 278
Keyser, Phil, 277
Kidwell, George, 216
Kinne, A.B., 124
Kinney, J.F., 207, 208
Kissell, Bill, 82
Knowles, (I.G.) Farm, 117
Koenig, William, 288
Kremer, J. Bruce, 198, 199
Kroeber, A.L., 143
Kurtz, Frank, 19 (photo)
Kyser, Kay, 72

La Brea Tar Pits (Los Angeles), 78
Laguna Beach, painters of, 252-255
Laguna Beach Art Association, 253
Laguna Beach Art Gallery, 253-254
Lapham, Lewis, 257
Lamb, Charles, 323
Lambert, Louise Todd, 310, 312
Lane, Martha, 218
Lange, Dorothea, 321
Langum, Stephen C., rev. of Levi, *Committee of Vigilance: The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce Law and Order Committee, 1916–1919*, 331-332
Larkin, Thomas O., 313
Lasuén, Fermin de, 142
Leake, W.S., 302-303
Lehman, B.H., 321
Lehtinen, Lauri, 16 (photo), 21
Leonard, George, 257
Leonard, John Buck, 281-292
Leonard, Joseph C., 281
Leonard, Martha Haynes, 281
Levi, Stephen C., *Committee of Vigilance: The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce Law and Order Committee 1916–1919*, rev., 331-332
Levi Strauss & Co., 83
Lewis, Carl, 48
Lewis, Oscar, 320-326
Lewis, Oscar, *The Big Four*, excerpt from, 324-326
Lewitsky, Bella, 77
Liebman, Ellen, *California Farmland: A History of Large Agricultural Landholdings*, rev., 183-184
Life Stock Men of California, 125
Lilienthal, Ernest Reuben, 121
Lilienthal, Jesse W., 121
Lilienthal, Philip N., 121, 127
Lillard, Richard, "International City," 52-57
Lima, Albert (Mickey), 310, 311, 312
Limbaugh, Ronald, 247-251
Lincoln, Abraham, 137, 201, 207
Linkletter, Carl, 23
Live stock market, West Coast, 121
Lloyd, Harold, 24
Loew's Place Theatre, 52
Logue, Lucille, 22
London, Jack, 153, 257, 304
Longmans, Green, and Co., (pub.), 164
Longshoremen (San Francisco), 213, 215
Longstreth, Richard, *On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Century*, rev., 332-333
"The Look of L.A.," by Walter Houk, 58-65
Los Angeles, Avila Adobe, 59; Chamber of Commerce, 310; City Department of Transportation (DOT), 89; City Hall, 59; Coliseum, 11, 58, 78, 89, 92; cycling associations, 27; El Teatro Campesino, 57; ethnic population, 52-57, 107; foreign trade, 55; freeways, 88-93; Grand Central Market, 59; Growth of industry, 55-56; horse racing, 27; influence on fashion industry, 80-83; Japan-American Theater, 57; movie theaters, 60; Olvera Street, 59; Olympic Arts Festival (1984), 79; Olympic Stadium 58; Olympics (1932), see No. 1, Winter 1984; Organized athletics, 56-57; promotional architecture, 61-62; Railway, 59; Rodeo Drive, 81; traffic problems, 88-93; walking associations, 27; Wilshire Boulevard, 61
Los Angeles and the Automobile, 62
Los Angeles Artists Council, 78
Los Angeles Athletic Club, 27, 28, 31, 51, 56, 61, 64
Los Angeles Bicycle Club, 27-28
Los Angeles Convention Center, 38, 100
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 57, 78
Los Angeles County/University of

Southern California Medical Center, 56
Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, 254
Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee, 11, 36, 38, 57, 89, 92, 93, 102, 104
Los Angeles-Owens Valley water controversy, 181-182
Los Angeles Police Department, 106
Los Angeles Unified School District, 55
Los Angeles Yacht Club, 28
Loues, Spiridon, 10
Lowrie, Donald, 303
Lurie, Dora, 49
Lux, Charles, 117, 118, 119, 120
Lux Ranch, 125
Lynn Otis, 311

McAdoo, William Gibbs, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199
MacArthur, Charles, 70
McCormick, La Rue, 307, 309, 312
McCray, Ed, "Burning the Wires—Press Rate," 40-45
McCullough, James, 124
MacDonough Estate Building (San Francisco), 287
McDougall, Benjamin G., 286
McDowell, Irwin, 208
McGarry, Edward, 203, 204
McHenry, Dean, 308, 312
MacKenzie, J.F., 11
MacKenzie, R. Tait, 79
McPike, Henry H., 194-199
"Made in California," by Sue Fleishman, 80-83
Madison, Helene, 18 (photo), 21
Maggard, David, 46
Maidu Indians, 146
Mail routes, pre-Civil War, 201, 202, 203, 207
Malakoff Diggins State Historical Park, 279
Malone, Michael P., ed. *Historians and the American West*, rev., 180
Manhattan (ves.), 70
Manufacturers' and Producers' Association of California, 125
March, Fredric, 76
Marin County, 160-161
Martin, Freddie, 72
Martin, Glen, 164, 166
Martin-Marietta Co., 164
Martin, W.J., 126, 127, 130
Martinez, Sophia, 149
Marvin, Lee, 257
Mathias, Bob, 33
Maurois, André, 78
Maxwell, Richard, 238
Maybeck, Bernard, 332-333
Meat industry, 116-130
Mechlin, Leila, 78
Medbury, Chauncey M. III, 102
Medeiros, Walter, 242
"A Memory of Byways," by Lawrence Clark Powell, 84-87
Menke, Frank, 12
Merriam, Frank, 214, 220, 306, 310, 311, 312
Merriam, Hart, 139
Merriam, John C., 143
Metcalfe, Ralph, 16 (photo), 21
The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico, by David T. Weber, rev. 260-261
Meyer, Larry L., "The Games Schools Play," 32-37
Meyers, William H., 239
Micheltorena, Manuel, 239
Microelectronics industry, 260
Miller, Glen, 72
Miller, Henry ("Cattle King"), 117-118, 119, 120, 121, 122
Miller, Norman, 36
Miller, Robert Ryal, rev. of Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico*, 260-261
Milles, Carl, 78
Millier, Arthur, 79
Mills (Billy) Indian Youth Leadership Program, 47
Mills, William 47
Milton Mining and Water Company, 275
Miramar Hotel (Santa Monica), 63
Mission San Antonio, 147
Mission San Carlos Borromeo, 147
Mission San Gabriel, 149
Mission San Juan Bautista, 239
Mission San Juan Capistrano, 252
Mission Santa Barbara, 147
Mitchell, Lisa, "Once a Winner," 49
Modern Art Society, 254
Molter, Ted, 307, 312
Monadnock Building (San Francisco), 288
Mono Valley, 182
Monterey Presidio, 236-237
Montgomery, Marjorie, 81
Mooney, Tom, 21, 220
Moran, Gussie, 82
Moran of the Lady Letty (movie), 162-163
Moran Packing Company, 131
Morgan, Octavius, 284, 285
Mormon War of 1858, 202
Mormons, 202-209
Morrell, Ed, 301, 303, 304
Morris, Edward, 121
Morris, Glenn, 70
Morris, Nelson, 118, 121, 124, 127
Morton, Carol, "Operation Traffic," 88-90
Mosk, Edward, 307, 312
Mosk, Stanley, 306, 308, 312
Motion pictures, Northern California locations, 154-163
Mount Wilson, 65
Mountain Quarries Company, 289, 291
Muir, John, 135-139, 257, 262, 263
Mulford, Prentice, 321
Mullen, Arthur, 198
Murieta, Joaquin, 295
Muybridge, Eadweard, 154, 155

Nabor, John, 35
Nadeau, Remi, 181
Nahl, Charles, 172, 173, 174
Nahl, H.W. Arthur, 172, 173, 174, 175
Nash, John Henry, 322
National Association of Amateur Athletics, 33, 36
National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 50-51
National Guard, 215, 216, 220
National Longshoremen's Board, 213, 214, 220
National Recovery Act (1933), 217
Native American sacred rites, 146-148; shamans, 147; women's roles, 140-151; and Spanish, 142, 144; preservation of cultural identity, 149-150
Naval batteries, 230-240
Neutra, Richard, 65, 77
The New Alchemists: Silicon Valley and the Microelectronics Revolution, rev., 260
"The New Anatomy of California," by James D. Houston, 256-259
New York Athletic Club, 33
"New York Discovers Gold in California," by Barry L. Dutka, 313-319
Newhouse, Jean, see Shiley, Jean
Newman, H. Morton, 306, 307, 308, 309
Newman, H. Morton and Fay M. Blake, "Upton Sinclair's Epic Campaign," 305-312
Newman & Ivison, Publishers, 173
Newmark, Harris, 297
Neylan, John Francis, 217, 218

Niles (Calif.), 157-158, 160
Niles Canyon, 160, 161
Noble, Ray, 72
Nolasquez, Rosinda, 141, 150
Nordhoff, Charles, 256
Norris, Frank, 322
Norris, George, 312
North Island, 164
Nurmi, Paavo, 21

Oberan Club (Los Angeles Cycling Association), 27
O'Day, Edward, 321-322
Oerter, Alfred A., 46-47
Olney, Warren, 138
Olympiad Bond Act (1928), 11
Olympic Arts Festival, Los Angeles (1984), 57, 79
Olympic Committee, International (IOC), 10, 11, 78, 101-102; United States (USOC), 101, 102
"Olympic Telecommunications," by Paul Ditzel, 91-100
Olympic Games, Berlin (1936), 46, 102; Broadcasting rights, 106; chronology of, 2-21; corporate sponsors, 104-106; and Helsinki (1952), 46; and Hollywood, 67-70; Los Angeles, see No. 1, Winter 1984; Mexico City (1968), 46; Moscow (1980), 48; Munich (1972), 46, 48; politicizing of, 56; propaganda value of, 102, 104; and media, 38-39; Rome (1960), 46; Stockholm (1912), 56; Tokyo (1964), 46, 47; and universities, 33-37
Olympic Village, Baldwin Hills (1932), 12, 51; UCLA (1984), 92
Olympic Youth Program, 56-57
On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Century, by Richard Longstreth, rev., 332-333
"Once a Winner," by Lisa Mitchell, 49
"Once Was a Year When All Was Noon," by Ray Bradbury, 6
"One Hundred Years Ago: California's First Environmental Battle," by Marilyn Ziebarth, 275-279
"Operation Traffic," by Carol Morton, 88-90
Oregon (ves.), 224
Orleans Hotel (Sacramento), 224
Orozco, José, 79
"Oscar Lewis," by Kevin Starr, 321-326
O'Shaughnessy, M.M., 292
Ostrom, Vincent, 181
"Over the River Jordan," by Tom Generous, 200-211
Overland Monthly, 174
Overland to California with the Pioneer Line: The Gold Rush Diary of Bernard J. Reid, ed. by Mary McDougall Gordon, rev., 329-330
Otto, Dick, 310-311
Ovett, Steve, 48
Owens, Jesse, 46, 48
Owens Valley-Los Angeles water controversy, 181-182

Pacific Bell, 92, 95, 98, 100
Pacific Book Center, 258
Pacific Coast Baseball League, 28
Pacific Coast Steel, 131
Pacific Gas and Electric Co., Lake Spaulding Power Project, 131
Pacific Jupiter Steel Company, 127, 130
Packard, John, 307
Paddock, Charles, 56
Paine, Walter, 309, 312
"Painters of Laguna Beach 1900–1940," by Robert M. Frash, 252-255
Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, 254
Panama-Pacific International Exposition (1915), 254
Pardee, George C., 303
Paris Exposition (1855), 281
Parsons, Louella, 43
Pasadena, 65
Patterson, Ellis, 311, 312
Patton, Clyde, 258
Patton, Mel, 33
Paul, Rodman W., 180
Pavesi, Attilio, 17 (photo)
Payne, Edgar, 253
Pegler, Westbrook, 12, 39, 40
Pena, Cosime, 237
People v Parks (1881), 278
Percy, George W., 282
Perry, Dick, 35, 36
Phelan, James, 322
Phelps, William Lyon, 78
Phillips, Eleanor, 82
Phillips, George, rev. of Thompson, *Edward F. Beale & The American West*, 184
Pitt, Leonard, 297
Pitts, ZaSu, 163
Platt, David, 312
Podriech, Wilfried, 242
Poe, Edgar Allan, 175
"The Politics of John Muir," by J.S. Holliday, 135-139
Polk, Willis, 315, 332-333
Pollasky Bridge, 283
Pomeroy, Earl, 180
Porter, John C., 11, 59
Powell, Lawrence Clark, 306, 312, 322; "A Memory of Byways," 84-87
Powell, Publishing Company, 177, 178
Power, Tyrone, 68
Powers, Stephen, 143, 146
S.S. *President Roosevelt* (ves.), 50
Pritchard, William E. and Diane Spencer-Hancock, "El Castillo de Monterey, Frontline of Defense," 230-240
Professional Golfers' Association, 56
Pursell, Carroll, rev. of Hanson, *The New Alchemists: Silicon Valley and the Microelectronics Revolution*, 260
Puthuff, Hanson, 254

Raker Act (1913), 139
Rambler (ves.), 28
Rancho Buri Buri, 116, 117
Rancho Los Felix, 31
Rancho San Joaquin, 253
Rancho San Niguel, 253
Ransome, Ernest L., 282
Rathbone, Basil, 70
Rathburn, William, 106
Rayburn, Sam, 198
Redmond, Granville, 254, 255
Redwood National Park, 262
Rees, Raymond, 307, 308, 311, 312
Reese, Lyn, Victoria Brady and Sarah Crome, "Resist! Survival Tactics of Indian Women," 140-151
Reid, Bernard J., 329-330
Reid, John P., 329
Reid, Victoria, 149
Reinforced concrete technology, 281-292
Relief Workers' Protective Union, 309
Renault, Benoir, 298-299
Renton, Virginia, 72
Republican Primary League of San Francisco, 302
"Resist! Survival Tactics of Indian Women," by Victoria Brady, Sarah Crome and Lyn Reese, 140-151
"Return Engagement," by Jeffrey Kaye, 101-107
Rhodehamel, Carl, 309
Rhodehamel, Jo, 309, 312
Rice, Granny, 40
Rice, Grantland, 12, 49
Richards, Almer, 33
Richthoff, Johan, 51
Riley, John, "Dad," 50-51

Riley, John Horn, 19 (photo), 50-51
Ring, Frances, "Greetings," 7
Ringling Brothers, Barnum and Bailey Circus, 89
Riverside Polo and Golf Club, 28
Riverside Tennis Club, 28
Riviera Country Club (Pacific Palisades), 56
Rogers, Buddy, 72
Rogers, G., 167
Rogers, Will, 44
Rolph, James R., 292, 332
Rolph, James Jr., 106
Romero, Balbino, 237
Romero, Jose Mariano, 173
Rood, Rodney W., 102
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 25, 194-199, 213, 217
Roosevelt, James, 195
Roosevelt, Theodore, 138
Rose, Murray, 35
Rose Parade, 65
Rossi, Angelo, 220
Roth, William Matson, 322
Rowan, Thomas, 297
Rudolph, Wilma, 48
Running Brave (movie), 47
"Running with a Dream," by Jack Smith, 22-25
Runyan, Damon, 12, 41, 43
Ruth, Babe, 24

Saarinen, Eliel, 78
Sacramento (1850), 224-229
Saint-Gaudens, Homer, 77
St. Johns, Adela Rogers, 44
St. Pierre, Brian, *John Steinbeck: The California Years*, rev., 327-328
Salinas Valley, 327-328
Salisbury, Edwin, 20 (photo)
Salomy Jane (movie), 161, 163
Salt Lake City, 202
San Bruno Point, 119, 126, 127, 129
San Bruno Slough, 117
San Francisco and San Jose Railroad, 120
San Francisco Bay, 117
San Francisco, Beef Trust, 116, 120, 121, 122, 125, 130; "Bloody Thursday," 213-223; Butchertown, 118, 122, 124, 125; labor relations, 331-332; maritime strike (1934), 216
San Francisco Central Labor Council, 215, 218, 220
San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, 331-332
San Francisco Construction Company, 283
San Francisco earthquake (1906), 284-285
San Francisco General Strike (1934), 212-223
San Francisco Presidio, 117
San Francisco Relief Committee (1906), 125
San Joaquin River Bridge (Pollasky), 283
San Marino, 65
San Martin, Jose de, 234
San Mateo County Board of Supervisors, 130, 131
San Mateo County Home Protective Association, 129, 130
San Quentin State Prison, 125, 301-304
Sanchez, Francisco, 117
Sanchez, Jose Antonio, 116, 117
Sanchez, Ysidero, 117
Sanders, Charles Walton, 173
Sandweiss, Eric, rev. of Weitze, *California's Mission Revival*, 330-331
Santa Barbara, 236
Santa Catalina Island, 71-76
Santa Catalina Island Conservancy, 76
Santa Monica Road Race, 28
Santa Rosa (ves.), 235, 236
Saroyan, William, 256
Satty, 242-244
Save-the-Redwoods League, 262-263
Sawyer, Lorenzo, 275-276, 278, 279
Schaw, Batcher Pipe Works, 131
Schindler, Rudolph, 65, 77
Schliemann, Heinrich, 224-229
Schliemann, Louis, 224
Schmidt, F. Clark, 254
Schoolbooks, 173
Schweinfurth, A.C., 332-333
Scott, Steve, 47
Scott, Winfield, 202
Schrepfer, Susan, R., *The Fight to Save the Redwoods. A History of Environmental Reform, 1917–1978*, rev., 262-263
Schulze, Henry A., 285, 288
Schumacher, Paul, 237
Schutz, John A. and Norris Hundley, Jr., "An Editors' Confession: The Golden State Series," 177-178
Seager, Pamela, "An Imaginative History of San Francisco: The Collages of Satty," 242-244
Sears, Roebuck and Company, 132
Seelye, John, 257
Selby Smelty and Lead Company, 129
Separatism in California, 328-329
Shaler, William, 234
Sheldon Building (San Francisco), 286-287
Sherill, Charles H., 77-78
Shiley, Jean, 12, 15 (photo), 21, 49, 50
Shockley, William, 260
Shoshone Indians, 204, 205
"A Show of Culture," by Elaine Attias, 77-79
Sierra Club, 136, 138, 258, 262-263
Sierra mining communities, 275-279
Sierra Nevada, 135-139
Silicon Valley, 260
Silva, Mariano, 238, 239
Silverman, James A., "Uncovering the Snow Storm," 172-176
Simmons, Mary, 298
Simon (Norton) Museum, 57
Simpson, Frank Jr., 164, 166, 168-169
Simpson, George, 16 (photo)
Sinclair, Upton, 123, 305-312
Sioux Indians, 209
Siqueiros, David Alfaro, 59, 78
Sloane, Milligan, 11
Smith, Al, 196
Smith, Eleanor and Michael Di Leo, *Two Californias: The Truth About the Split-State Movement*, rev., 328-329
Smith, Guinn, 33
Smith, Harold, 19 (photo)
Smith, Jack, "Running With a Dream," 22-25
The Snow Storm (children's book), 172-176
Snyder, John W., "Buildings and Bridges for the Twentieth Century," 281-292
Society for the Preservation of National Parks, 138
Sola, Pablo Vicente de, 234, 235
Solares, Maria, 144
South Omaha (Neb.), 116
South San Francisco, 114-134; deindustrialization strategy, 131; rail connections to, 127-128
South San Francisco Improvement Club, 130
South San Francisco Land and Improvement Company, 121
South San Francisco Land Company, 126, 129, 130
"South San Francisco: The Making of an Industrial City," by Joseph A. Blum, 114-134
Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games, 101, 102
Southern California Intercollegiate Athletic Association, 31
Southern California Lawn Tennis Association, 28
Southern California Rapid Transit District (RTD), 89, 92

Southern California Telephone Company, 95
Southern Pacific Company, 257
Southern Pacific Railroad, 120, 127, 282
Spalding, Sumner A., 72
Spaulding, William A., 297
Spangler, Fay, 290
Spanish fortifications, 230-240
Spanish land claims in North America, 230-231
Spatz, Carl, 43
Spence, Edward, 296
Spencer, Thomas T., "FDR's Forgotten Friend: Henry H. McPike and the 1932 Democratic Presidential Nomination," 194-199
Spencer-Hancock, Diane and William E. Pritchard, "El Castillo de Monterey, Frontline of Defense," 230-240
Sperry, Howard, 214
"The Sporting Life," by Kevin Starr, 26-31
Sportswear industry, Los Angeles, 80-83
Spreckels, John D., 302, 303
Spring Valley Mine, 277
Sproat, Granville Temple, 173
Stafford, Jo, 72
Stanford Center for Chicano Studies, 261
Stanford (Leland) Junior Museum and Roble Hall, 282
Stanford, Leland, 154
Stanford University, 33, 260
Stanislaus River Bridge, Ripon, 283
Starr, Kevin, 257; "Oscar Lewis," 320-326; "The Sporting Life," 26-31
The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies: Proceedings of the First Stanford Symposium on Chicano Research and Public Policy, ed. by Armando Valdez, Albert Camarillo and Tomás Almaguer, rev., 261-262
Steele, Willie, 33
Steffens, Lincoln, 310
Steiger Brothers Terra Cotta and Pottery Works, 126, 130
Steinbeck, Gwyn Conger, 327-328
Steinbeck, John, 86, 327-328
Steinbeck, John IV, 328
Steinbeck, Thom, 328
Stephes, C.C., 299
Sterling, Georges, 322
Stoddard, Charles Warren, 321
"The Story of the Olympics—B.C. to A.D.," by Paul B. Zimmerman, 8-21
Strenk, Andrew, 35, 36, 37
Stroheim, Erich von, 163
Structural Association of San Francisco, 285
Structural Engineers' Association of Northern California," 292
Stuteville, Orion, 50
Surf boarding in Southern California, 31
Sutton, May, 28
Swann, Lynn, 36
Swift and Company, 118, 131, 132
Swift, Gustavus, 118, 121, 122, 125, 127

Tablas Para Los Niños Que Empiezan A Contar, 173
Tanforan Park, 130, 131
Tápis, Estévan, 147
Taris, Jean, 69
Taylor, Edward Robeson, 321
Taylor, Frank, 312
Teamsters, 213, 222
Technical Society of the Pacific Coast, 282
Telecommunications, Los Angeles Olympics (1984), 94-100, 106
Telephone Pioneers, 100
Temple Auditorium (Los Angeles), 283
Terman, Frederick, 260
Tevis, Lloyd, 229
Thalberg, Irving, 312
Thomas, Norman, 310
Thomassen, Beck, 82
Thompson, E.P., 261-262
Thompson, Gerald, *Edward F. Beale & The American West*, rev., 184
Thompson, Wilbur, 33
Tilles, Gregory H., rev. of Di Leo and Smith, *Two Californias: The Truth About the Split-State Movement*, 328-329
Times-Mirror Co. (Los Angeles), 57
Title IX (1972), 34, 35
Todd I, 82
Tolan, Eddie, 16 (photo), 21
Toohey, Margaret, 33, 34
Tournament of Roses, 31
Tower, Harold, 20 (photo)
Townsend, Francis E., 306
Town House Hotel (Los Angeles), 61
The Tramp (movie), 157-158, 160
Transportation, 290-291
A Trip Down Mt. Tamalpais (movie), 155-156
Trikoupes, Charilaos, 10
The True Adventures of John Steinbeck, Writer by Jackson J. Benson, rev., 327-328
Truckee-Carson Irrigation Project, Hazen, Nevada, 283
Truckee River Bridge (Reno), 283
Tug-of-war, 28, 31
Tuolumne River Bridge (Modesto), 290
Turner, Charles C., 164-171
Turner, Frederick Jackson, 136, 180
Twain, Mark, 321
Twelve Mile Farm, 117; House, 117
Two Californias: The Truth About the Split-State Movement by Michael Di Leo and Eleanor Smith, rev., 328-329

Ueberroth, Peter, 104
Uncle John's Stories for Good California Children, 173, 176
"Uncovering the Snow Storm," by James A. Silverman, 172-176
Unemployed Exchange Association (UXA), Oakland, 309
United Press, 39
USS *United States* (ves.), 238
U.S. Bureau of Public Roads, 290
United States Steel Corporation, 131, 132
University of California, Berkeley, 33
University of California, Los Angeles, 33, 55, 56, 63; School of Medicine, 56
University of California Press, 177, 178
University of Southern California, 33, 55, 56, 89; Cancer Center, 56
Unruh, John D., 329
"Upton Sinclair's Epic Campaign," by Fay M. Blake and H. Morton Newman, 305-312
Urban, Joseph, 51
Utah Construction Company, 131
Utah, mining opportunities, 208-209

Vacaville, Chinese community, 247-251
Vagabond Act (1850), 144
Valdez, Armando, Albert Camarillo and Tomás Almaguer, eds., *The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies: Proceedings of the First Stanford Symposium on Chicano Research and Public Policy*, rev., 261-262
Valentino, Rudolph, 162-163
Vallee, Rudy, 72
Valley Hunt Club of Pasadena, 31
Vancouver, George, 231, 232, 233
Vasquez, Tiburcio, 295
Vertigo (movie), 163
Vice, George, 195
Vision or Villainy: Origins of The Owens Valley-Los Angeles Water Controversy, Abraham Hoffman, rev., 181-182
Vleck, Durban van, 174
Volstead, Andrew, 41

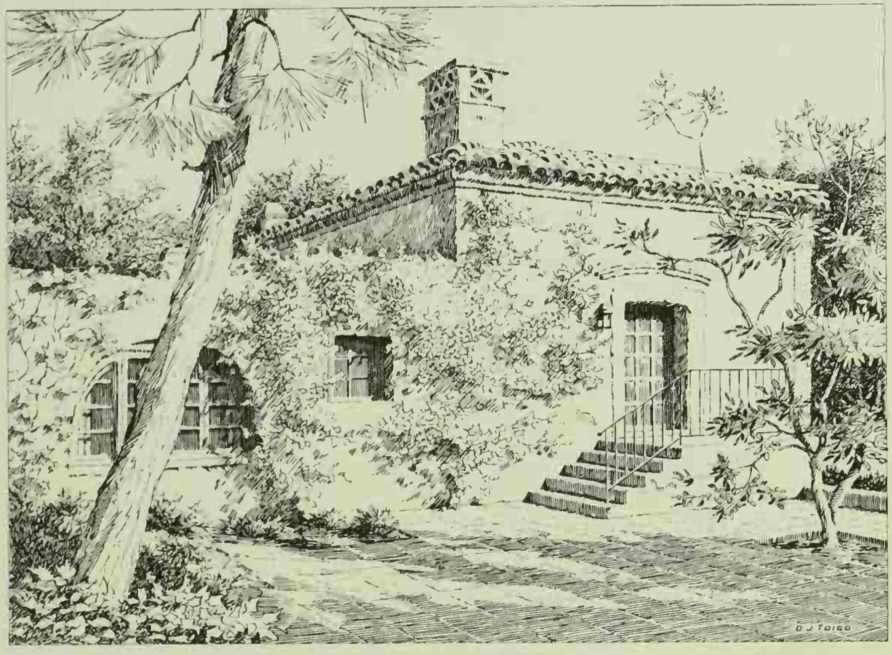
Voorhis, Jerry, 307, 308, 312

Walker, E. Cardon, 102
Walker, Joseph, 179-180
Walking associations, Los Angeles, 27
Wallace, David Rains, 258
Walpole, Hugh, 78
Ward, Esther, 312
Ward, William E., 282
Wardell, Justus, 196, 198
Warmerdam, Cornelius A., 48
Warner Bros., 69
Washoe Indians, 146, 149
Water and Power: The Conflict over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley, by William A. Kahrl, rev., 181-182
Water polo in Southern California, 31
Watson, Richard L., 180
Webber, Walter, 72
Weber, David J., *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico*, rev., 260-261
Weems, Ted, 72
Weissmuller, Johnny, 68-69
Weitze, Karen J., *California's Mission Revival*, rev., 330-331
Welch, Dorothy, 22
Wendt, William, 253, 254, 255
West, Nathanael, 64
Westering Man: The Life of Joseph Walker, by Bill Gilbert, rev., 179-180
Western Inspection Bureau, 288
Western Meat Company, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 132
Western Pipe and Steel, 131
Westlake Park (Los Angeles), 31
Westwood, 63, 92
Wheelman (Los Angeles cycling association), 27
"Where Fancies Flicker," by Steve Erickson, 66-70
Whitaker, Clem, 306
White, Jack, 76
Whitney, Theresa, 296
Whittier, John Greenleaf, 175
Whittlesey, Charles, 283
Wilde, Cornel, 70
Wilder, Thornton, 78
Wilhelm, John F., "Heinrich Schliemann's Sacramento Connection," 224-229
Wilkinson, Frank, 306, 312
Willett, Nathan, 299
Williams, Claudia, 308, 312
Williams, T.H., 130
Wilson, Alexander, 25
Wilson, Graham C., rev. of Benson, *The True Adventures of John Steinbeck, Writer*, 327-328; rev. of St. Pierre, *John Steinbeck: The California Years*, 327-328
Wilson, Gwynn, 11, 34
Wilson, Roger, 22
Wilson, Woodrow, 139
Windoffer, Melba, 307, 309, 312
Wolf, Vern, 36
Wollenberg, Charles, rev. of Liebman, *California Farmland: A History of Large Agricultural Landholdings*, 183-184
Woman's Pacific Coast Journal, 175
Women's Cooperative Printing Union, 175
Wood, Erskine Scott, 321
Woodruff, Edward, 278
Woodruff v North Bloomfield Gravel Mining Co. (1884), 276, 278
Woon, Basil, "Is the Hotel (As We Know It Now) Doomed?", 245-246
Works, Burton S., 11
Works Progress Administration (WPA), 50
Worthen, J.A., 122
Wozniak, Stephen, 260
Wright, Frank Lloyd, 64, 65
Wrigley, William Jr., 72, 76
Wurman, Richard Saul, 258

Yeats, Jack, 79
"Yee Ah Chong Remembers Vacaville Chinatown," 247-251
Yerba Buena Cove, 117
Yolly Bolly Press, 258
Yoneda, Elaine Black, "Reflections on Three Days That Shook San Francisco," 220
Yosemite Valley, 135-139
Young, Brigham, 202, 206, 207, 209
Young, Carrie F., 175
Young, Loretta, 83
Young, Lucy, 144, 145
Young, Mahroni, 79

Zabala, Juan, 17 (photo), 21
Zaharias, Mildred Didrikson, see Didrikson, "Babe" Mildred
Zamarano, Agustin, 173
Zeitlin, Jake, 86
Ziebarth, Marilyn, "California's First Environmental Battle," 275-279
Zimmerman, Paul B., 12
Zimmerman, Paul B., "The Story of the Olympics—B.C. to A.D.," 8-21
Zorach, William, 79

Savor the Leisurely Ambience of Alta California



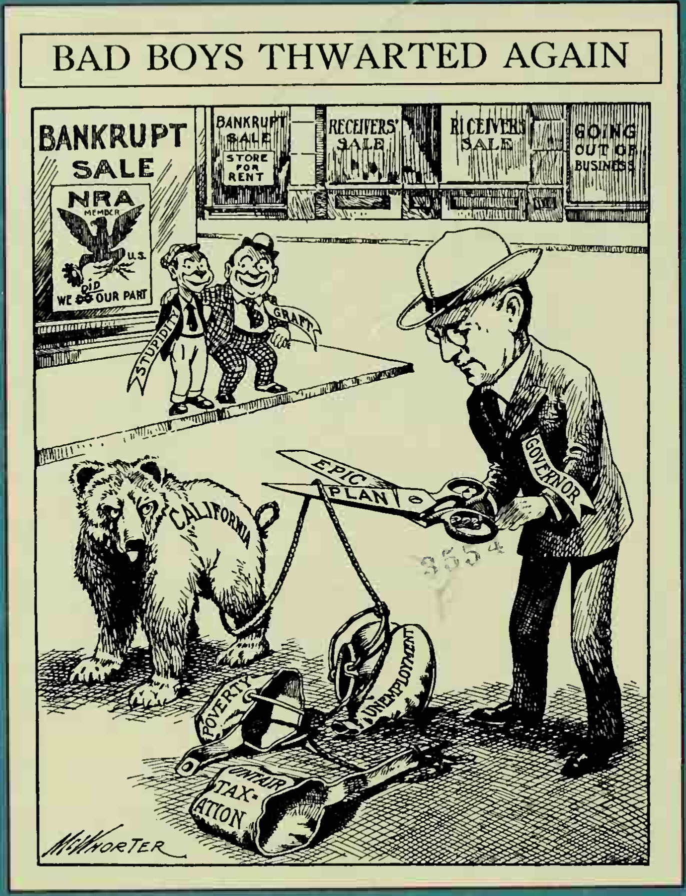
Visit El Molino Viejo, a charming adobe set among peaceful walled gardens in San Marino.

El Molino Viejo (c. 1816), a state historic landmark owned by the City of San Marino and operated by the California Historical Society (CHS), was Southern California's first water-powered grist mill. Built with Indian labor for the Franciscan missionaries at nearby Mission San Gabriel, the restored four-room mill features a working model depicting the milling process. Exhibits illustrate the changing fortunes of El Molino Viejo as a private home and, finally, historic site.

Take a self-guided tour—at your own pace. Enjoy CHS-sponsored changing exhibits dealing with historical and contemporary subjects. Explore the lovely gardens, planted with citrus, black walnut, olive, fig, and flowering pomegranate trees—flora that would have been familiar to the builder, Padre José María Zalvidea.

Visit this idyllic site Tuesday through Sunday, 1-4 p.m. Admission is free. Location: 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino, CA 91108—off Huntington Drive, near the Huntington Library and Gardens and the Huntington Sheraton Hotel.

El Molino Viejo is also available on a limited basis for use by community groups. Guided tours and school tours may also be scheduled. For information, please telephone 818-449-5450.



Sinclair's weekly EPIC News *featured cartoons and articles about California's struggle to cut itself free from unemployment, poverty, and unfair taxation.* Cartoon by McWhorter, *EPIC News*, June 9, 1934

Administrative Headquarters 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 94109 (415) 567-1848 • *Library* 2099 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco 94109 (415) 567-1848
El Molino Viejo 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino 91108 (213) 449-5450 • *History Center* 6300 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 90048 (213) 651-5655